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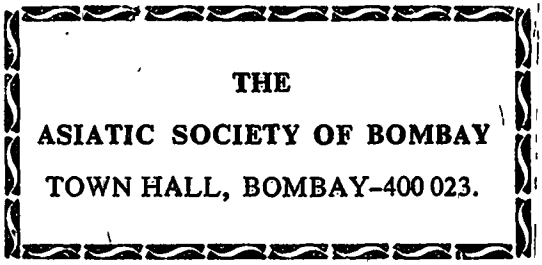

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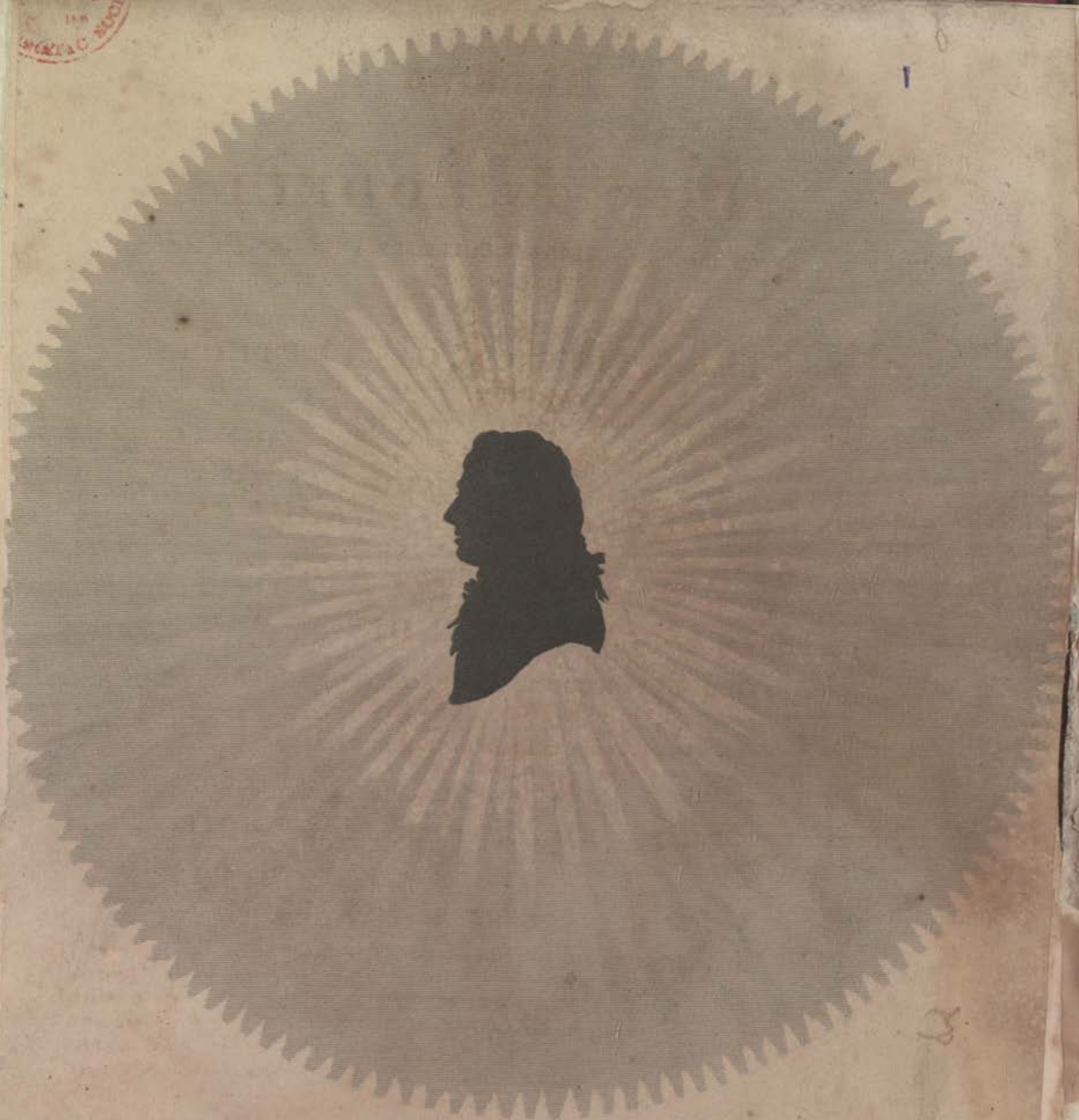


John Tweddell

Nat. 1st June 1769. Ob. 25th July 1799.

See Correspondence—Letter XXXII. P. 171.

Remains

OF THE LATE

JOHN TWEDDELL

FELLOW OF TRINITY-COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE

BEING

A SELECTION OF HIS LETTERS

WRITTEN FROM VARIOUS PARTS OF THE CONTINENT

TOGETHER WITH A REPUBLICATION OF HIS

PROLUSIONES JUVENILES

TO WHICH IS ADJOINED

25634 a

AN APPENDIX

CONTAINING SOME ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR'S JOURNALS *MSS.* COLLECTIONS DRAWINGS &c.

AND OF THEIR EXTRAORDINARY DISAPPEARANCE

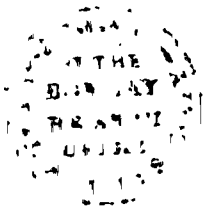
PREFIXED IS

A BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR

BY THE EDITOR

THE REV. ROBERT TWEDDELL A.M.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS PICTURESQUE VIEWS AND MAPS



" Pause on the tomb of him who sleeps within,
Fancy's fond hope, and Learning's fav'rite child."

HAYGARTH: *Greece*, p. 57.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. MAWMAN, 39, LUDGATE-STREET;

BY JOYCE GOLD, 103, SHOE-LANE.

1815.

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TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

THE GOVERNOR

THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL THE DEPUTY-GOVERNOR

AND

THE COURT OF ASSISTANTS

OF THE COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF ENGLAND

TRADING INTO THE LEVANT-SEAS

THIS WORK

LARGELY INDEBTED TO THEIR

BENEVOLENT AND PUBLIC-SPIRITED AID AND FURTHERANCE

IS INSCRIBED

WITH SENTIMENTS OF SINCERE RESPECT

BY THEIR

OBLIGED AND OBEDIENT HUMBLE SERVANT

The Editor.

Manchester, May 1, 1815.

BIOGRAPHICAL

MEMOIR

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR

JOHN TWEDDELL, the subject of this memoir, was born on the first of June 1769 at Threepwood near Hexham, in the county of Northumberland; where his earliest years were passed under the care and instruction of a most pious and affectionate mother. He was the eldest son of FRANCIS TWEDDELL Esq. an able and intelligent magistrate, whose exertions in that office for a long course of years were eminently faithful and disinterested; and they are mentioned here the more particularly, because the retired situation in which he lived, precluded that just measure of public regard to which their superior merit entitled them.

At the age of nine years JOHN TWEDDELL was sent to school at Hartforth near Richmond in the North-riding of Yorkshire, under the superintendance of the Rev. MATTHEW RAINE;* who early discovered those rare endowments which were shortly to win high distinction; and which were cherished by him with a kind

* Father of the late justly lamented Dr. RAINE of the Charter-house.

solicitude, and treated with no common skill. Previously to his commencing residence at the university of Cambridge, he spent some time under the immediate tuition of Dr. SAMUEL PARR, whose preéminent genius opened not its stores in vain to an ardent and capacious mind; and whose truly affectionate regard for his pupil spared no pains to perfect him in all the learning of Greece and Rome. Nor is it too much to say that the tutor saw his pains requited, and gloried in his charge; whilst he secured the grateful respect and lasting attachment of his accomplished scholar.

The unprecedented honours which attended Mr. TWEDDELL's academical course are too well known to his friends and to the friends of elegant learning, to make an enumeration of them necessary here. The "Prolusiones Juveniles," which were published in the year 1793, furnish an ample and unequivocal testimony to the extent and versatility of his talents.* Professor HEYNÉ of Goettingen, in a letter addressed to Dr. BURGESS the truly learned and venerable Bishop of St. David's, thus speaks of Mr. TWEDDELL's productions: "redditæ mihi his diebus sunt litteræ tuæ missæ ex urbe Dresdæ Saxoniæ, inclusæ litteris elegantissimis JÖANNIS TWEDDELL juvenis ornatissimi; cujus visendi et compellandi copiam mihi haud obtigisse vehementer doleo; spirant litteræ ejus indolem ingenuam, ingenium venustum, mores amabiles et jucundos. Eruditionem autem ejus exquisitam ex prolusionibus ejus juvenilibus perspexi, quas litteris adjunxerat; una cum generoso libertatis sensu, quem cum ipsa libertate sibi eripi haud videtur pati velle."

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* To these testimonies might be added those from Professor WYTTENBACH, the amiable Mr. FELLENBERG, of Berne, and a variety of others not less flattering: for the opinions of the english reviewers, see Appendix (383)

MEMOIR

The following classical tribute of a friendly muse will aptly illustrate the sentiments of Mr. TWEDDELL's contemporaries at the university on the appearance of his publication:

AD TWEDDELIUM

ACCEPTO EJUS LIBELLO VERSICULI.

QUAS agat tibi gratias trilingui
Amicissima Musa, cui vel una
Non loqui bene Dîi dedere lingua,
Hæret; nescia, te magis Latinum,
An Græcum magis an velit Britannum:
Tam fluit tibi prompta singularum
Eloquentia; sive tu pedestri
Per dilecta vagaris arva cursu,
Arva, quæ patriæ colunt amantes,
Qua myrti foliis Aristogiton
Ultor Harmodiusque vinxit olim
Ensem, sanguine fervidum tyranni:
Sive passere Cyprio rotisque
Vectus, Æoliæ lyram puellæ
Plectro mollior increpas; tuique
Cantus percita suavitate, duræ
Rupis incola, nil recantat Echo,
Præter pacis amabiles olivas,
Rubentemque rosa brevi juventam;
Præter lurida regna lacrymarum
Omni serius ocyus videnda.
Laudi nescio quod modo solutæ
Exprobrantis inest; saporque mellis
Permulto minus æstimatur usu.

Quod si me dare parcius putetur
Hoc laudis tibi quicquid est ; at ultro
Sincerumque scias meroque corde,
Infeliciter æmulum, dedisse.

Abr. Moore, 1793.

The subjoined translation from the same hand is a favor kindly conceded to the solicitation of the editor.

VERSES

ADDRESSED TO TWEDDELL ON RECEIVING A COPY OF HIS BOOK.

SAY what return the partial Muse
That scarce one homely tongue can use,
Shall make to thee, who wield'st with ease
A leash of learned languages ;
Not less the Latian or the Greek,
Than skill'd thy native sounds to speak:
Thy various strain so promptly flows ;
Whether in plain pedestrian prose
Thou tread'st sedate the favorite grove,
Where patriot virtue loves to rove ;
Where once renown'd Harmodius stray'd,
Pleas'd with his bold compeer to braid
The myrtle wreaths, in which they bore
The brands that drank the tyrant's gore:
Or borne, all bent on softer theme,
In Cyprian car with sparrow team,
Thou strik'st th'Eolian lyre, until
The nymph that bounds from hill to hill
Echos of nought but olive boughs

That victory hangs on Peace's brows;
Of youth's ingenuous cheek, that glows
With the brief bloom of beauty's rose,
Or of the tearful realms below,
Where bards themselves alas! must go.
Boundless applause too oft we find
The mask, Detraction sneers behind;
As oft by blind excess debas'd
The goodliest flavor palls the taste:
If yet there are who deem these lays
Unbounteous of their simple praise;
To thee at least 'tis giv'n to know,
How pure how warm the cup must flow
That pours unforc'd the free libation
Of unsuccessful emulation.

So much for Mr. TWEDDELL's public life: of the principles and feelings which influenced his private conduct he thus speaks in a letter written about this period to his mother in the fullest spirit of confidence; "your fears on my account I know to be the result of great affection for me, but I think you will one day find that there was not very great occasion for them. I may do many inconsiderate things; indeed I feel that I often do—I know it well—and I may chance to be betrayed into errors, of which it is very possible I may at some future time repent. For true it is what you observe, that my passions are very strong; and that I feel on most subjects that can interest me, most zealously and warmly. You have often desired me to check and tame them; and sometimes to a certain degree I do. But it is not in the power of man, however plausibly the philosopher may maintain it in his closet, for any one essentially to alter his constitution. The moral complexions of man are as different as the personal ones; and

though a person may be enabled to improve the bent, he cannot change the tone, of his constitution. I feel myself a zeal and earnestness in almost every thing; and these properties, though they may be at times productive of inconvenience, have also their beneficial tendencies; for they will never allow me to engage in any thing which I do not feel to be right; and *that* will at all times be sufficient for my own conscience. Depend upon it, my life shall never be stained with one dishonourable act. I am as guilty of frailties and indiscretions as any one; but thus far I know myself thoroughly, that I abhor every thing that is bad and degrading, as well in private sentiment as in public conduct; I believe you know me also well enough to be convinced that this is true. I can say from the bottom of my breast, that I never do persist and never will, in any thing deliberately, which I do not approve; and that at the same time what I do approve, I will always endeavour to act up to. In this therefore I agree perfectly with you, that rather than be guilty of any outrage against probity, I hope in God that I may be removed from the power of committing it. Time is the great prover of all things; and time may one day chance to shew what I am, much better than my own professions."

In the year 1792 Mr. TWEDDELL was elected fellow of Trinity-college: and soon afterwards entered himself a student of the middle-temple. By those who were acquainted with the vivacity and playfulness of his mind, and who remember with what an exquisite feeling he relished the beauties of poetic fiction and the graces of classical composition, it will not be thought surprising that a line of study, so dry and didactic as the law, should be in a more than common degree distasteful; yet such was his deference to the wishes of his father, that, although he could never overcome the prevailing aversion of his mind, he paid considerable attention to his professional studies.

It appears, both from the records of his private sentiments, as well as from his large and constant intercourse with the best sources of english history, and his predilection for political economy, that he would have wished to employ his talents and cultivated address in diplomacy at the courts of foreign powers.

It was not without a view to this object that Mr. TWEDDELL determined to travel, and employ a few years in acquiring a knowledge of the manners, policy, and characters of the principal courts and most interesting countries of Europe, which were not yet become inaccessible to an Englishman, through the overwhelming dominion of republican France. He, accordingly, embarked on the 24th September, 1795, for Hamburg; where that Correspondence commences which is presented in part by the following pages; and which may serve to illustrate, though very imperfectly, the progress, pursuits, and indefatigable researches of this traveller in Switzerland, the North of Europe, and various parts of the East, until the period of his arrival in the provinces of Greece: Here after visiting several of the islands in the Archipelago, he fixed his residence for four months in Athens; exploring with restless ardor and faithfully delineating the remains of art and science discoverable amidst her sacred ruins. The hand of a wise but mysterious Providence suddenly arrested his career on the twenty-fifth of July 1799. Monsieur FAUVEL* the french consul at Athens communicating this mournful event to Mr. NEAVE an english gentleman, writes in these terms:

" MONSIEUR,

" Voici une nouvelle qui vous fera beaucoup de peine, quoique

* See in the *Correspondence*, a letter of Mr. TWEDDELL, dated Athens, 4th January, 1799.

la connoissance que vous avez faite de Mons. TWEDDELL soit encore récente. Je suis persuadé que vous le regretterez beaucoup. Nous venons de le perdre apres quatre jours d'une fiévre double-tierce,* fruit des fatigues excessives de son voyage. Tous ses compagnons sans exception ont eu la même maladie: la sienne n'avoit rien de plus dangereux, mais je pense qu'il s'est tué, pour avoir voulu se traiter à sa maniere. Plusieurs vomitifs lui avoient occasionnés de grand efforts: il prit là dessus des poudres de docteur JAMES, dont il vantoit les qualités merveilleuses, et du quinquina: deux jours apres, au moment où il paroissoit tranquil, il perdit tout à coup la parole et la connoissance. On m'y appella; je m'y rendis aussitot, pour le voir expirer en moins d'un demi-quart d'heure entre mes bras sans avoir donné aucune marque de souffrance; la poitrine s'est remplie, à ce qu'il m'a paru, par la rupture subite de quelques vaisseaux, il a eté sufloqué en un instant. Mons. TWEDDELL avoit la poitrine fort délicate depuis un voyage qu'il avoit fait en Suisse: Il avoit beaucoup souffert ici l'hiver dernier. Il a eté inhumé au milieu du temple de Thesée, en partie par mes soins, avec tous les honneurs. La garde du Vaïvode l'a salué de 3 décharges de mousqueterie. Je n'avois point voulu de prêtres, mais le temple etant aujourdhui une eglise, il n'a pas eté possible de faire autrement. Il a eté regretté de tout

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* DOUBLE-TIERCE.—If the degree of quiescence occasioned by defect of the stimulus of heat be very great, it will recur a second time by a slighter cause than that which first induced it. If the cause, which induces the second fit of quiescence, recurs the succeeding day, the quotidian fever is produced; if not until the alternate day, the tertian fever; and if not until after seventy-two hours from the first fit of quiescence, the quartan fever is formed. The Editor has been informed by a friend who has resided in the Levant, that, in that country a fever with the quotidian period, but of which the alternate paroxysms regularly correspond in point of increased strength and duration, is termed by the physicians, "double tertian."

Engraved by J.

THESEUM

THE TEMPLE OF THESEUS AT ATHENS,

now converted to a Christian Church and dedicated to St. George.

After a Drawing for Prints in the collection of John Spencer Smythe Esqr late His Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary to the Othman Porte.

le monde, et je l'ai pleuré comme un frere; il m'avoit donné des preuves si sensibles de son amitié et de son bon cœur.*

"*Fauvel.*"

Athenes le 30 Juillet 1799.

The feelings with which the intelligence of Mr. TWEDDELL's premature loss was received by his celebrated instructor, it will not be deemed unsuitable here to advert to: they are expressed in a letter to a mutual friend, dated "Cambridge 19th November 1799" in the following strong and affecting terms:

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Your letter went to Hatton, which I left on the fourth of August, and it has found me at Cambridge, from which I take my departure to-morrow. O! Mr. LOSH, my heart sunk down within me when I read the melancholy tale in a provincial newspaper; and I was quite unable to fix my thoughts steadily to the subject, and to believe an event, which, if true, must blast so many of my fairest prospects in that portion of existence which is reserved for me; and in the very first moments of my perturbation the image of you presented itself to my mind; for I felt that your talents and virtues were congenial to those which adorned our most respected and beloved friend:

Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit,
Nulli flebilior quam tibi——

and I may add, vel mihi. Soon after my arrival at Hatton I will write a letter of consolation to the afflicted father. You may

* See *Appendix*.

assure him that no man ever esteemed his son more unfeignedly, ever respected him more deeply, ever loved him more fondly than myself. I cannot calculate my own loss; and in the sorrows of those to whom he was near, I sympathise with all my heart and all my soul."

Such was the ardor of Dr. PARR's affection, and such the language of his cordial regret. Indeed the regret and regard expressed on this melancholy occasion were universal; and the honors which have in consequence been paid to Mr. TWEDDELL's memory by various distinguished travellers, will best appear from the private details of their own benevolent and disinterested exertions. The following extract is from the *third* part of CLARKE's travels chap. xiii. page 532.

"We accompanied Signor LUSIERI to the THESEUM;* and having obtained admission to the interior of the temple, paid a melancholy visit to the grave of that accomplished scholar whose name we had found inscribed upon the pillars of Sunium; the exemplary and lamented TWEDDELL. It was simply a small oblong heap of earth, like to those over the common graves in all our english church-yards, without stone or inscription of any kind. The body

* This beautiful Doric temple, the most entire of any of the structures of ancient Greece, were it not for the damage which the sculptures have sustained, may be considered as still perfect. The ruined state of the metopes and frieze has proved indeed a very fortunate circumstance; for it was owing solely to this, that the building escaped the ravages which were going on at the Parthenon. The entire edifice is of Pentelican marble: it stands east and west, the principal front facing the east. It has a portico of six columns in each front, and on each side a range of eleven columns, exclusive of the columns on the angles. All these columns remain in their original position, excepting two that separated the portico from the pronaos, which have been demolished."

CLARKE's *Travels*, iiid. part, page 534.

too had been carelessly interred; we were told that it did not lie more than three or four feet beneath the surface. The part of the temple where it has been buried is now converted into a greek church dedicated to St. George; but as it is left open during particular times of the year, and is always liable to be entered by foraging animals, we thought it probable that the body would be disturbed unless some further precaution were used; and at any rate it was proper that some stone should be laid upon the spot. Having therefore obtained permission to take up the coffin; and Lusieri engaging to superintend the work, we set about providing a proper covering for the grave, promising to send an inscription worthy of the name it was destined to commemorate. Large blocks of Pentelican marble from the Parthenon, which had been sawed from the bas-reliefs intended for the ambassador, were then lying in the Acropolis ready for the purpose: we therefore begged for one of these; and before we left Athens every thing had been settled, and seemed likely to proceed according to our wishes. A curious sort of contest has however since impeded the work: other english travellers arrived in Athens; and a dispute arose, fomented by the feuds and jealousies of rival artists and opposite parties in politics, both as to the nature of the inscription, and the persons who should be allowed to accomplish the work. At length, it is said, that owing to the exertions of Lord Byron and another most enterprising traveller Mr. John Fiott* of St. John's

* The Editor has to regret that, owing to Mr. Fiott's travelling pursuits for several years past, and his absence on the continent, he has not yet had it in his power to assure him, as he has anxiously wished to do, of the gratitude which is felt by himself and the friends of Mr. Tweddell for his generous exertions at Athens. Having no other means of attesting his sense of these, he attempts to record it here, not without a hope that it may ultimately reach the notice of the party adverted to. (Ed.)

college Cambridge, the stone has been laid; and the following beautiful epitaph, composed by Mr. WALPOLE* in 1805 has been inscribed thereon:

ΤΥΕΔΔΕΛΑ

ΕΥΔΕΙΣ ΕΝ ΦΘΙΜΕΝΟΙΣΙ ΜΑΤΗΝ ΣΟΦΙΗΣ ΠΟΤ ΕΔΡΕΨΑΣ
ΑΝΘΕΑ ΚΑΙ ΣΕ ΝΕΟΝ ΜΟΤΣ ΕΦΙΛΗΣΕ ΜΑΤΗΝ
ΑΛΛΑ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΤΟΙ ΣΩΜΑ ΤΟ ΓΗΙΝΟΝ ΑΜΦΙΚΑΛΤΠΤΕΙ
ΤΥΜΒΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΨΥΧΗΝ ΟΤΡΑΝΟΣ ΑΙΠΤΣ ΕΧΕΙ
ΗΜΙΝ Δ ΟΙ ΣΕ ΦΙΛΟΙ ΦΙΛΟΝ ΩΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΔΑΚΡΤ ΧΕΟΝΤΕΣ
ΜΝΗΜΑ ΦΙΛΟΦΡΟΣΤΝΗΣ ΧΛΩΡΟΝ ΟΔΤΡΟΜΕΘΑ
ΗΔΤ Γ ΟΜΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΡΠΝΟΝ ΕΧΕΙΝ ΤΟΤΤ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ
ΩΣ ΣΤ ΒΡΕΤΑΝΝΟΣ ΕΩΝ ΚΕΙΣΑΙ ΕΝ ΣΠΟΔΙΗ

TRANSLATION.†

Sleep'st thou among the dead? then hast thou cull'd
In vain fair learning's flowers, the muse in vain
Smil'd on thy youth—Yet but thy mortal mould
Hides this dark tomb; thy soul the heav'ns contain.
To us who now our friendship to record
O'er thee pale friend! the tears of mem'ry shed,
Sweet solace 'tis, that here thy bones are stored,
That dust Athenian strews a Briton's head.

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* The Rev. ROBERT WALPOLE A.M. of Carrow abbey near Norwich; a gentleman whose taste and classical erudition are well known, particularly in the sources of grecian literature and antiquities. How much this memoir is indebted to his liberality and his learning, is sufficiently declared in this page and in those which follow. The work in which Mr. W. is at this time engaged, as the editor of the unpublished journals of some of our most distinguished countrymen who have more recently visited Greece, promises a fund of new and accurate information of a very select description. (ED.)

† The kindness of a friend whose favors are highly valued supplies this translation. (ED.)

Copy of a Letter to the Rev. R. WALPOLE, *from a friend at Athens.*

Athens February 25 1811.

"MY DEAR WALPOLE

"AT length your inscription is engraved on a white marble slab placed over TWEDDELL's grave. The marble is four feet ten inches long by three feet four inches wide; it is not of so good a quality or form, nor are the letters as well engraved, as one would wish; it is however the best which could be had; and, considering the difficulties and obstacles which were to be overcome, most persons are satisfied with it.

"It appears that when Lord ELGIN was in Athens, he manufactured a long latin inscription in honor of himself and of TWEDDELL, which was left with LUSIERI, who had orders to engrave it, and place it over TWEDDELL's grave in the temple. The latter deferred so doing from time to time; and not having a good opinion of his lordship's latin, he sent the inscription to Naples, where his relation, a learned father, DANIEL, biographer to the king, absolved it from all its impurities, and sent it back again considerably shortened. Much as he confides in his father, still even in its present state, LUSIERI neglected to place it upon marble; and on arriving here, I found that nothing had been done. Upon sounding LUSIERI with respect to his intentions, it appeared that he was positively bent on beginning his corrected inscription immediately; and he offered to allow me to engrave mine under his, on a very fine marble slab which he has for the purpose. I inclose you a copy of his inscription in its Neapolitan form; the original I have not seen, but am told that it was much longer. On my not acceding to this coalition, he proposed to me to engrave my inscription on the wall of the temple, as he declined to allow

it to appear alone on his marble, as was my wish, and to suppress Lord ELGIN's entirely.

"A deal of time was thus spent, but all to no purpose. Lord BYRON entered most heartily into the cause, and supported your inscription; Mr. COCKERELL and Mr. FORSTER were also with us; nothing therefore remained but to act in defiance of LUSIERI; and to act à l'Italienne, in secret, lest he should place his stone in the temple before we could get another ready.

"The Disdar offered to sell any marble in the Acropolis; but Athens could not furnish means to remove one thence on account of the size; and no person possessed a cart but LUSIERI. A beautiful marble next fell in our way, and it required sawing through the middle; but no one in Athens had a saw but LUSIERI. Both these plans were therefore abandoned: at last by examining private houses, a slab was found in the house of an Albanian, of convenient thickness; it was purchased; and after two days labor, it was dragged up and placed in the temple. Excellent masons as these good folks were formerly, yet no instruments were to be found in modern Athens to polish or plane it; we were therefore obliged to have it hammered as smooth as we could. Mons. FAUVEL was so good as to take a deal of trouble and interest in the affair; and he drew the letters and marked them out in so clear a manner, that it was impossible for the letter-cutter to make a mistake: there is only one person now in Athens of this latter description.

"I believe Mr. LUSIERI heard of our having gotten possession of the ground, while he was drawing the letters of his own inscription. He informs me that he shall certainly place his marble in the temple also; but I do not suppose that he will remove ours. It is placed exactly in the centre; as Mons. FAUVEL was careful to

have TWEDDELL's grave dug exactly there, in the hopes of finding some remains of THESEUS. It was placed there on the fifteenth of February, and finished on the twenty-second.

"I was obliged to engrave the name ΤΤΔΔΕΛΛ above your inscription; as during the last summer Mr. WATSON, a nephew of Mr. WILKIE of Malta, died in Athens and was buried by the side of his countryman. We have been for this last fortnight endeavoring to find a marble to place over his grave; and to-day we have succeeded, having had a repetition of the same trouble as before. The inscription which will be engraved on the marble is written by Lord BYRON.

Believe me, &c. &c.

**** *****."

The learned have looked with wearied expectation, and the friends of Mr. TWEDDELL with disappointed anxiety, to receive from the press some portion at least of the very large and choice materials which he had prepared for publication, both from his own pen, and from the pencil of an accomplished artist Mr. PRÉAUX,* acting under his immediate direction: these it may be presumed, coming from a traveller so accomplished and so indefatigable, must have shed new and extraordinary light on the antiquities of Greece, and more particularly on those of Athens; while the journals of his travels in some of the mountainous districts of Switzerland,† rarely, if ever before, visited, and in the Crimea on the borders of

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* For an account of Mr. PRÉAUX, see the *Correspondence*, letter LV.

† See *Appendix*, letter to ABR. MOORE Esq. (C.)

the Euxine, could not have failed to impart much novel information.*

* The same spirit of classical investigation and enterprise which prompted Mr. TWEDDELL to enter the field of grecian research, with an ardor to himself so fatal, has animated, and still continues to animate learned and ingenious men, particularly of our own nation. Hence there is collected such a store of various information relative to those interesting regions, that, from having been, possibly, the least known, they are likely to become the best ascertained and most illustrated of any adjacent countries to the east or west of the Adriatic sea.

Among the first of these our countrymen may be mentioned the Hon. FREDERIC NORTH, whose superior proficiency in literature, both ancient and modern, is scarcely, perhaps, the chief of his qualifications: intimate acquaintance with athenian ground, and habits of liberal association with the best-informed natives, have not only opened to him the amplest sources of local knowlege, but have conciliated the regard of that nation, and left an impression on their minds highly honorable to the british name.

From the laborious inquiry and discriminative judgment of Mr. HAWKINS, full and precise information may be expected, whenever he shall be prevailed upon to reveal the treasures of his experience, which a diffidence too great for the interests of learning has hitherto suppressed. How happily and successfully have those scenes and recollections "to taste and genius dear" been made tributary, by the vivid and powerful fancy of Lord BYRON's muse, to some of the finest poetry in the english language! Nor have the authors of "Horæ Ionicæ" and of "Greece" failed to catch much of the spirit of their subject, and to illustrate it with classic elegance and feeling.

To the indefatigable and judicious examinations of Sir WILLIAM GELL and the Dilettanti Society the public, already indebted in no small degree, still anxiously look for much curious discovery and geographical elucidation. By the copious and picturesque details of Dr. CLARKE and of Mr. HOBHOUSE, great light has been thrown on the present state of the Peninsula; the manners, government, and ceremonies of the modern greeks; and these again have just been succeeded by the modest narrative of the scientific and enlightened traveller Dr. HOLLAND, peculiarly descriptive of the capital of Albania, and of the court and policy of that extraordinary prince ALI PASHA.

The researches of Major LEAKE and his eminent skill in Romaïc literature and topographical survey, have been and will continue to be duly appreciated. Lastly, the

But it will be heard with equal regret and surprise that notwithstanding the most urgent and diligent endeavors made by Mr. TWEDDELL's friends—notwithstanding the arrival at Constantinople of his papers and effects from Athens, and the actual delivery of his swiss journals with sundry other manuscripts and above three hundred highly finished drawings, into the official custody of the Earl of ELGIN, then british ambassador at the othman court, it remains at this time a mystery, what is actually become of all the valuable manuscripts drawings and other property of an individual of the english nation, imperatively detained by the minister of that nation in a foreign land under the sacred pledge and responsibility of the public faith! Neither have all the investigations set on foot by his friends, nor the more recent representations* addressed to the noble lord himself, obtained any explicit or satisfactory elucidation of the strange and suspicious obscurity which hangs over all the circumstances of this questionable business!!

The Editor of this volume feels it right to observe that his motives in giviug it publicity originate in an affectionate respect for the memory of a brother, and in a natural solicitude to shew how copiously Mr. TWEDDELL had prepared the means of gratifying those just hopes which his academic attainments excited in the public mind; and with yet a further view to vindicate his surviving

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"*Memoirs of European and Asiatic Turkey*" about to be edited by Mr. WALPOLE from the manuscript journals of dsstinguished individuals, promise yet farther accessions to the harvest hitherto reaped from the rich and almost inexhaustible field of greciau antiquity, geography, and science. (ED.)

* See *Appendix*, letter to ABR. MOORE, Esq. (ED.)

relatives from any suspicion of having voluntarily withheld from the world any portion of the accumulated fruits of his labors.

On the whole, the Editor is not without hopes that in committing these Remains to the press he shall be considered as doing an act of justice to the character of a distinguished scholar; nor will his surviving friends and admirers be sorry to have an opportunity of once again contemplating the lively evidences of his superior mind, and a faithful picture of the warmth and excellence of his heart. Hitherto it may be they have chiefly looked at him under the character of a man of genius, and a proficient in scholastic learning; they may now view him in the confidence of private intercourse, unfolding the sentiments of a traveller, and the spontaneous feelings of a son and a friend, in the unreserved simplicity of truth and affection.

The candid reader will not fail to recollect, that the following letters were not meant for the public eye; that they were generally written in the greatest haste, and under circumstances the most unfavourable. Even had Mr. TWEDDELL allowed himself leisure for more full and elaborate compositions, it would have been hazardous to transmit important or particular intelligence, while the disturbed state of the continent prevented both facility and safety of communication. The author therefore contented himself with a correspondence general in its nature, and colloquial in its style; carefully and laboriously storing up in his journals the result of every day's research and information.

For himself too the Editor has to request the favourable allowance of the public, for having indulged his feelings of affection and gratified pride, by the insertion of one or two letters perhaps too exclusively and immediately personal.

Mr. TWEDDELL in his person was of the middle stature, of a handsome and well-proportioned figure. His eye was remarkably soft and intelligent. The profile or frontispiece to the volume gives a correct and lively representation of the original; though it is not in the power of any outline to shadow out the fine expression of his animated and interesting countenance. His address was polished, affable, and prepossessing in a high degree; and there was in his whole appearance an air of dignified benevolence, which pourtrayed at once the suavity of his nature and the independence of his mind. In conversation he had a talent so peculiarly his own, as to form a very distinguishing feature of his character. A chastised and ingenious wit which could seize on an incident in the happiest manner—a lively fancy which could clothe the choicest ideas in the best language—these, supported by large acquaintance with men and books, together with the farther advantages of a melodious voice and a playfulness of manner singularly sweet and engaging, rendered him the delight of every company: his power of attracting friendships was indeed remarkable; and in securing them he was equally happy. Accomplished and admired as he was, his modesty was conspicuous, and his whole deportment devoid of affectation or pretension. Qualified eminently to shine in society and actually sharing its applause, he found his chief enjoyment in the retired circle of select friends; in whose literary leisure, and in the amenities of female converse, which for him had the highest charms, he sought the purest and the most refined recreation. Of the purity of Mr. TWEDDELL'S principles, and the honorable independence of his character—of his elevated integrity, his love of truth, his generous, noble and affectionate spirit, the Editor might with justice say much; but the traces and proofs of these, dispersed throughout the annexed Correspondence, he cheerfully leaves to the notice and sympathy of the intelligent reader.

The Editor closes this brief and imperfect Memoir with two compositions equally worthy of the subject and of their author. The tenderness of sentiment, the purity of language, and the characteristic fidelity of description, will enable the reader of the foregoing pages to recognize the friendly and classical hand, to whom the Editor is happy to repeat his most sincere acknowledgments.

In memoriam
docti amabilis ornati juvenis
JOANNIS TWEDDELL
Athenis quas visebat nuper defuncti.

Si frons ingenua ac decens juventus,
Si quantum indolis ingenique rarum est,
Morbos flecteret improbumque Ditem;
Non me carmina mœsta postularet,
Qui nunc ante diem ad domum severam
It Tweddellius—unde nullus unquam
Rumor nulla fuga; at moratur ingens
Semper Nox ibi pallidusque Somnus—
Domum illi quoque, quam nimis, pataram.

Illum namque lyræ suæ scientem,
Cami propter aquas arundinosi,
Intonsas hedera comas revinxit;
Illi, si cui alii, sales Apollo
Et risus dedit et probis lepores
Auctos moribus; ut simul facetum
Fortemque et facilem ac merum pudorem
Laudarent alii, pares amarent.

Nec cum Fata dabant amariores
Curas volvere, patriæque sortem
Sævo in gurgite nantis, ille sacris,
Libertatis amore captus unus,
Vatum percius immolabat aris:
At priscæque novæque gratus idem
Cultor Palladis, elegantiores
Musæ sedulus advolabat hortos,
Libans omnia mella Gratiarum.
Et cum jam propius thymis Hymetti
Labra admoverat appetens, in ipso
Haustu frigida contrahuntur ora
Nec dulci spolio datur potiri.

Frustra Fama tuo, comes bonorum,
Serta laurea porrigit sepulchro;
Frustra, cara anima, heu memor tuorum
Manat lachryma! tu redire nescis,
Nec laus ulla dolorve tangit ultra.

At suum est quoque mortuis levamen:
Et tu, nulla licet tuos olcelos
Mater clauderet aut Soror soluta
Fleret fata coma; tamen profano
Clarus funere Barbarisque sanctus,
Thesei quicquid id est Domo recumbis:
Felix! si tibi forsan inter umbras
Persentiscere fas sit, ossa tecum
Illo marmore quanta conquiescant,
Tuæ te quoque quod tegant Athenæ!

ABR. MOORE. 1799.

What! tho' no parent's hand was nigh
With mournful care to close thine eye;
No sister soft to pour the tear,
Love's last least tribute, o'er thy bier;
Yet did barbarian kindness come
With pomp profane to grace thy tomb;
Her rude regrets her rites were thine;
And THESEUS' temple is thy shrine.
Blest! if thy shade where'er it be
Hath pow'r to feel hath leave to see
Hallow'd within that marble bound
Th' illustrious bones that crowd thee round;
That thine own Athens now contains
Mingled with theirs thy proud remains.

No monument is erected to display the virtues of JOHN TWEDDELL in his native land—but his name is recorded where his filial regard would most have wished it placed, on a family tablet in the parochial chapel of Haydon, in Northumberland, with the following simple but classical inscription by Dr. PARR:

M. S.
IN SEPULCRETO HUJUS ECCLESIAE CONDITORUM
FRANCISCI TWEDDELL QUI OB. PRIDIE ID. OCTOBR.
A D. M.D.CCC V AET. LXXV
ET JANAE TWEDDELL QUAE OB. XIII KAL. DECEMBR.
A D. M.D.CCC II. AET. LV
ITEM QUE JOANNIS TWEDDELL
FILII EORUM NATU MAXIMI
ET COLLEG. SACROSANC. TRINITAT.
APUD CANTABRIGIENSES SOCII
QUI ATHENIS OB. VIII. KAL. AUGUST.
A D. M.DCC.LXXXX IX AET. XXX.
ET IN TEMPLO THESEI IBIDEM SEPULTUS EST
H. T.
PARENTIUM ET FRATRIS CARISSIMORUM SUPERSTES
H.M.P.C.

POSTCRIPT.

It remains for the Editor to express his sincere acknowledgments to those gentlemen, who have in different ways kindly assisted in his undertaking.

Under this head he must, in the first instance, mention the Rev. and learned Dr. Parr; and the Editor feels happy in an opportunity of professing his respectful gratitude for the information and encouragement derived from a source so intimately associated with the most tender recollections; among which it is not the least interesting to consider the tutor, who nurtured the rising talents of the subject of this work, now joining to raise a monument to his departed virtues.

To Abraham Moore, Esq. of the Inner-Temple, and James Losh, Esq of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, two of the most intimate and highly-valued friends of his late brother, his best thanks are eminently due: to the former for the elegant contributions of his muse; and to the latter for his beneficial advice and important communications.

The name of the Rev. Dr. E. D. Clarke, Professor of Mineralogy in the University of Cambridge, by its frequent recurrence in the pages of this volume, abundantly attests the obligation of the Editor; indeed, he can never sufficiently acknowledge all he owes to the author of "*Travels in Greece, &c.*" for his feeling and honorable attentions to the memory of his brother.

JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, F.R.S. THOMAS BIGGE, Esq. ROBERT WARD, Esq. of London; and the Rev. CHARLES DIGBY, canon of Windsor, &c. will please to accept this imperfect assurance of the just sense which he entertains of their liberal courtesy in the communication of his brother's letters: he adds his thanks to Mr. SMYTHE specifically also for the presentation of the plans of Constantinople and Athens, and illustrative sketches which are not among the least ornamental appendages to this work.

The generous politeness of WILLIAM HAMILTON-NISBET, Esq. of Archerfield, Scotland, demonstrated by the contribution of certain drawings of oriental costume in his collection, for the embellishment of these "Remains" will be apparent to every discerning reader of the volume: it is duly appreciated by the Editor; and needs no comment.

The valuable resources which the Editor has derived throughout the whole of his task, from the friendship and learning of the Rev. H. VINCENT BAYLEY, sub-dean of Lincoln, demand his cordial thanks; and he records his obligation and sincere regard with feelings of grateful satisfaction.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

I.

To JAMES LOSH,* Esquire.

October 5th, 1795.

MY DEAR LOSH,

THOUGH I am fitter to go to bed than to sit up in my chamber writing to any one, yet, as I know you will be anxious to hear from me, and as a mail leaves Hamburg for England to-morrow, I will just tell you that I am arrived, and inquire after you. I hope you received the letter which I wrote from on board the Apollo, before we cleared the river; and in which I lamented the suddenness of my departure, occasioned by the haste and precipitation with which Wolff† concluded the bargain with our

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* James Losh, Esq. barrister-at-law, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, was a fellow-collegian of Mr. Tweddell, and next to his own family, enjoyed, perhaps, his most intimate friendship and society. The benevolent virtues of his character, and his many attainments, were the bonds of that friendship which so frequently and feelingly appears in the following pages. (Ed.)

† Mr. Jens Wolff, the danish consul:—a gentleman who has lately presented to the public a lively and elegant book, entitled:—*Sketches on a Tour to Copenhagen, through Norway and Sweden; interspersed with Historical and other Anecdotes of Public and Private Characters.* To which is added, an *Appendix, relative to the present political state of Norway.* This volume which contains a rapid account of the author's travels is inscribed to that ephemeral monarch, Christian Frederick,

danish captain on the Tuesday night, obliging us to depart early on the Thursday morning; I have left several things undone by this means which I ought to have done. We have had a most tedious and dismal passage: instead of five or six days we have been out *twelve*; during the first part of which we had the wind adverse, then tempestuous, then calm, and only one day directly in our favor. I found myself very well at first, but, during the rough weather, dreadfully sick; and I lay in bed three successive days in consequence. At last, on approaching the mouth of the river Elbe, the weather being both dark and the wind adverse, and ourselves weary of delay to the last degree—our fresh provisions also being long since exhausted, we hailed a little dutch fishing-smack, and agreed with the fishermen to take us to Hamburg, among other fish—but the same ill luck still pursuing us, and finding ourselves, contrary to expectation, at the end of *twenty-three hours more*, at a considerable distance from Hamburg upon the river, though not more than eleven or twelve miles by land, and, by reason of contrary wind and tide, not proceeding at the rate of a mile an hour, we determined to leave the servant in the fishing-smack, to take care of our luggage, and we ourselves were put on shore, to cross the country on foot through Holstein, according to such directions as our dutch patrons could make intelligible to us. *Enfin nous voici à Hambourg*—but the servant is not yet come, nor

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who for a little while contrived to fix the attention of Europe upon Norway, and, after making many vaunting declarations of his heroism and zeal, suddenly abandoned the throne when the Swedes passed the frontier of a kingdom to which he had an equivocal relation. But, though one neither can approve of the encomiums here paid to that prince, nor admire the spirit of Mr. WOLFF in imperiously pronouncing judgment against the amiable and unfortunate CAROLINE MATILDA of Denmark, it is but justice to say that this volume affords much curious historical information, many descriptive sketches, and some biographical notices, which are altogether new in this country. The ornamental illustrations of the book do great credit to the taste and liberality of the author, who certainly has not consulted pecuniary advantage in this publication of his travels.

do we expect him for some hours; we ourselves arrived at two o'clock. I am tolerably well, not very. I have been much *emuyé* by the unpleasant and tedious scenes I have lately undergone—and want to be a little recruited. I hope very soon to indemnify myself for a part of my fatigues, by a night's rest—among which fatigues the last is not the least, *that* of sitting up all night in the luxurious retirement of a fishing-smack. You must now permit me to say "good night." You will easily conceive that I need some repose. God bless you, my dear Losh. Let me hear often from you—and tell me, what I have no doubt you ought to tell me, if you tell me true, that you are in reality much better, and in imagination not worse. Remember me to all your family, and

Believe me to be,

Ever very sincerely,

Your affectionate Friend,

F. Tweddell

II.

To FRANCIS TWEDDELL, Esquire.

Hamburg, 13th October, 1795.

MY DEAR FATHER,

Since I have been at this place, I have found reason to alter the general scheme of my residence in Germany, and to divide my time in this country according to other proportions. I am told here, both by ministers of different countries, and by persons who have lately travelled through the more distant parts of Germany, that Vienna, which sometime ago was one of the best and pleasantest places to reside in, is in many respects changed since the

present war; and that at this time it is a good deal deserted, and rendered thereby much less worthy to be the residence of a person who, among other advantages of travelling, wishes to convert society to his profit. It has assumed a much more *sombre* and less inviting aspect. I will, therefore, tell you how my arrangements are altered. At all events I found that my friend, Mr. WEBB, wished to pass more hastily through the country than suited me, even if Vienna had continued to be the object of my longest residence. Upon comparing, therefore, yesterday, the different objects of our tour, and the different lengths of time which we are likely to be absent from England, we thought it best, for our mutual benefit, to separate at once, and to pursue our plans according to our several views, since they seemed so materially to interfere with each other. He will, therefore, leave Hamburg to-morrow, and me behind him. Just as Mr. WEBB was taking his departure, I was fortunate enough to meet with an Italian servant, who had formerly travelled with LAMBTON and WHITBREAD, and was well recommended to me.

Many motives have determined me to this step, and convince me that it is the best plan I could pursue. By means of a letter which I brought to the Comtesse* DE FLAHAUT, who is settled

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* Author of *Adèle de Senange* (vide page 49). This lady emigrated to England about the time that Mons. TALLEYRAND accompanied CHAUVELIN to this country; and when they were ordered to withdraw, the late Mr. WINDHAM'S influence obtained an exception in favor of the fair refugee, Mad. DE FLAHAUT has since married Mons. DE SOUZA, formerly minister from the Court of Portugal to that of Sweden. In the public news of the month of January last, it is said, that among the persons implicated in the illicit correspondence of General EXCELMANS, was Mr. DE FLAHAUT, a son of this lady. This Mr. DE FLAHAUT belongs to the *ci-devant* Prince of BENEVENTO; and was one of BUONAPARTE'S *aides-de-camp*. He was greatly in favour with BUONAPARTE; and if his master had not fallen, he would have had a very brilliant fortune. *Hinc prima mali labes.* Mr. DE FLAHAUT has succeeded Mr. D' EXCELMANS as the subject of angry commentary on the measures pursued by the court. (ED.)

here, I find myself in very excellent society, and thoroughly established in it. She herself was described to me as one of the most amiable women in the world—and she appears most perfectly to answer the description. She was always reckoned in France among the *savantes*, and is authoress of two very ingenious books. Her civilities to me have been very great, as she has sacrificed the greater part of her time, since I came, either in having parties at her own house, or by introducing me to others. The Princess De Vaudemont,* of the House of Lorraine, is resident also a mile from this place, and Madame De la Rochefoucault; from both of whom I have received great attentions, and visit them whenever I please. Mr. De Souza,† the portuguese minister, has received permission from his court to spend the winter here, and we have been very much together.

From the mention of these persons you will perceive the nature of the society I frequent—though I have been introduced to many others whom I don't mention; and I more particularly state this, as it is connected with one principal object of my determination to spend at this place about six weeks or two months. At present, though I can express myself in French very tolerably, yet I cannot with much accuracy or perfect ease. I shall, therefore, take the best master for an hour every morning; and every evening be in some part of the society which I have mentioned, where I shall hear the very best pronunciation from those persons who lately composed the first society at Paris. By this means one object will be

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* The Vaudemont and Lambesc branches of the House of Lorraine emigrated from France in 1789. Francis, son of Leopold, duke of Lorraine, having married Maria-Theresa, only daughter of Charles VII. succeeded to the austrian dominions, and in 1745 was elected emperor. His descendants are the reigning family. (Ed.)

† For a more particular account of this gentleman, see Letters iii, and xvii.

entirely effected, that of being able, when I go to Berlin, Dresden, and Vienna, to speak at those places a language which they prefer to their own, when spoken with accuracy and correctness—exclusively of the advantages inseparable from a familiar access to so polished and pleasant a society. The second object which I have in view, by staying so long in Germany, is, to learn the language; the knowledge of which being possessed by very few, has sometimes been to those few of incalculable service in many ways, independently of the more obvious and necessary advantages resulting from the acquisition of a language, which, from its affinities with the original of our own, a scholar would wish to understand. Now, the German, I always knew, is ill taught at Vienna, on account of the court preferring the french language; Dresden is the best place for it. I shall, therefore, acquire the elements of it here, and continue the study of it when I arrive at Dresden; where I may, probably, stay six weeks, as it is a place of great note, and worthy of great attention. Being very particularly recommended to our english Resident at that place, Mr. Elliott, I hope to profit by his attentions. In general, it is remarked, that the present set of english ambassadors throughout the continent, are rather inattentive to every thing but their own immediate advantage—that they are intent upon amassing fortunes, and neglect that hospitality which it is meant that they should bestow, in their character of representatives of the english court. It is, therefore, thought much better to procure, when it is possible, introductions to other ambassadors, so far as your object is the civility to be received from them. I have letters to Sir Morton Eden, at Vienna—but, in addition to these, I have very good introductions to the swedish, portuguese, and sardinian ministers; and the Princess De Vaudemont, and the Comtesse De Flahaut, promise me very flattering introductions, both to the House of Lorraine in Germany, and throughout Switzerland and

Italy, in addition to all those which I brought with me from England: so that I think there will hardly be a town or village which lies in my route, where I shall not find a pleasant reception. I am told that the german language is very difficult to acquire with any degree of purity: I hope, however, to surmount that difficulty, as I shall regularly rise at six o'clock in the morning; and, as in *sights* there is next to nothing to be seen at Hamburg, I shall study very closely the greater part of it. In the evening I shall regularly go into society. There is a french *comédie* here five times a week, and a german one four times; and, though I feel that I have lost great part of my relish for these amusements, yet, for the sake of the utility, I shall occasionally go to them.

This being, more especially at present, one of the first commercial towns in the world, you may be assured that I shall not neglect to acquire a knowledge of its trade, and the conduct of its commerce—and for these purposes I have here also some acquaintances of another sort, whom I find very obliging and intelligent persons. Mr. BOULTON,* of Birmingham, a name

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* MATTHEW BOULTON, Esq. Fellow of the Royal Society of London, Edinburgh, &c. was born at BIRMINGHAM, 14th Sept. 1728, and died August 1809. His celebrated skill in the science and practice of mechanics, renders it superfluous to do more than make allusion to the fact. Of his character in private life, a friend, writing to the Editor, and who was well acquainted with Mr. BOULTON, remarks, "with the habits of a man of business, he united also the manners of an accomplished gentleman, and his extensive stores of information were poured out in conversation with a liveliness of manner, and animation of countenance, that rendered his society quite delightful: besides a large share of talent in himself, he had the happy art of discovering talent in others, and of rendering it subservient to the great purpose of his life, the improvement of an important branch of our national manufactures." An imperfect memoir of this great man in the *Monthly Mag.* for 1809, (Part. ii. p. 328) says very justly, "his memory will ever remain dear to the British nation, whose glory was advanced in proportion to his own fame." It is seriously

which I find much respected for the fame of his manufactures, wrote very pressing letters in my behalf to different persons here, conversant in these concerns, desiring them to give me every information by which I could profit; and they have promised that they will instruct me upon these subjects to the best of their power. On all these accounts I persuade myself, that you will think I have acted wisely in remaining here for some little time, rather than in measuring my steps according to the precipitate motions of my fellow-traveller.

KLOPSTOCK,* the celebrated author of the *Messiah*, the first

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to be lamented that Mr. BOULTON should be without a biographer worthy to record his merits—and this, too, in a commercial country, and which owes so much of the perfection of its manufactures to his unrivalled abilities and exertions! Such a neglect is surely not *honorable*.—(ED.)

* KLOPSTOCK died in 1803. MANGOURIT, styled a diplomatic agent of the Philotechnic Society of Paris, who visited Hamburg in 1803-4, says, concerning this great name:—"KLOPSTOCK died at Hamburg a few months since. All the members of the Senate, and the most distinguished citizens, assisted at his funeral. It cannot fail to produce a beneficial effect on the minds of the multitude, to witness such marked respect paid to the memory of individuals who have merited distinction, not by martial achievements, but by sublime productions calculated to dry the tears which ambition has caused to flow. German poesy has been greatly enriched by the works of the illustrious KLOPSTOCK; many of which are translated into the different european languages. What astonishment must it not produce to behold the respect paid by the citizens of a commercial republic to the memory of a poet so justly celebrated?" Madame DE STAEL, adverting to the same topic, says, "*Ceux qui ont connu* KLOPSTOCK, *le respectent autant qu'ils l'admirent. La religion, la liberté, l'amour, ont occupé toutes ses pensées; il professa la religion par l'accomplissement de tous ses devoirs; il abdiqua la cause même de la liberté, quand le sang innocent l'eut souillée, et la fidélité consacra les attachements de son cœur. Jamais il ne s'appuya de son imagination pour justifier aucun écart: elle exaltoit son ame sans l'égarer. Ce même chant de la mort de Marie fut lu à la cérémonie funèbre de l'enterrement de* KLOPSTOCK. *Le poëte étoit vieux quand il cessa de vivre; mais l'homme vertueux saisissoit*

poem in the german language, is now here; and I am promised to be introduced to him by Madame De Flahaut—who has also engaged to take me some morning to call on Madame De Genlis.* I am obliged to conclude this letter, as it is near the time when the packet is closed. I shall be sincerely rejoiced to have a letter from you—and shall look for it, 'till it arrives, with great anxiety. I am not at all superstitious, and therefore I mention this circumstance merely as a fact—that every night, since I arrived here, I have been awakened by frightful dreams about the illness either of one of my friends or of my family; I do not of course believe in any thing serious on that account; but yet, I know not why, it certainly renders me much more anxious to hear from them.

Believe me to be, my dear father,

Your very dutiful and affectionate Son,

J. T.

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déjà les palmes immortelles qui rajeunissent et fleurissent sur les tombeaux. Tous les habitans de Hambourg rendirent au patriarche de la littérature les honneurs qu'on n'accorde guère ailleurs qu' au rang ou au pouvoir, et les manes de Klopstock *reçurent la recompense que méritoit sa belle vie."—Allemagne,* Part ii. Vol. i. pp. 235 et 237, Londres, 1813.

* Genlis.—Mr. Clement used to say of Madame De Genlis, "I hate wit in women, unless it be the sallies of youthful candor and innocence, because wit in its regular acceptation always seems to detract something from the amiability of youth: but I forgive it in women with a long nose, because they never have a youthful air at all." Amongst numerous other works, for the most part well known to men of letters, Madame De Genlis is the author of a tale somewhat in the style of Marmontel, entituled, *Les Amants sans Amours*; of which the moral may be collected from the motto prefixed, from De la Rochefoucault's maxims—"There are persons who would never have fallen in love, if they had never heard love spoken of." (See *Ambigu*, vii. 303. London, 1804.) In the same miscellany there is another tale attributed to this lady, entituled, *Oalidor and Mulcé, (ibid.* 379); also a *Dialogue between a learned Lady and her Physician (ibid.* 525). See a Letter to Madame de Genlis. *ibid.* 531.—(Ed.)

III.

To Mrs. TWEDDELL.

HAMBURG, Oct. 19, 1795.

MY DEAR MOTHER,

I HAVE seen other additional reasons since my last letter, which convince me that I have determined advantageously, in making an alteration in the plan of my arrangements, with the view of residing in Hamburg for some time to come. I came into lodgings last Friday; they are very difficult to procure, from the immense influx of strangers of all countries to this place. At length, the portuguese minister, Mons. DE SOUZA, having heard of a set, vacant in his neighbourhood, sent his servant and secured them for me. I pay one-and-twenty rix-dollars a month for them—which is a guinea per week. I have three rooms—a very good and large sitting room—a bed-room adjoining, and a servant's room above. They are cheap, as things go at Hamburg, where living is just about the same rate as in London. Almost all the necessaries of life are raised 25 per cent. by this war, and by the influx of foreigners—of whom the lowest estimate is 30,000. Since I came into lodgings, I have risen, as I always intended, at 6 o'clock—and have read two hours and a half before breakfast. To day I commenced anew with a french master, recommended to me by the Comtesse DE FLAHAUT, as a man of much science and skill; that occupies me from nine to ten. On Wednesday, I commence German, which will fill up the time between ten and

twelve. I then shall have a master to give me a few lessons in sketching, also recommended to me by Madame De Flahaut. I have long wished to be able to take the face of a country or any particular spot, which pleased me—and this more especially now, when the prospect of Switzerland is before me. I shall spend in this manner from twelve to one o'clock. Between that and dinner-time I devote to exercise, or making visits, &c. and the afternoon, most frequently, to society. Whenever it happens that I am not engaged in the evening—which is very seldom, I have at my command the library of the swedish minister, a very polite and most obliging man, which is well stocked with books in all languages, and upon most subjects—particularly those which Lord Chesterfield more especially recommends to be read during a residence in Germany. Mr. De Souza also has furnished me with several books in this way—on the general history of the Empire, and the laws of nations, also on the concerns of the respective electorates, principalities, &c., and the negotiations in Europe during this last century. You see that my time is fully employed—and, I hope, very profitably: the surest promise of its continuing to be so, is, that I am never comfortable when it is not.—I cannot at this time spare another hour in the morning for fencing, as my father desired, and as I wished; but when I arrive at Dresden, where there are better *maîtres d'armes* than here, and more especially at Vienna, he may depend upon my applying to it. I think my father will agree, that I ought to acquire a complete knowledge of the Germanic Body, upon entering Germany; as it will furnish me with matter all the way through it—and that I should not on any account trench in upon that study which engages my first hours upon rising, nor upon the language of the country, which it will require all my industry to learn before I leave it. You are now *au fait* of all my plans—and I must be thinking of drawing this letter to a

conclusion. I understand that the last packet but one from England has been taken by the French; I am afraid my friend Mr. HAYES was in it. Good night, my dear mother, and believe me to be, with the greatest truth,

Your dutiful and ever most affectionate Son,

J. J.

IV.

THE HON. STEPHEN DIGBY.*

HAMBURG, Hotel de Londres, 8 Janvier, 1796.

MON CHER MONS. D——

VOILA nôtre départ encore retardé! A présent nous ne partons que Mardi. C'est justement la cinquième fois que Mde. DE FLAHAUT nous a priés, selon l'expression de sa politesse, de lui accorder un autre jour, et d'accepter encore un engagement. Nous dinons demain chez la Princesse pour la dernière fois—et après demain nous commençons absolument notre voyages. Mais si nous avons perdu nôtre réputation pour la conséquence et

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* Mr. DIGBY died in May, 1800, to the deep regret of all who knew him. He was Deputy-Ranger of Richmond Park, a place in the gift of the King, by whose confidence and friendship, as well as by that of her Majesty, he had been honored beyond most others, for many years. He was also Master of St. Catharine's Hospital, near the Tower, an appointment in the gift of the Queen. The accomplishments and the virtues of Mr. DIGBY were of the highest order. (ED.)

pour la decision, on doit au moins se rappeler à nôtre justification, combien il est impossible de rien refuser à une femme si belle et si aimable. Moyennant cela, Charles aura resté ici plus de trois semaines. Ce nouveau délai me permet encore de vous avertir, que j'ai confié ce matin à un anglois qui part d'ici pour l'Angleterre dans peu de jours, deux petits paquets de livres à vôtre adresse chez Sir R. GUNNING. Je vous prie d'en avoir soin jusqu' à mon retour: après tout je sens quelques légers regrets en quittant un endroit ou j'ai trouvé tant d'agrémens. Pendant trois mois que j'ai demeuré ici, tous ceux que j'ai eu le bonheur de connôitre, surtout Mad. DE FLAHAUT & Mad. DE VAUDEMONT, m' ont comblé d'honnétetés qu' assurement je ne pourrai jamais oublier. Pour les habitans de la ville, je ne leur dois rien. Les Hambourgeois sont une sorte de gens, qui n'ont pas oublié la politesse, parcequ' ils ne l'ont jamais connué. Ils entendent bien le cours du change, le *banco*, les usances, et l' *agio*. Voilà tout. Mais en employant le mot *agio*, je veux l'employer selon la définition de VOLTAIRE. Il dit, si je me le rappelle bien, dans son *Encyclopédie*, que le mot *agio* est dérivé de l' Italien, et que sa première signification est assistance, ou aide: à présent, ajoute-t-il, il signifie exclusivement l'aide que nous prêtent les banquiers pour nous défaire de nôtre argent. Nul Hambourgeois n'a lu VOLTAIRE, quique les plus savants d'entre eux en ayent entendu parler. Cependant, je vous assure, que non seulement les banquiers, mais toute la ville entend ce mot là dans le sens susdit. D'apres ce que j'ai raconté du sujet de ce peuple, vous imaginerez aisément que j'ai vécu presqu' entièrement avec des etrangers. Cette ville en contient plusieurs mille, rassemblés de tous côtes, et l'on trouve parmi eux des caracteres très intéressants. Le Général DUMOURIER* est à environ deux lieues de cette ville. J'ai eu

* The Comte de PUISAYE, in his *Memoirs*, has the following note,—"Le Général

des entretiens avec lui. Mais jamais je n'ai employé autant de mystere, que j'en ai usé pour arriver à ce but. Tout le monde le cherche, connoissant bien qu'il est dans le voisinage: mais personne à ce que je sache, n'a encore decouvert le lieu de sa retraite, à ceux la près qui y ont été menés par un de ses amis. Il faut bien qu'il demeure caché, car ce gouvernement voudroit le chasser; les aristocrates* voudroient le punir de ses victoires, les démocrates de sa desertion. Mais il est bien gai, et ne craint rien. Je viens de diner chez lui. Il m'a raconté de drôles d'aventures qui lui arrivèrent pendant ses differentes fuites. On dit que BARRERE est à Hamburg. Si cela est vrai, assurément il se cache avec

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DUMOURIER. Mon jugement à son égard, sera d'autant plus impartial, que j'ai été loin d'être le partisan des mesures qui ont paru l'avoir porté d'abord, à la tête des affaires, et ensuite à celles des armées. Mais toute opinion de parti mise de côté, on ne peut pas refuser de convenir que sa conduite militaire, et ses écrits, n'ayent manifesté l'homme de beaucoup d'esprit et de talens superieurs. Son plan, pour renverser la convention, et pour sauver France et l'Europe, étoit parfaitement calculé; et quoiqu' il ait échoué dans une partie de l'exécution, il en avoit assez fait pour obtenir la fin qu'il se proposoit. Sa part a été remplie: mais ceux qui avoient un intérêt si pressant de la seconder, n'ont pas fait la leur—" (ED.) (See *Memoires du Comte Joseph de* PUISAYE, *Lieut.-Général*, &c. &c. à Londres, 1803. Tom. I. p. 293.

* ARISTOCRATE. Mr. BERTRAND de MOLEVILLE gives us the following curious anecdote—" Un cordonnier, bon royaliste, à qui je demandois ce que c'étoit qu'un *aristocrate*, me repondit *que c'etoit un homme qui n'aimoit pas notre bon roi*. Un autre artisan, homme très-religieux, à qui je fis la même question, me dit qu' *un aristocrate ne croyoit pas en Dieu*. Un troisième, *que les aristocrates etoient des diables d'enfer, qui vouloient que le pauvre people mourût de faim*." In such way did the artful leaders of the french revolution practise upon the ignorance of the lower classes, and by affixing an odious signification to certain names, make them the watch-words of insurrection and bloodshed. Take another singular instance of this (from the same author)—" Le peuple de Paris etoit convaincu que le *veto* etoit un impôt; on en avoit une idée bien plus terrible dans les campagnes. " Sais-tu ce qui c'est que *veto*? disoit un bon paysan à son comarade. Non.—Eh bien! tu as ton écuelle *remplie de soupe*; le roi te dit: *repands ta soupe*, et il faut que tu la repandes; voilà ce que c'est." (ED.)

beaucoup de soin, car personne ne l'a encore vu. Pour moi, je n'en crois rien. On a ecrit d'Espagne à un de mes amis, qu'on l'attend dans ce pays là à tout moment. Il y arrivera sain & sauf malgrè les vents et les tempêtes. Il n'est pas né pour se noyer. Le Comte DE RIVAROL* et l'Abbé DE MONTESQUIOU, deux des plus beaux esprits de Paris, sont ici. Le Duc D'AIGUILLON l'est aussi, et beaucoup d'autres constitutionels. Avez vous lu encore le dernier roman de Mad. DE GENLIS? Il s'appelle *Les Chevaliers du Cygne*—En vérité je trouve que ses cygnes sont des oies. Elle demeure tout près de Hamburg. Depuis quelques jours j'ai fait connoissance avec KLOPSTOCK. Il est un tres bon vieillard, mais un peu trop vieillard pour qu'on puisse deviner en lui l'auteur de *La Messiade*.

J'ai recu les details suivants de ce qui est arrivé au jeune Duc D'ORLEANS.† Ils peuvent vous interesser. Ils m'ont été communiqués par une personne qui est trop étroitement liée avec lui pour être trompée elle-même, et qui est trop bonne & trop sincere, pour qu'elle sache tromper les autres. Aussi vous pouvez compter sur la vérité du récit. Lorsqu' apres avoir *éprouvé* un decret d'arrestation, le jeune Duc D'O. se decida à passer hors de France, ce ne fut jamais avec l'intention de porter les armes contre sa patrie; et

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* RIVAROL.—Died in 1801. He possessed, in an eminent degree, wit and imagination, but was deficient in delicacy and taste. The Abbé ARNAUD possessed, in an equal degree, brilliant wit and lively fancy, united to an exquisite taste, but this appeared less in his writings than in his discourse; so that it was said of these two, that RIVAROL wrote as one would wish to speak, and ARNAUD spoke as one would write. RIVAROL used to say of GARAT, that his phrases were of a length to reduce an asthmatic patient to despair. (ED.)

† LOUIS-PHILIP, Duke of ORLEANS. Born 1773; married MARIA-AMELIA, daughter of FERDINAND IV. King of the TWO SICILIES, 1809. A highly accomplished prince.

meme lorsque l'Archduc CHARLES,* lui offrit d'entrer au service de Empereur avec les honneurs dûs à son rang, le grade, et les appointemens de lieutenant-général, il s'y refusa, ne resta à Mons que le tems d'avoir un passeport (environ 24 heures), et partit pour la Suisse avec à peu près cent louis, qui etoit tout ce qu'il possédoit. Dès qu'il fut arrivé en Suisse les aristocrates l'y persecuterent; sachant aussi que ROBESPIERRE† vouloit rendre sa famille responsable de son émigration, il resolut de disparôitre si parfaitement, qu'on put croire en France, qu'il n'existoit plus. Il se retira donc dans les montagnes les plus elevès de la Suisse. N'osant point aller dans les endroits frequentès par les curieux, il a fait un voyage d'autant plus interressant, qu'il avoit necessairement pour but les lieux les moins connus. Comme il avoit laissé à sa sœur le peu d'argent qui lui restoit, c'est au milieu des plus grandes privations qu'il à passé quatre mois. Les grand jours, les jours des

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* CHARLES. Next brother but one to the Emperor FRANCIS of AUSTRIA. Born 1771.

† MAXIMILIAN ROBESPIERRE.—Born at Arras, in Picardy. In the blood-stained annals of the french revolution his name has a pre-eminence which is execrable and tremendous. As Director of the Committee of Public Safety, his denunciations from the tribunal were to such an extent, that the multitude of his victims, together with the undistinguishing range of his malignity, spread universal terror not only in the city of Paris, but throughout all the provinces. When, at length, public vengeance overtook this wretch, the populace ordered the carriage, which was conducting him to execution, to stop opposite to his house, and, a woman dancing before it, uttered this exclamation—"*Ta mort m'enivre de joie! descend aux enfers avec les maledictions de touts les épouses, et de toutes les méres.*" He surrendered his guilty life at the age of 35. His epitaph was thus imagined:

Passant, ne pleure point son sort;
Car s'il vivoit, tu serois mort.

See "*Memoires de Marie Antoinette,* par JOSEPH WEBER, Loudres, 1806—notes biographiques. (ED.)

fêtes, il depensoit 30 sols pour son gîte, sa nourriture, et celle d'un ancien valet, qui n'avoit point voulu le quitter. Celui ne possedant plus qu'un louis, il fut obligé de se separer de ce dernier serviteur, de cette derniere consolation : et ayant appris qu'il vaquoit une place de professeur de géométrie, dans un college des Grisons, il fut s'y presenter. Il y resta six mois, sans que personne sut qui il etoit, se faisant si bien chérir par les ecoliers, respecter par les maîtres, qu'un des Messrs. De Salis,* qui l'avoit persecuté comme Duc D'O. frappé de la sagesse et du merite du jeune professeur, lui fit proposer d'être précepteur de ses enfans. Le jeune Duc D'O. s'y refusa, resta dans son collège à montrer la géométrie en allemand, et ce ne fut qu'après la mort de Robespierre, que ne craignant plus pour sa mère et ses frères, il sortit de sa retraite, reclama l'attachement de quelques amis, et depuis il a toujours veçu dans une petite ville de Suisse avec la même simplicité, et aussi inconnu. Dans ce moment il est decidé à aller dans l'Amerique Septentrionale jouir de la liberté pour laquelle il a tant souffert. C'est là, c'est au milieu des forêts, qu'il achevera une éducation que le malheur a si bien commencé. Je ne doute point qu'il n'y déploie encore ce courage simple et grand, qui l'a toujours rendu superieur à le bonne et à la mauvaise fortune. C'est avec la même pureté des mœurs, la même grandeur d'ame, qu'on l'a vu, Prince à 16 ans sans orgueil ; Général d'armée à 17, raillant trois fois les troupes à Gemappe ; professeur de géométrie à 20, comme s'il eut

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* De Salis—a well-known family of great distinction in Switzerland. These gentlemen founded an academy at their own expense in the Grisons : the place of its establishment was the ancient castle of *Haldestein*. This seminary flourished for a short time, but owing to dissentions among the professors, and the discountenance of literature in the country where it was situated, it declined, and has now been many years dissolved. Count De Salis, a member of this family, was formerly British Envoy to the Grisons. (Ed.) (See *Coxe's Switzerland*, III. 195.)

consacré de longues années à l'etude des sciences; et partout, dans toutes les circonstances, comme s'il fut né pour l'etat qu'il remplissoit. Enfin, je ne puis mieux peindre la force et en même tems la modération de son caractère, qu'en vous donnant copie d'une lettre, qu'il écrivoit l'autre jour à un Americain qui lui avoit proposé des terres incultes à défricher; "Je suis tres disposé à travailler pour m'acquerir l' independence; le malheur m'a frappé, mais, graces à Dieu, ne m'a pas abattu, trop heureux dans mes revers, que ma jeunesse m'ait empêche de contracter des habitudes difficiles à rompre, et que la fortune m'ait été ôté avant que j'ai pu en user ni en abuser." Dites-moi, qu'en pensez vous.

Cette ville ne renferme presque rien d'interessant à voir. Elle est dans une tres mauvaise situation, dans un climat affreux. Les raffineries de sucre sont curieuses. On vend le sucre raffiné à meilleur marché ici que partout ailleurs, quoiqu'on n'ait pas de colonies. D'autres pays ont taché de trouver ce secret, sans y reussir. Moi, je crois, que tout le secret consiste dans la nature de l'eau, qui raffine plus rapidement et plus purement que l'eau des autres pays. C'est sans doute pour la même raison que le *porter* Anglois est meilleur à Londres que dans les provinces. Les establissemens pour les pauvres & les orphelins sont ici très bien réglés. Les greniers de la ville sont tres grands et tres bien bâtis. Ils conservent le grain plusieurs années.

J'ai fait beaucoup de progres dans la langue Allemande. Cependant l'homme qui me l'a ensignée, et qu'on a appellé par derision *maître* de langues, quel homme, grands Dieux! Figurez vous une lourde bête ayant six pieds de long, portant en guise de perruque une demi douzaine de gros canons chargés de poudre ou de farine. Elle ne parle point, mais elle repète perpétuelle-

ment *ja* et *nien*, deux sons qui paroissent lui être favoris. Cet être bizarre fut jetté dans le monde pour y fumer, y sentir le tabac, et pour y faire bâiller les honnêtes gens. Il remplit sa destinée à merveille. Il a mis dans sa tête tout nouvellement d'avoir un cabinet de curiosités, ou il arrange avec une précision admirable tout ce qu'il peut ramasser de pierres et de métaux, dérobés aux anciennes masures. Cependant on feroit une grande injustice à ce superbe etalage de décombres precieux, si on vouloit le montrer pendant l'absence du mâitre—car assurément la plus grande curiosité c'est lui-meme. Je lis à present *Les Douleurs du jeune Werther* dans l'original. Ce livre me paroit très bien écrit, et fort au dessus de la traduction Angloise. Une dame de mes amis, qui est ici, connoit bien la heroine de la piece. Elle demeure près de Manheim. Elle n'est pas jolie, elle ne paroit même pas l'avoir été, au moins assez pour porter les gens à se tuer.

Un homme qui a de grands talens pour les sottises de toute espèce, et qui est maintenant à Hambourg, ecrivit l'autre jour en France à sa municipalité. Sa lettre et la réponse sont toutes deux si plaisantes, que je vous les remets. Il commence en vedette:—

COQUINS,

Je vous fais l'honneur de vous écrire, pour savoir ce que sont devenues mes terres? en quel etat est mon château? comment se porte ma famille? et si l'on a respecté mes titres et mes armoiries?

(Signé) *Le Marquis De Rochaimont.*

Voici la réponse, commençant aussi en vedette,

MONSIEUR LE MARQUIS,

Vos terres sont vendues ; votre chateau est demoli ; votre famille se porte bien ; et nous vous prions de ne plus vous servir du titre de Marquis qui n'est pas d'usage en France.

Adieu, mon ami. Croyez que je suis, &c. &c.

J. T.

V.

To *Mrs. WARD.

HAMBURG, *Hotel de Londres*, Dec. 27, 1795.

MY DEAR MRS. W——

YOUR letter gave me very great pleasure—in proportion as your long silence had given me concern. Not that I imagined that you had either forgotten or neglected me—your kindnesses, when you knew me less, would not allow me to imagine, that you would be inclined to discontinue them in proportion as you became better acquainted with me, and with my regard for you. But I feared that you were not well—and I assure you that that fear gave me great pain. I entreat you, therefore, do not allow me to form any such idea again—but write constantly, and talk much

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* Mrs. WARD, of Gower-street London, and afterwards of *Golden Hill*, near *Hampstead*, died several years since. She was a lady, who, to a sound judgment and a vigorous understanding united most amiable manners. In the society of Mr. and Mrs WARD, Mr. J. TWEDDELL spent many of his leisure hours. (ED.)

about yourself and whatever interests you. The news of the day, whether consisting of politics, births, burials, or scandal, is equally well received through those channels, which are not formed to convey the sentiments of friendship. Politics, to be sure, are become very interesting—scandal has charms—they say—but they never captivated me, and you are not better calculated to retail than I to relish them.—From births I have nothing to hope, as we do not form attachments, where there is a great disparity of ages; and from burials I have every thing to fear, as the few persons who are worthy of our affection are sure to be torn from us one by one. With marriages, the remaining topic of general news, I have no concern—only this I know, that for the most part they are ill-assorted; and that those which promise happiness are generally broken, together with the hearts of those whose hopes are disappointed.

I have been delayed here from time to time by one or other circumstance, much longer than I expected; but I shall certainly go to Berlin in three days from the date of this. I have lodgings there at present; Lord ELGIN, who passed through Hamburg the other day, on his embassy thither, promised to engage some for me—as the town is now very full on account of the Carnival. This is Sunday, my dear Mrs. W——, and I have just returned from a stupid party to write to a friend of mine, at whose house I used to spend that day in a very different manner. I assure you I look back upon many of the days spent in those conversations, as some of the pleasantest of my life. God knows whether they will ever be renewed—I should be excessively afflicted to believe that they would not—but yet it must be a long time—very long. ——Some of my recollections, as you know, are of the painful sort. I, however, do every thing in the world to give myself spirits. I employ all my mornings, and go every evening into

company—But I am not always the same. Madame De Flahaut, whom I think I mentioned to you in a former letter as a very amiable and accomplished woman, to whom I have been under very many obligations since my arrival here, says in a letter which she has given me to the Marquise De Nadaillac,* her niece, at Berlin,—"et par dessus le marché il est un peu mélancolique. Je l'ai assuré que si ses chagrins venoient de quelques souvenirs heureux, ou trop infortunés, mais chers encore, vôtre amabilité lui feroit oublier toutes les femmes de son pays."——— You see, that I write to you in the old style—still talking of myself and my anxieties—but you are used to it, and are perhaps reconciled to it upon the same principle as the man who takes lodgings over a tinman's shop is reconciled in a little time to the noise of the hammers. I shall scold you severely, if you are not more punctual in acknowledging the dates and number of my letters. I have written to you four or five times since I left England. After such a statement of debtor and creditor, do you take me to be rich enough in generosity to forgive you the balance in my favour? Presume not on my forbearance in future. If I cannot write to thank you for your letters, I will write to abuse you for not writing—for still I shall find some pretence for writing, if it be only to repeat, what you know already, that

I am, &c. &c.

J. T.

Tell Ward that I shall be obliged to send him a cartel on my return, if he persists to take from me one of my greatest merits,

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* See Letter IX.

that of converting the little room into a library. This is an absolute robbery—a stealth of my brain—a plunder of my ingenuity. Do not suffer it—My rights are endangered, and I return you for my advocate—Can I lose my cause? I am sorry you have lost the "*Homme de Qualité.*" Let me desire you to buy a little novel which my friend Madame DE FLAHAUT published in England—It is called *"*Adèle de Senange*," and is sold at EDWARDS's. Tell me what you think of it. She has written another, which I have seen in manuscript, but it will not be published for some time to come.

VI.

To FRANCIS TWEDDELL, Esq.

BERLIN, Jan. 23, 1796.

MY DEAR FATHER,

YOU will receive a letter which I wrote to you on the day of my arrival here, before this reaches you.——Only three weeks of the Carnival remain; or rather only a fortnight, I believe. This will quite content me, for I do not like the tumultuous bustle which attends this merry meeting. We have received every possible attention from my Lord ELGIN, with whom generally we dine, when he or ourselves have no other engagement. We

* See Letter II.

went on Wednesday evening to the Prince Royal's, where we were presented to all the royal family. There was less ceremony than I expected. The King * conversed with me about ten minutes upon the natural objects of travelling, and enquired particularly about the estimation in which BRUCE† was generally held in England. The two Princesses (that is, the daughters-in-law of the king) are very beautiful and exceedingly affable: I talked for some time with the younger of them. At this season the Court mixes a good deal in society, and as we have now received invitations to all the places whither they go, I should have found my dress rather expensive, as it is necessary occasionally to vary it, had not Lord ELGIN put me upon a scheme which I have adopted. He told me, that it would be very advisable both in point of economy and convenience, to wear a military uniform, about which no one would ever ask me a question; and if they did, it was easy to evade it. Accordingly I have this day ordered a military suit, and am now, as my tailor did me the honor to call me this morning, *Monsieur le Capitaine*. It will save me much money and much trouble, as by this means no change is required, no lace-ruffles, no distinction between winter and summer and *demi-saison*, and one is not encumbered with that grotesque

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* The late king, FREDERIC WILLIAM II.

† BRUCE. A recent traveller, whose peculiar honour it is to take pleasure in vindicating the merits of his ingenious countrymen, who have been his predecessors in the same route, makes the following observation—"The officers of General BAIRD's army in Egypt spoke highly of the accuracy of BRUCE's observations; and the General himself assured me that he considered Great Britain as indebted to BRUCE's valuable chart of the RED SEA, for the safety of the transports employed in conveying the British forces."—(See Dr. CLARKE's iiid. vol. p. 58): also see a very interesting account of the examination of an Abyssinian Priest by Dr. C., completely establishing, in numerous particulars, the authenticity of Mr. BRUCE, in all that he relates, (pp. 59—67. (ED.)

invention, a bag wig. The uniform I wear is taken, with a few variations, from the dress of the Guards: it is scarlet, with dark blue lappel* and cape, lined with white, with gold epaulettes and lace, &c.

I wish this Carnival† was over—it is too noisy. It consists principally in great dinners, full dress, operas, masquerades, and court-balls. Nobody pays for the opera,—those only go, to whom the King gives tickets. I generally go to the Ambassador's box, but it is not so conveniently situated as many others. After to-morrow I shall have the privilege of going into the Queen's box, who is very civil and unceremonious, and who studiously makes every one perfectly at ease. Invitations have poured in thick upon us—and I shall be glad of a little respite, just one or two evenings in a week to myself, or to a private party (which it is not possible to have at present), and to some of which, of a very pleasant description, I should otherwise have access. I have found Madame De Flahaut's niece, the Marquise De Nadaillac, a very pleasing and well-instructed woman.——— I feel ashamed to have written so much upon dress and noise and nonsense to you; but really it is difficult to prevent the pen from running upon what is forcibly presented to the eyes and ears in every quarter. It is not possible that such scenes can gain admittance any farther than those two senses. They only serve to impress a sentiment of the blessings of privacy, when they

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* Lappel is called in French *revers*; being merely the reversing or turning back of the front lining: *facing* seems to be the proper equivalent in English; *lappel* applying more specifically to the *cut* or *outline* than to any difference of color. (Ed.)

† The *Carnival* (literally, the season of *flesh* diet) is that period of the romish kalendar comprised between Twelfth-day and Shrove-Tuesday inclusive. (Ed.)

can be enjoyed and participated with those we love and esteem: these feelings have little to do here.

Thank my good mother for her letter of the 20th December. I will answer it in a week's time at farthest. In the mean time this will at least assure you of my health, which I know it gives you pleasure to hear of.

Believe me to be, my dear father, &c.

J. T.

VII.

To Mrs. TWEDDELL.

Berlin, 6th February, 1796.

MY DEAR MOTHER,

The carnival is in fact over; but it has brought in its suite a number of engagements, which have not left me much at liberty, either for the purpose of writing to my friends, or of attending to those studies to which I wish to devote the mornings. There is no such thing as pleasant small societies in this town—every thing is either on the grand scale or the groveling. I dined with my banker here one day, and do not think I shall be in any haste to go again into such a party. All the Germans (I speak of the men) that I have seen, are of rude and uncouth manners: the

women are not entirely without *agrémens*, but there are very few that have much attraction. In short, I do not like the people at all. Wherever yet I have been in Germany, I have found the strangers, especially the French and the Portuguese, very superior to the natives. I understand, however, that at Vienna the inhabitants are particularly agreeable, where you are well introduced; but even then the men are very inferior to the women. I travelled hither from Hamburg by way of Brunswick, where I staid five days. General MONTJOYE (whom you may recollect to be mentioned in the *Life of Dumourier*), travelled in company with us. His brother, the Comte DE MONTJOYE, has an office near the person of the duke, and by his means we were introduced at court. The duke's manners and appearance are peculiarly noble and interesting; he has "every thing handsome about him." The hereditary prince is rather heavy; and his attempts at politeness, though very good-humored, very dull. The duke is decidedly the first gentleman of his court in every respect—he made me regret that he had ever published that unfortunate manifesto.* I was told that this war has made a serious impression upon him—that he repents of all share he has had in it, and is not so happy a man as he was. At his court there is very little ceremony. We should have found living at Brunswick both cheap and agreeable, had he continued his civilities, and we had staid any time. We received invitations to dine with him every day, and every night to sup with the duchess. We visited the celebrated library of Wolfenbuttel, which contains upward of 200,000 volumes, exquisitely collected: It is indeed superb. I have seen as large, one, perhaps, larger, in Eng-

* Duke of BRUNSWICK's manifesto: entituled "*Declaration, &c.*" dated Coblentz, 25th July, 1792. See COBBETT's *Political Register*, vol. xxv. No. v. p. 154. See, also, some remarks on the mischievous operation of the manifesto, in *Life of Dumourier*, vol. iii. c. xi. London, 1796. (ED.)

land—but none where the books had been collected with so much care: there are a great many very valuable and very curious manuscripts in it. I met, at the duke's, the Comte De Potoçki,* a polish nobleman of considerable information; he had the goodness to furnish me with additional letters to Berlin. The face of the country through which I have passed, and the manners of the Germans, are neither of them very interesting.

I have been at court almost every other day since I came here—and have been at two or three suppers at the king's and the prince-royal's.† With the latter I have had several long conversations. He is not extremely popular: they find him here too grave and unbending. He appears to me, however, to have a character, and to think for himself. He is a passionate admirer of the late king, but no zealot of the present ministers—at least it is supposed so (for he does not avow it). He thinks that the military, which composes the great strength of this government, has been too much slighted; and that, by a neglect of the finances, which are not at present ably conducted, trouble may be occasioned to the state upon his succession. We have received very great civilities from Lord Elgin, and also from the Vicomte D'Anadia, the minister of Portugal. I have been at two or three balls at the court, but

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* An ingenious friend suggests that Potocki should be written Potoçki, and pronounced Potozki—the *ski* of the Polish answering to the *us* or *ensis* of the Latins. This termination, when applied to a female name becomes *ska*; thus we say, Mr. Potozki, but Mad. Potoçka. (Ed)

† The present king, Frederic-William III. born August 5d, 1770. In enumerating the kings of Prussia, the *Frederics* are always distinguished from the *Frederic-Williams*: thus the uncle of the late king, and the late king, are styled respectively Frederic II. and Frederic-William II.

can hardly say that I danced; for the room was so crouded that it was little more than what the jockies call "cross and jostle."—*Apropos*—a fencing-master comes to me a little after eleven every other morning. As I found myself not quite well, Lord ELGIN, who was persuaded that it proceeded from want of sufficient exercise, advised me to ride every day at the military *manège*—where I accordingly have gone at nine o'clock for the last week past; I shall continue this practice as long as I stay, for I have found myself much better for it—and besides, this *manège* is a very celebrated one. I rise soon after six; my german master comes at seven, and stays with me till half-past eight. I have made a fine progress in this language, and hope in two months to be able to read their best authors: the German is noble and very rich, but the pronunciation is harsh. I no longer need a french master, having made considerable advancement both in talking and writing; and the Marquise DE NADAILLAC, who is here, has found very little to correct in several of my french compositions which I have shewn to her.

Berlin is a most superb town. It far surpasses my expectation in every respect. Perhaps it derives no small addition from the sandy desert by which it is surrounded; you are astonished, after the long monotony of fir and sand, to find yourself environed by all the noblest monuments of ancient architecture. The place is well worthy the attention of every traveller, if it be but to gain an adequate idea of FREDERICK II.*—which can hardly be formed

* The splendor of this monarch's achievments, and his great talents, have shed a blaze of glory around him, which seems to have made the world blind both to his injustice, his despotism, and his immoral principles. When religion shall have taught mankind to appreciate character more justly than it seems inclined to do at present, FREDERICK II. will find his proper place among the most dishonourable and mischievous of Princes. Opinion, at present,

without seeing his capital, and contemplating his public works. With regard to the arts, there is little worthy of curiosity—the exterior ornaments are here far more beautiful than the interior. The principal street is of an immense width—at least double of the broadest street in London. In the middle is a walk of considerable width, with linden trees on each side—on each side, again, of this walk two or three carriages can pass. This *promenade* is near a quarter of a mile long; at one end it is bounded by the palace, a magnificent, though not a very regular building; and at the other, by a new gate-way, copied from the famous *Propylæum* of Athens, with a piece of sculpture in bronze at the top, larger than life (because the gate is very lofty), of a charioteer driving four horses.* I have lived here a good deal at the Duchess of CUMBERLAND's,† and at the Marquise DE NADAILLAC's—who is a very agreeable and exceedingly well-instructed woman. She was invited here by the king, upon the ruin of her fortune in France. The Vicomte D'ANADIA is a most finished gentleman, and keeps an excellent table, at which you are sure to find the best company: Mr. NAVARRO, his secretary, is a young man peculiarly interesting; has travelled more than almost any one I have yet met with, and possesses a great fund of both useful and ornamental knowledge.

We have been in lodgings since the 26th of last month: we have

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rages in favor of talent; and the possession of a fine genius, or a learned mind, is a valid consideration for the actual want of probity, morality, and piety. Thus FREDERICK II. and NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE have their devout admirers even in this nation! (ED.)

* This decoration (a *Victoria in quadrigis*), was carried off by BUONAPARTE; but since his downfall has been reclaimed at Paris, brought back from thence and replaced by the present king.

† The late duchess, referred to here, was a sister to the Earl of CARHAMPTON.

five chambers, for which we pay 5*l.* sterling a month, or 30 *écus* of Berlin. When we are not engaged, our landlord provides dinner at home, which, exclusively of wine (of which our consumption is next to nothing) seldom exceeds 3*s.* or 3*s.* 6*d.* a-head. Our lodgings are well-situated, near the english minister's, and in the midst of all our acquaintances, a hundred yards from the park, which is a very pretty one, surprisingly so for this country. It is almost a forest, and full of alleys, large roads for carriages, with occasional openings, and abundance of retired and solitary walks. You have no idea of the country that we have passed through. I had never imagined the possibility of such roads, or that a carriage could escape being overturned in such situations as we often found ourselves. Yet no accident befel us, except that one night the lamps of our carriage were blown out, and a flambeau, which was carried before us, extinguished—and then, there being very imminent danger of being instantly overturned, the driver having lost his way in a place environed by ditches, we got out and walked, up to the knees in mud, for a german mile (nearly five english), and arrived about midnight, fortunately without any accident, at Magdeburg.* After travelling so many days through

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* MAGDEBURG:—is reached by the traveller through a country perfectly level. There are few inclosures here, or, indeed, in other parts of Germany, except such as surround the parks of Princes and Nobles. The King of Prussia had, until the recent subversion of the Germanic empire, a seat in the diet of this duchy, as duke of Magdeburg. This is the strongest fortress belonging to Prussia, and here the principal military magazines and founderies are established. In time of war, it is the repository of whatever it is wished to place out of the reach of sudden insult. The country is well-cultivated and fertile for about two leagues beyond Magdeburg; afterwards it becomes more barren, and within a few leagues of Brandenburg, it is as sterile and sandy as the deserts of Arabia. The place requires a garrison of 20,000 for its sure defence. This city dates its origin from the time of CHARLEMAGNE. The Imperialists taking it by storm in 1631 under General TILLY, a dreadful slaughter ensued; insomuch that not less than 10,000 of the inhabitants fell by the sword of the assailants. Its geographical site is in latitude 52° 11′ N. 11° 45′ E. (ED.)

such weary roads, now of sand and now of mud, through long fir forests and desolate heaths, you cannot conceive what a fine effect this town has—it is a most magnificent city, without any kind of comparison, the most so of any I ever saw.

I have dressed in military uniform for the last week; it has been a good deal noticed: the prince-royal asked me the other evening if I was really a military man—he doubted it, from seeing me in court-dress clothes on the first days of my appearance. From the manner in which the question was put to me, I thought myself obliged to confide to him my little secret, which he will not abuse. I am reminded, by the limits of my paper, that it is time I should draw to a conclusion. Let me often hear from you: I do not know whether you receive my letters regularly, but I write very frequently. God bless you, my dear mother—you have my sincerest affection, and my father also, at all times. Never imagine that these scenes of apparent gaiety abstract me from the thought of those I love; perhaps on that very account I think the more of them—they profit by the comparison. I wonder that ROBERT has sent me no news of his degree; I am most anxious and impatient to hear about it. Remember me to him, with my love.

We leave Berlin on the last day of this month. We shall spend a week at Leipsic, &c. Our carriage is in complete condition still and that is saying a great deal. Mr. WEBB's was broken to pieces in the same roads—such roads! such inns! and such beds! I slept once or twice upon straw in preference; and, after all, upon combing my head, I found that I had *increased my family*—but this was not the effect of *being in the straw*.

Believe me, &c. &c.

J. J.

VIII.

To MISS TWEDDELL.

BERLIN, February 20, 1796.

MY DEAR SISTER,

I received your letter a few days since, and therefore, if my answer to it should be very short, yet, as it is very early, I must hope that you will hold the balance of justice so evenly, as to weigh my merit against my demerit, my voluntary haste to begin against my involuntary haste to conclude. The truth is, I meant to have written you a long letter, but I have been engaged till this moment in copying a despatch of Sir MORTON EDEN's for Lord ELGIN, who was too much hurried to day to be able, without additional assistance, to transmit his letters to government.

We leave Berlin in ten days, or thereabouts. The carnival has been over some time, and I have found the place much pleasanter since things have began to go in a more sober train. Still the court continues to give entertainments two or three times a-week; to which I have always been invited, and have as regularly gone. Mr. ELLIOT,* the english resident at Dresden, has been here for about ten days past; I have dined and supped very constantly with him, either at his own hotel, or at Lord ELGIN's, or the Duchess of CUMBERLAND's, or at Dr. BROWNE's, the king's physician. He is a very pleasant and gentleman-like man, and pro-

* ELLIOT—(HUGH) brother of the late earl of MINTO, governor of Madras.

mises to do every thing to make our residence at Dresden agreeable to us. Dr. BROWNE's family is a very agreeable one. He has a son at Eton, and three daughters, who are very accomplished and highly instructed, much more so than any other women at Berlin. The Doctor himself is an Englishman and a man of much learning.

Royalty has been extremely civil to me. Last Sunday night at the queen's one of the princes engaged the lady whom I meant to have danced with: at that time almost every other lady was engaged, and I was for a moment without a partner. The PRINCESS ROYAL* asked me why I did not dance, and upon telling her the circumstance asked me to dance with her. You see to what honors a traveller may advance! She is really a charming woman, much the handsomest in Berlin. This is a year of metamorphose for me. Who would have said last year at this time, that I should now be dancing every other night at a court, and playing at cards two or three times a week at a minister's of state. After such a revolution, you need not be astonished if I should be converted into a courtier and a rascal. I assure you the two characters travel well together in this country. Profligacy overflows, in every way, politically and physically, in public and in private life: the virtue

* LOUISA-AUGUSTA-WILHELMINA-AMELIA, daughter of CHARLES-LUDWIG-FREDERICK, reigning duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, consequently niece to the present queen of England; married (1793) to FREDERICK-WILLIAM, the present King of Prussia then Prince-royal. She was a most beautiful amiable woman, and the object of BUONAPARTE's unmanly sarcasms in his famed military and political bulletins during the former Prussian and Russian war. She died July 1810, and in memory of this excellent person, her disconsolate widower the King of Prussia has created a new Order, called the Order of Louisa; it is consecrated to the Ladies who distinguished themselves by their patriotism. The number of decorations is limited to 100. The Princess WILHELMINA is declared by the King, President of the Order.

of the women and the poverty of the men are well matched. One may bring one's self to any thing. Cards, to which I had such a disgust, are no longer objects of great aversion—I do not like them, but I can endure them with complacency. In short, I found that to mix with society upon an advantageous footing, I must impose upon myself the burden of compliance with many things foreign to my natural temper. Upon calculating my losses and gains at cards since I left England, I found the other day that I had not lost two *louis*. This surprised me, as I certainly am an individual instance that in this, as in other things, what we do not like to do, we do not do well. The Duchess of CUMBERLAND takes in the *Courier*, and sends it to me every post, as soon as she has read it: you have no idea of the repast of an english newspaper in Prussia. The duchess makes her house very agreeable to us; we are there, without any ceremony, as often as we can go. I don't take it kindly of ROBERT, that he has never written to me to give me an account of his degree, after the constant anxiety which I always shewed about an event so important to him. My curiosity is yet very imperfectly satisfied—for that he would be a *wrangler* I looked upon as inevitable, but I hope that he is a very high one. Adieu, my dearest sister. I am glad that you have quite recovered from the effects of the meazles. Give my little Ann a kiss, and say the same for me to her. Take great care of your health, and let me find you a strong woman when I return: to see you well will always make me better, however well I may be, or however ill.

I am ever, my dear Jane,

Most truly and affectionately yours,

J. T.

XI.

To JAMES LOSH, Esq.

DRESDEN, March 24, 1796.

MY DEAR LOSH,

I ARRIVED here last Thursday, and your letter came a day or two after. I perfectly agree with you in your opinion about public schools. They have some advantages—but they have also, in my mind, many disadvantages. They teach a man that confidence in himself, which is useful in a world where modesty is a poor thriver. They teach him to disregard little inconveniences, which is absolutely requisite in order to live with tolerable composure. But by way of deduction they initiate him early in vice, which is always learnt too soon, and which (though I would not to every one advance so hazardous an opinion) I think it better not to learn at all. But every objection that lies against the great schools of all, is of double force against what are called the second great schools, where corruption is more prevalent, and knowledge more rare, and where dissipation and sometimes laxity of principle is acquired without the poor return of a little learning. In short, my favorite scheme is private tuition; I have thought much upon this subject, and it always has great interest for me, though why it should have I cannot well tell; for I have no one, and perhaps never may have, to whom my reflexions may be useful. But if by any chance I had a son, I certainly would educate him myself—and I think I know of means, by which the advantages of public and private education might be mixed without the disad-

vantages of either. But that is not the question at present and in the case of ——— I certainly think that if you could meet with a sober-headed and good-hearted man, a man of temperate feelings and gentlemanlike habits, with a competency of knowledge, not merely in Latin and Greek (which, though good in their way, are too exclusively attended to in English education) but also in history, philosophy, and in the living languages, I think you would do well to lose no time in placing him under the care of such a tutor. It is very difficult, I know, to meet with a fit person to engage in such a task, and the question is not so much where is there a tutor formed according to our own model, but who of many that are formed very differently approaches to it the nearest. No one is more capable than yourself of judging of all this, and you are on the spot.

You are very idle in not telling me the dates of your letters—then I could inform you whether they arrive or no. I assure you it is a good plan always to note in your pocket-book the day on which, and the person to whom, you write. It is convenient on many accounts. I was writing to you at Berlin on the same day, perhaps at the same hour, as you were writing to me at Bath—both our letters are dated the 27th of February—would you wish for better sympathy? I have left at Berlin an acquaintance that I regret very much, the Marquise De Nadaillac, of whom I believe I have spoken to you before. She is really an excellent woman, extremely instructed, full of *esprit*—and *esprit* of a much higher cast than what is usually called by that name. She converses better than any person I ever saw, I think without exception. At first, seeing her only at court, and in large societies, I did not particularly admire in her any thing but her style of talking—she seemed quite a coquette—as I often told her afterwards. But upon knowing her more and more intimately, I was

very much pleased with her—she has a greater stock of real virtues than one can easily conceive—she is an *emigrée*, and therefore has prejudices—sometimes we almost quarrelled upon politics—and sometimes about religion. But her prejudices were of the milder order; in politics, they were the restoration of monarchy, but without vengeance—and in religion, the extreme of faith and of devotion at particular times, but unmixed with intolerance. Since I left you I have talked with no one so intimately upon what relates to myself.——The people of Berlin talked very confidently of a connection between us of a different nature, which was not true—friendship alone being our bond of union; but *that* their manners did not allow them to comprehend. PLATO did not publish his system at the Berlin press; besides, that Platonism is not very common between a young man of 26, and a young and interesting widow of 27. But if I were inclined to be a *Fat*,* I should have had my vanity gratified in that place, on many occasions. There was a very pretty girl (though otherwise no way particularly interesting), whom I frequently danced with at court. Guess at the corruption of Berlin—a report was spread and credited that I had got admission into her house, and spent part of the evening *tête-à-tête*. This originated in a Russian nobleman's meeting me (as he said, for I did not see him) one night in the street, as if coming from her house, when (if the case was so) I must certainly have been walking home from Lord ELGIN'S, who lived both in her neighbourhood and mine. Of course I denied this, with many protestations, as serious as true—people only laughed, and different women regretted to me that those winter nights were so very cold. Fortunately such a report could not have the effect in Berlin it would have in England—a

* FAT—*Anglicè*, Coxcomb.

lady's character, even a young lady's, easily recovers after such an accident—can you conceive this?

I wish you were here on every account—I feel a great want of some one to converse with——upon every subject that occurs, upon events that present themselves, upon all the little things I see and hear; I want some one whose sentiments are congenial to my own; my pleasure is much abridged by that want.——If I were to set out on my travels again, and could not travel with you, I would travel alone. I am very difficult to please, I know; but (call it too much self-complacency, if you will) I can please myself, I am no trouble to myself: if a person who is capable to talk interestingly is not by, I can be silent, or I can read. If I tire upon the road to Vienna I can stop at Prague; or, if I have an accession of strength and spirits upon which I had not counted, I can, instead of stopping, according to a first intention, at Prague, go on, at once, to Vienna. One object interests one man, another object another: an individual consults only himself. Do you think these are things of little moment? You are more accommodating than me, as I very well know; I confess I think none of these things indifferent; and when you can choose, and when the pleasures of life are so very few, and for the most part consist in such trifles, why should you not humour your little fancies? I grant you, to travel with a man made, for the most part, like yourself, is an incalculable advantage—then mutual sacrifices are made and are indemnified. But for nothing! or next to nothing! or a little! or any thing short of great positive pleasure! You know we have often conversed upon this subject, and how much I always have contended for that independence which I talk of. I can live alone very comfortably, or at least very *endurably*. But, if I live in society, I must have conformity, to be happy. But all that is applicable to this consideration in general, is peculiarly so

in travelling. A man lives all his life—he travels only once. At the same time do not imagine that I am disappointed in ———; I like him very much. I am delighted with the accounts you give me of your health; do every thing in the world to improve it. I think, if you remain at Bath till April, you will hardly be able to join us in Switzerland: besides, anxious as I am to see you, I should be sorry that for the sake of coming a few months earlier, you left Bath before you had exhausted its benefits; or that you undertook, without consideration, such a journey as that through Switzerland; to see the beauties of which thoroughly, you would, perhaps, be tempted to climb its mountains, before you were yet capable of enduring the exercise or the climate. Consider all this, and determine nothing rashly; you must not barter your health for a few indulgencies, of comparatively trivial importance. If, however, you resolve, upon mature consideration, to pass the summer in Switzerland, write to me about it, and I will describe your route, &c. &c.

This is a most beautiful town, in the middle of a cultivated plain, watered by the Elbe, and surrounded by high hills, covered with wood.———Remember me to WARNER and his family, &c.

I am ever,

My dear LOSH,

Most affectionately your friend,

J. T.

X.

To FRANCIS TWEDDELL, Esquire.

Dresden, 26th March, 1796.

MY DEAR FATHER,

My stay at Berlin was, perhaps, rather longer than you expected —it was longer than I intended myself. But it was latterly protracted almost from day to day. The court were, indeed, exceedingly civil to us, and we were invited thither two or three times a week. The Queen,* in particular, generally came up and talked to me for some time, whenever I appeared in the circle to make my reverence, according to custom. The night before we came away was the birth-night of the Princess-Royal; upon which occasion the King gave a ball. It was by much the most splendid of any we were at; and she, who always dresses with great simplicity and taste, and is by much the handsomest woman in Berlin, appeared to very great advantage.

We staid a day at Potsdam on our road hither. The palaces are very large, and some part of them magnificent, particularly the great room of the new palace, which is the largest and one of the best proportioned I ever saw. I was disappointed in the picture gallery: there are very few paintings which are strikingly fine, though the greater part are by the best masters. Those by Rubens in particular are very inferior. Very different indeed is

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* Frederica-Louisa, daughter of Ludwig IX. landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, born 1751.

the gallery of Dresden, which is one of the greatest treats I ever enjoyed. The gallery at Florence is reckoned upon the whole more fine—but that is partly because it embraces sculpture as well as painting; but it consists almost entirely of the Italian school, whereas this embraces also the *chef-d'œuvres* of the flemish and the french and the german. Of the first of these three, the gallery contains above thirty by RUBENS, the best of BERGHEM's landscapes, and many excellent pieces by SNEYDERS, VAN-DYCK, REMBRANDT, and RUYSDAEL. Of the french, by NIC. POUSSIN and CLAUDE LORRAIN; and of the german, by HOLBEIN, SEIBOLD, and ALBERT DURER. It is indeed a most splendid collection; and though people content themselves generally with going two or three times round it, I have found sufficient inducement to spend there two or three hours almost every day since my arrival: In short, it is inexhaustible. The Duke of DORSET, when he passed through Dresden, meant only to have staid three days, but protracted his stay to more than as many weeks, which he passed almost wholly in the gallery, that is, from nine in the morning till twelve, during which hours it is always accessible to strangers. Dresden is situated in a most beautiful and picturesque country, in a cultivated plain, watered by a fine river, and surrounded by lofty hills covered with wood: on one side of these hills are vineyards—so far well: but the buildings, though not without merit, are very inferior to those of Berlin. That is, indeed, the most magnificent town I have yet seen. Dresden, I conceive, *stat magni nominis umbra*. When the Electors were Kings of Poland, and had the revenues of that country at their disposal, they lived in splendor, encouraged the arts and sciences, and attracted the most distinguished foreigners to their court. The polish nobles all had *hotels* here, and it was the Paris of the North. But now that they have lost that pre-eminence, Dresden has sunk to its old and natural level. The saxon nobles are poor, and the court is so exhausted

Engraved at Vienna by Fisher 1795. *In the collection of the late J. Tweddell Esq.* *Re engraved by J. Smith London.*

THE DUCHESS OF POLIGNAC

Done from memory by Madame Le Brun.

d'un tendre Souvenir le Merveilleux effort
tu rends a nos regards la plus parfaite amie,
pu sur la toile attendrie;
une epouse adorée, une mere Chérie
donner une nouvelle Vie
Lebrun! ton Art divin triomphe de la mort
e la beauté que nous ravit le Sort.
par un Sublime élan du Cœur et du Génie!

by its ancient expenses, that every thing is conducted with the most rigid economy.* Still they keep up their picture gallery and their *trésor*, which is *imposant* without conferring real consequence. A few years since both these collections were mortgaged to their full value, though now they are redeemed by the parsimony of the present Elector. We have not been introduced here at court, our stay being so very short, and the court very ceremonious, and not liking, as Mr. ELLIOT tells me, to be peeped at and examined like curiosities by travellers who do not mean to reside above a few days. We mean to leave Dresden on Thursday. We shall have been here exactly a fortnight. Vienna is a very superior place in every respect; and I carry with me such letters as will add very essentially to its natural *agrémens*. I have one in particular from the Marquise DE NADAILLAC, whom I saw a great deal of at Berlin, to her most particular friend, the Duchesse DE GUICHE,† whose mother, you know, Madame DE POLIGNAC,‡

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* At the time these letters were written, the Elector of Saxony was regarded as the chief of the second-rate german potentates; his territory being computed at 11680 square miles, the inhabitants at 1896000, and the revenue at 1283000*l.* sterling.

† Since become Duchess of GRAMMONT. She died in Scotland a few years since. Her eldest son is a captain in the english army, and since the restoration of the royal family, has assumed the second family title of GUICHE, which is a lordship in Bearn or Navarre. His father, the Duke of GRAMMONT, was commander of the french body-guards, and on the dreadful days of the 5th and 6th of October, 1792, when the infuriated populace from Paris attacked the palace at Versailles, manifested his gallantry and devotion in defence of his unhappy monarch. (See *Histoire de la Revolution*, &c. by A. F. BERTRAND DE MOLEVILLE.) (ED.)

‡ "*La Duchesse* DE POLIGNAC (says the writer before quoted) *a été l'objet des calomnies les plus atroces, parceque' elle étoit restée fidelle à la reine, qu'on vouloit rendre odieuse du peuple, par toutes sortes de moyens; et celui de diffamer ses meilleurs amis, etoit sans doute un de plus sûrs. Madame* DE POLIGNAC *ne se seroit jamais séparée de leur majestés, si*

governed France during a certain part of the late reign. The Duchess is herself a very amiable and highly accomplished woman: I do not, however, expect to find in her, indeed, I know that I shall not, such a woman as the Marquise DE N———. The latter is the niece of Madame DE FLAHAUT of Hamburg, and without exception is one of the best informed and most entertaining persons I ever was acquainted with: she is still very young—but used to be celebrated at Paris by the Abbé MAURY*

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*le roi, qui etoit plein d'estime de confiance et d'affection pour elle, n'avoit pas exigé qu'elle sortit du royaume. A l'epoque du 16 Juillet, il ne craignit que pour elle les dangers dont il etoit lui-même menacé; il lui ordonne expressement de partir; il lui fit prendre le nom d'*ETTINGER, *dans le passe-port qu'il lui donna. L'intérêt et la tendre amitié que le verteux* LOUIS XVI. *a conserv s jusqu' à la fin de ses jours pour la Duchesse* DE POLIGNAC, *l'auroient pleinement justifiée de toutes les imputations odieuses qu'on a osé lui faire; mais elle n'a pas pu survivre à l'epouvantable catastrophe qui a frappé ses augustes bienfaiteurs."* (ED.)

* MAURY—This prelate retired from the first tumults of the Revolution to Rome, where he obtained his cardinal's hat. In 1805, he addressed a letter to the Emperor NAPOLEON, signifying his wish to return to France, and to recognise the new government. In the month of June of that year, he was presented to the monarch at Genoa, and much gratified by his reception: He was soon after appointed almoner to Prince JEROME, and obtained a bishopric. In the month of May he was received as a member of the Institute, and delivered on that occasion an elaborate discourse. No occurrence of the kind ever excited more curiosity in the capital, or drew a more numerous auditory. His reputation as the first orator of the *Côté droit*, and the formidable rival of MIRABEAU; the unshaken courage and persevering energy with which he once defended the throne of the Bourbons, and his recent defection from their cause, on which he was expected to touch, gave an extraordinary interest to his first public exhibition. His hearers, however, retired, fatigued and disgusted with a dull and prolix harangue, remarkable only for the fulsome adulation which it offered to the imperial family. Those who recollected him preaching before the king, his benefactor, or asserting in the National Assembly the rights of his order, with such force of argument, and so captivating an elocution, had the mortification to find, that his manner was stripped of all the charms with which it was once invested; and that, with the dignity of his character, he had lost the fire of his genius and the lustre of his eloquence. This extraordinary

as the most elegant converser whom, in his search after correctness and brilliancy of language, he had met with. She will inclose me a letter to the Abbé before I go to Rome.

Good night! my dear father. You will easily believe me to be ever,

Your affectionate Son,

J. T.

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man, after in vain attempting to thrust himself into the favor of the new government at Paris, retired not many months since to Rome, where he still resides; but is in disgrace, and not received in the Court of the Vatican.

PELTIER, in his "*Varietés Littéraires,*" remarks—"*Le déshonneur de Mr. le Cardinal* MAURI, *n'est que trop certain. S. E. a écrit une longue lettre bien plate pour offrer sa soumission au nouveau monarque de France. Si l'attachement qu'il montra en* 1790 *à la maison de* BOURBON *lui valut la nonciature, l'évêché de Montefiascone et le chapeau de Cardinal, sa soumission actuelle à* BUONAPARTE *ne peut pas lui valoir moins que la thiare, ou la police ecclesiastique de Paris. Cette grand apostasie de Mr.* MAURI *rappelle involontairement la parallele de cet homme avec le versatil* MIRABEAU;

Deux insignes chefs de parti
D'intrigue ici tiennent bureau,
Chacun à l'autre est assorti,
Même audace et voix de taureau,
On pourrait faire le pari
Qu'ils sont nés dans la même peau
Car retournez Abé MAURI
Vous y trouverez MIRABEAU." (*L'Ambigu*, Vol. vii. p. 75.)

The name of MIRABEAU is so often conjoined with that of MAURY, that the Editor has naturally been led to give place to the preceding *jeu-d'esprit* concerning that singular character: the accounts of whom are already so voluminous that it would be superfluous to indulge in any details at present. (ED.)

XI.

To Mrs. TWEDDELL.

Vienna, 6th April, 1796.

MY DEAR MOTHER,

We are just arrived here safe and well, of which I shall do little more than inform you, for it is now the third night since I have been in bed, having travelled, without stopping, from Prague hither—a distance of about 34 german miles, or 170 english. The latter part of our journey from Dresden was very good road, but there were two stages most dismal, one of which, about ten or twelve miles, I walked. Our's is one of the only english carriages that has not been broken by the huge stones and deep ruts which occur there. We travelled on the top of one of the highest mountains in Bohemia, with six horses, up to the middle in snow, with difficulty dragging the carriage through the weight that pressed against it, and the rocky projections that impeded its progress; while, in the vale below, we found, the day after, all the country people preparing their vineyards in the midst of spring. I do not covet to repeat the journey; but yet I assure you it was a very magnificent spectacle, to stand in the midway descent, and to contemplate winter, which we had just left above our heads, and spring, to which we were approaching beneath us, the sides of the mountains covered with vines and sprinkled with cottages, while the river Elbe rolled at the bottom of the scene with continual windings. Yesterday night was exceedingly cold, and we meant to have slept at one of the post-houses; but every thing was so dirty and so wretched that it was not possible. Accordingly, as

the principal hardship fell upon our servant, who is a very honest and reputable man, Mr. D. and I agreed to make him ride in the inside (as he had been out all the night before, and was grievously fatigued), and we travelled on the outside, each of us one stage alternately. I, for my part, ran the greater part of my stage by the side of the horses, and was rather refreshed than fatigued by the change; and by the time that we arrived at the end of the second stage, morning was far advanced, the servant refreshed by sleeping in the carriage; and thus all of us ready, without farther delay, to proceed, after stopping three quarters of an hour, to eat an early breakfast. We are at present going to eat some boiled potatoes and Bohemia partridges (by the way a very great delicacy), and shall then go to bed; and, by the morning, I do not doubt, feel quite recruited. As I think, however, that you will wish to have intelligence of my safe arrival, you see that I am desirous to emulate Abraham's servant in the performance of my duty. Before we took leave of Dresden, we made a day's excursion into the country, to see two or three celebrated places in the neighbourhood, such as Pirna, which became notorious from the seven years' war; Pilnitz,* the seat of the famous treaty; and Königstein, the strongest fortification in Europe. A few days before, we went into a wood of the Elector of Saxony, not to hunt the boar, but to rouse him. We put up three or four together; and an officer of the party, in endeavouring to drive them towards me, that I might have a fuller view of them, was obliged to save himself by climbing a tree; for one of the boars, turning suddenly round, ran directly towards him, and passed under the tree just as he was out of reach. He had very nearly shared the fate of Adonis

* PILNITZ—a summer palace, on the banks of the Elbe, celebrated for a congress of sovereigns, in 1792.

—perhaps without a Venus to lament him: at all events the smiles of Venus are better than her tears.

We mean to leave Vienna within two months from this date, and to enter Switzerland by Schaffhausen—and to remain in Switzerland till the middle of October, when we shall cross St. Gothard. I have thought a great deal on the best ways of turning that tour to account, and am very well satisfied with my arrangements, so I think would you be, if the compass of a moderate letter would allow me to describe them. I have recommendations through all parts of Switzerland; and have had every thing, even out of the beaten track, pointed out to me by intelligent precursors. If you have a good map of the several countries, you may sometimes travel post with me; and I shall be delighted with the idea of our being together even in imagination.

In answer to what you say about my health, be assured, my dear mother, that I pay particular attention to it, and that I run no risk of endangering it in any way. I know your kind anxiety about me; I am most affectionately sensible of it: and that is, believe me, at least, as strong a motive as self-regard, to act as you desire. I thank you a thousand times for your multiplied good wishes, and pray to God to return them upon yourself and my good father. The distance which separates us is, as you say, great; but it will diminish—and one day, I hope, disappear; and when I return, I hope you will have no reason to repent that I have been absent so long.——God bless you all.

Believe me to be, &c.

J. T.

XII.

To Mrs. TWEDDELL.

VIENNA, May 29th. 1796.

MY DEAR MOTHER,

THIS is a day which I do not recollect ever to have let pass without commemorating by the expression of my sincere duty and affection.* I am still less likely to omit that welcome office at this moment, when rendered naturally more thoughtful by the accession of time, and sobered by a disappointment, the effects of which will never be effaced, I am better enabled to estimate the value of so great a blessing as that of the most affectionate friend in the person of the kindest parent. At this moment, when both pleasure and pain are to me of a very temperate cast, and sometimes approaching almost to indifference; when I am no longer a prey to very piercing sorrow, nor capable of being acted upon by the delirious follies of an earlier age, from which I dare not say that I have quite been free; I find that my attachments become concentrated by degrees, and that I prize more highly those which are most deserving. Certainly, therefore, I have every reason to look at my own family with comfort and with consolation—with gratitude for their goodness, and with hope to convince every branch of it, one day or other, that the sense which I retain of it is accurate and just. You, my dear mother, will easily believe the sincerity of that homage which I render to your early cares of my infancy, and your continued protection and kindness to my youth. I hope that you will long

* Mrs. TWEDDELL's birth-day.

enjoy a portion of health and other human blessings, sufficient to make it desirable that you should stay among us, for our and your own happiness; deferring to reap, so long as it may please Providence to spare you, that reward which awaits your many and great virtues elsewhere. This wish comes from my heart: it is expressed only because it is felt.

It is believed here that England is the only impediment to a general peace: it is not, however, expected that that obstacle will be soon removed. Affairs go as ill in Italy as it is possible. The French do exactly what they please; and if it suited their views to march directly to Vienna, the Emperor has no army to oppose them. Mr. D. and I leave Vienna on Monday the 13th of June, and go round by way of Saltzburg to Munich, in order to see the celebrated salt-works* at the former place. We expect to stay a few days at Munich, if it were only to visit Count RUMFORD,† whose public institutions of every kind, and patriotic inventions, his mode of supplying the poor, &c. &c. I have long been curious to visit and examine. We shall, probably, enter Switzerland by

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* SALT-WORKS.—These are, properly speaking, at Hallein, a town about four miles from Saltzburg, near Berktoldsgaden; which latter is an episcopal jurisdiction, subordinate to that metropolis, from which it is distant near 20 miles. The manner of working these mines is said to be very much like that which is practised in those of Cheshire: but the Editor has been informed, by a gentleman who has travelled in that country, of this difference; namely—that in Saltzburg the fossil salt is found mixed with earth. In order to effectuate the separation, water is introduced into great cavities of the mountain in which are the mines filled with this saline earth. The water becomes saturated with the salt, but lets the earth precipitate, The brine thus formed is pumped away or drawn off, according to the level, into proper reservoirs, to undergo the customary processes for disengaging the salt by means of evaporation.

† BENJAMIN THOMPSON, Count RUMFORD. See an interesting memoir of this ingenious philanthropist in *Gent. Mag.* (vol. vii. new series, Oct. 1814, p. 394).

Schaffhausen, about the latter end of the same month. This town is really delightful; in point of situation it is decidedly the most beautiful capital that can be imagined. The *Prater*, a large extent of ground, laid out in *promenade* with the greatest skill, and through which the Danube rolls in various directions and in various branches, is without any exception the most beautiful spot I ever saw. In the midst of the Danube you see islands without end planted with trees, a great number of bridges, and the horizon is terminated by lofty mountains. Upon one of these mountains the Prince DE LIGNE* has a delicious habitation, which commands Vienna, the Danube rolling underneath it in twenty different branches, and the whole country visible for many leagues on every

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* Prince DE LIGNE—died in December last, at a very advanced age. He was Field-Marshal, and proprietary colonel of a regiment in the austrian service, bearing his name. Madame DE STAEL pronounces him to have been a man of the most brilliant conversation in all Europe—a great personal favorite with most of the crowned heads of the age—a great lover of war and of literature, and equally well acquainted with the distinguished generals and famous authors of his day. His manners and habits were those of a philosophic and amiable man, but strongly marked by eccentricity of character. The "*Journal de Francfort*" of the 20th December, reporting his death, says, "He retained his wit, his sallies, and his amiable character to the last moment." 'Every kind of spectacle (said he, during his illness) has been exhausted to amuse the Sovereigns; I shall furnish them with a new one—the funeral of a field-marshal.'" (See "*Lettres et Pensées du Marechal Prince de Ligne*, &c." 12mo. London, 1808.) The name of the mountain, upon which the late Prince's villa stands, is Leopoldberg.

The following account of his interment is extracted from the "*St. James's Chronicle*" of the 12th January, 1815:—"The funeral of F. M. the Prince of LIGNE, at Vienna, was attended with great splendor and pomp; there were present eight battalions of infantry, five squadrons of cavalry, and 24 cannon. The corpse was followed by several foreigners of distinction, and a great number of officers of rank on foot, *viz.* Prince AUGUSTUS of Prussia, Duke of SAXE-WEIMAR, Prince SCHWARTZENBERG, Generals SWAROFF, COLLOREDO, GIULAY, RADETZKEY, and NEIPPERGECT. Admiral Sir SIDNEY SMYTHE was present at the ceremony; he appeared on horseback, at the head of the artillery, dressed in full uniform, and decorated with all his orders of knighthood." (ED.)

side. I dined with him there yesterday. He is one of the pleasantest men I ever saw: he is above sixty. His daughter, the Princess CLARY, and Comte O'DONNEL,* and myself, were all the party. I have seldom passed so interesting a day. After dinner we went and sat upon the brow of the mountain, till the approach of night obliged Mr. O'DONNEL and myself to return (about five english miles) to Vienna. The prince has two other daughters, who are very accomplished and highly interesting women. I generally meet him and his family every night, either at Madame DE ROMBEK's or at the Russian Ambassador's; whither I have long gone alternately in the evening. The Russian Ambassador† has lately removed to his house in the country, that is about a mile and a half from the town, on the banks of the Danube, which his garden commands, and overlooks the Prater: a part of the company generally walk there while the others sup.

The family which has principally contributed to my entertainment and interest at this place, is the family of the Duke of POLIGNAC and the Duchesse DE GUICHE, his daughter, which is literally the pleasantest family which I ever was acquainted with. They were, as you well know, the first family‡ at the Court

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* COUNT JAMES O'DONNEL—the descendant of an irish jacobite family naturalized in Austria; one of the ablest and best-informed men in the whole circle of nobility at Vienna. He entertained a high esteem for the person, and preserved a tender regard for the memory of, Mr. TWEDDELL. (ED.)

† COUNT RAZOUMOFSKI—a nobleman of great splendor and magnificence, and a preponderant member of the existing congress at Vienna, where he has, in a manner, become naturalized by length of residence, and by marriage into the family of *Thun* (the name of which should be pronounced as if written in English, *Toon*.) Mad. DE RAZOUMOFSKI was the elder of three sisters, of whom one married the irish Earl of CLANWILLIAM, and is since dead: the other is the lady of the polish Prince LIGNIOFSKI. See *Letter* XXII. (ED.)

‡ POLIGNAC. The "*Moniteur*" of the 18th March, 1804, contains a descriptive list

of France; and their very delightful manners, and interesting society, have chiefly contributed to render this town pleasant to me; I spend some part of every evening with them.

I certainly follow what you say as to curtailing my correspondence, and yet it is with some reluctance, as I fear that there are persons who may think I neglect them, when the real fact is, that I have not time.

Believe me to be,

My dearest mother, &c.

J. T.

The answer to the preceding letter is so worthy of filial admiration, that the Editor, although conscious that it cannot of right claim a place in this Correspondence, is yet induced to hope that the introduction of it here will be favorably accepted by every good and generous mind.

THREEPWOOD, 8th July, 1796.

MY DEAR SON,

I RECEIVED your letter with great satisfaction, as it brought me an account, of all others the most acceptable in your absence,

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of the persons who, according to the *dictum* of the grand-judge, REGNIER, were attached to the execution of the projects of the three generals, PICHEGRU, MOREAU, and GEORGE CADOUDAL, *alias* GEORGES, as the latter was usually called. Among those said to have been landed in the beginning of December on the beach of Beville, from an english ship of war, commanded by Captain WRIGHT, appears the name of "ARMAND POLIGNAC, eldest son of the Duke of POLIGNAC;" stated to have been arrested in the rue St. DENYS at Paris, 9 *Ventose*. (ED.)

that of your health—at least I trust so, when you say nothing to the contrary, though this is a subject in which I wish you always to be explicit.

You have my best thanks for your very affectionate remembrance of the 29th of May, the day on which your letter was dated. That you estimate my solicitude and cares for you as they were truly intended is very pleasing to me: from the source whence they proceeded, your good and happiness, they could not be less —nor can they ever increase: be assured therefore that the sincerest, though silent, wishes for your welfare, which the warmest friendship and affection can suggest, were not forgotten on the *first of June*,* nor, indeed, are they any one day omitted. May you see many returns of it, and enjoy them all, as a good and rational mind ought to do! That one, fixed, principle which I am convinced you are actuated by, and the natural rectitude of your heart, will always, I hope, keep you in the right way. The disappointment you have met with, however painful at the time, affords the comfortable reflection, that you are under the immediate care and protection of a great God—a wise and good Being, who governs the world; and by whose wisdom and goodness all things are designed and conducted, to bring about the greatest and best ends. The very best of men are far from being perfect, and have even great imperfections which they are seldom sensible of, but when under the immediate impression of some serious reflections: nor can I possibly express the salutary effects they have already had upon you so forcibly as in the words of ADDISON —" it has already streaked your conduct with a softness of which you would otherwise have been incapable: it is, perhaps, to such

* Mr. TWEDDELL's birth-day.

a cause greatly owing that you are now apt to relent, that you easily forgive, and that many desirable things are grown into your temper," which you would not have arrived at by any other motive, than that which has been supplied by such a providential check.——Doubt not, my dear son, in the wisdom of that good providence which has disposed of you for your advantage, though not to your wishes: it has taught you a diffidence in our earthly state, and, I trust, inspired you with the thoughts of a future, better than a thousand volumes of philosophers and divines; and say not I am a tedious preacher, when I remind you of a passage, in a book which I hope you are not a stranger to, that "whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth." God has endued you with superior intellects, and given you opportunities for heroic sacrifices: your mind is made for truth, and your heart for goodness; you should take great care not to neglect such talents, for with you there can be no medium between great vices and great virtues—you must necessarily prove a very good man or a very bad one; were you to fail in co-operating with God's grace, and improving the talents you have received, the knowledge and abilities which God has given you—even in this world your back-slidings would be pursued with excruciating remorses.

After having so frequently recommended to you submission to the dealings of Providence, ever wise and gracious, all that remains is to practise, together with you, the lessons we have gone through on this subject. I have been as useful to you as I could; let us endeavour that the friendship and affection which began but to dawn in this world, may continue in the next. You, who have so often seen me weep, when pressing upon you the most salutary truths, should remember

* * * * [*Here a chasm ensues.*] * * * *

We are very glad to find you spend your time in a manner so agreeable. You have indeed been fortunate in the recommendations you have had; as without good society the finest country loses a great part of its pleasure.———Until a man is capable of conversing with ease amongst the best informed natives of any country, he can never be able to form a just and adequate idea of their manners: to you I know this must afford the highest of all gratifications; it will secure to you a sufficient fund of complacency to render life justly valuable—it will promote your own happiness, by the generous affections it excites—and by enabling you to contribute by your attainments to the welfare of others: "There is no satiety, my dear son, in the pursuits of useful knowledge, for you can never be weary of benefitting mankind. The fine arts must supply a lasting pleasure to the mind: nor can you ever be unemployed while there remains even one advantageous truth to be discovered or confirmed; nor ought we to complain that life has no joys, or of indifference to it, while there is a single creature whom we can relieve by our bounty, assist by our counsels, or enliven by our presence." I do please myself with the benefits you will be enabled to render to your country by the fruits of your enquiries and researches, at some future period, whether I may see it or not.

I am ever your most affectionate Mother,

J. T.

XIII.

To JAMES LOSH, Esquire.

MUNICH, 22d June, 1796.

MY DEAR LOSH,

I am a great defaulter—but you would excuse me if you knew in what a multiplicity of engagements I have been involved. I received, on the 26th of May, your letter of the 29th of April. The account which you give of your health is very pleasing to me. You cannot fail, I hope, to be soon completely re-established. But, indeed, my good friend, affairs are so changed on the continent since I received the account of your last intentions, that I can hardly look upon them as at present subsisting. It is almost impossible to entertain the hope of wintering in Italy. The French have ordered it otherwise—and the French are supreme. Now attend to the plan which I am going to mention to you, and tell me whether you can accompany me—to say that it will give me pleasure, if you can, that my enjoyment will be highly increased, is not to say enough. My satisfaction would be doubled in every sense, and more than doubled, assuredly. But you must consult your health.——If affairs in Europe continue as they are, I shall go to Venice in the middle of October; stay there a month or six weeks, studying the modern Greek (there is a college for the modern Greek at Venice); and shall then cross to the Morea, and go to Athens by land. From thence I shall visit the islands, towards the beginning of spring, and the coast of Asia; and arrive at Constantinople at the latter end of summer. I have a route

traced—and very well traced, but it would cost me too much time to explain it. I have seen Mr. MORRITT,* who was just arrived at Vienna, after making that tour; I have profited by his remarks, and been confirmed in my intention, and heightened in my enthusiasm. Mr. M. was absent about thirteen months—but then he passed over one part of Thessaly, which I will not—and staid three months at Athens, where I certainly should not think of staying more than one. In this plan you see that I do not include Egypt. It is so cheerless travelling alone (especially in such countries) that I think I shall hardly undertake that, unless by hazard I should find a ship bound for Alexandria, and destined to return after a fixed period, during which I could go as far as Cairo. During the winter and the spring I see nothing in the world which could prevent you from going along with me—but I fear the summer heats, and the necessity of sleeping sometimes upon the ground. Talk to Dr. ARNISLIE about it. I expect to find very great interest in this journey, and shall lament excessively if you cannot at once share and multiply this interest. But you must be cautious; your health should be strong in order to bear it. I propose to spend a month or six weeks at Constantinople, and then passing by the Black sea, enter the Ukraine, near Tulczin;† where the Duke of POLIGNAC and the Duchess of GUICHE and their family are just gone to live, on some lands given them by the empress. I should stay a month or more with them; and if you were of the party you would be most welcome. They are a most delightful family;

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* JOHN BACON SAWREY MORRITT, Esq. F.S.A. Lond. of Rokeby Park, in the county of Durham; the scene of Mr. WALTER SCOTT's poem, thence denominated. Mr. MORRITT published an interesting and able vindication of HOMER's topography of Ilium, against the sceptical doubts of BRYANT the mythologist.

† TULCZIN—pronounced *Tool-chin* in English. See Letter XXIII.

Mad. De Guiche, and her sister-in-law the Comtesse De Polignac, are every thing that is beautiful, accomplished, and amiable. I lived almost entirely with them at Vienna—and the great kindness which they shewed me, and the particular interest, I may say, which they took in me, has been, of every thing since I left England, the most welcome and cordial to me. You would be charmed with them. We, being two, and their family large, would take a cottage *à côté;* and, after spending some time with them, would return by way of Cracow, &c. &c. to Vienna, and prepare to enter Italy the winter following; when, perhaps, it may please their high mightinesses of the Convention to permit us to compare the antiquities of Italy with those of Greece. By the way, Morritt says, that ruined as is Athens, yet still, in point of magnificence, there is nothing at Rome which can compare with the grandeur of its remains. This is not ill imagined—is it? I wish to God you could accomplish it. It would be a most sensible accession to my happiness—but still I fear that it might be dangerous. Think of it, and write soon. You will do well not to inform my family nor ——— of this plan; I will open it to them by degrees. Women and parents are easily frightened, and this voyage has a terrible sound at a distance: it is like going to Acheron.

Count Rumford, unluckily, is not here. That is a serious disappointment to me: I had promised myself exceeding pleasure from his society; he is a most excellent man. I left Vienna on the 15th of this month, and came round by Saltzburg,* which is the

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* Saltzburg.—This sovereign bishopric, containing a territory of about 3500 square miles, and a population of 400,000 persons, together with the territory appertaining to the mitred abbey of *Berchtolsgaden,* were united and erected into an electorate of the germanic empire, by the treaty of Luneville, in favour of the Arch-Duke Ferdinand-Joseph, as

finest country that I ever beheld. Austria is in a very high state of cultivation; and the poor, in general, well conditioned.

The Comte DE POLIGNAC left Vienna, when I was there, for England. He talked of going from London to Edinburgh. Should he have time to spend a day or two on his road, I need not desire you to do every thing in your power to render his time agreeable to him, and to shew him the neighbourhood. He is a man whom I sincerely wish to be serviceable to, if it were only to pay him a small interest for the kindness of his family to me. He is accompanied by the Marquise DE LA RIVIERE;* a young man who

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an indemnity for his loss of the grand-duchy of Tuscany: to which last, however, he has been restored by the treaty of Paris, 1814. Greatly and justly renowned as are the picturesque beauties of Switzerland—and who has not sometimes felt his imagination exalted by the romantic descriptions of the Leman lake, of the cataract of Schaffhausen, of the icy desert of Montanvert, and of the resplendent mass of Mont-Blanc? Yet the Tyrol and Saltzburg have their rival beauties, and their cotemporary peaks, which raise their naked and virgin summits of granite above similar abysses of ice and snow: the Ortlès, to the right of the sources of the Adigé; the Hoch-Grindle to the left; the Gefrorn, more to the north-east; and after them, above all, the solitary Glockner, on the frontiers of Saltzburg and of Carinthia, extend their frozen branches through vast solitudes. Here, torrents roaring under long vaults of crystal, fall or roll through reverberating chasms: the terrible *avalanche* compresses with loud report the air of the narrow valley, carrying desolation among scattered dwellings, and shaking to the foundation the very nest of the eagle, and the cave of the *chamois*. Here, also, among these horrors are to be found the smiling beauties of Helvetia: but Saltzburg has not, like her, been observed by a SAUSSURE, explored by a BOURIT, unveiled and painted by a RAMOND. (ED.)

* RIVIERE. Extract from the "*Moniteur*" of the 10th March, 1804:—"List of the banditti charged by the British ministry to attempt the life of the First Consul * * * * Third debarkation at the foot of the cliff near Beville, on the 16th of January, from an English cutter commanded by Captain WRIGHT, * * * &c. The Ex-Marquis DE RIVIERE, known by the name of RIFARDEAU prior to the Revolution, a confederate of the Count D'ARTOIS. There was found upon his person, the portrait of that prince, with this inscription:—*Given by the Count* D'ARTOIS *to his faithful aide-de-camp,* DE RIVIERE, *for*

has signalized himself in a very extraordinary way in La Vendée. He went two or three times disguised to Paris, to get information, and to judge of the temper of the people—and swam a river two or three times for similar purposes, under the fire of the enemy. The Duchess DE POLIGNAC, of whose influence with the late queen you have heard so much, died at Vienna, very soon after the news of the queen's death: the one occasioned the other. The Princess of France is handsome, but I think she has not much feeling.

My health is better. My head-aches are not quite gone, but they are less frequent. I have found benefit in taking a good deal of exercise, particularly in fencing, in which I am become tolerably expert. Give my best remembrance to all your brothers, &c. and believe me to be ever, my dear L——,

Yours, &c.

J. T.

The letter which follows, describing the manner in which Mr. TWEDDELL prepared himself for investigating the most retired and least accessible parts of the cantons of Switzerland, suggests a natural, though melancholy, sentiment of regret for the *Journals**

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the perilous journeys he has performed for his service. Arrested the 13th Ventose." The Marquis has been set at liberty since the restoration, and is now about the person of MONSIEUR. He has recently been nominated to the embassy of Constantinople. (ED.)

* For an account of these, see *Appendix*—Letter to A. MOORE, Esq. (C.)

of travels so conducted, in regions so interesting, and, for the most part, unexplored!

XIV.

To FRANCIS TWEDDELL, Esquire.

Glaris, ce 27 Juillet, 1796.

MON TRES CHER PERE,

Je ne vous ai pas donné de mes nouvelles depuis la dernière lettre que j'ecrivis à mon frere de Zurich. Dès ce tems là je n'ai jamais été dans un endroit où les reglemens de la poste m'ont paru assez bien ordonnés, pour me faire esperer que ma lettre vous parviendroit. Me voilà actuellement à Glaris, la capitale du canton du même nom. Je serai de retour à Zurich en quelques jours—je vous écrirai encore de là. Mais comme j'ai laissé s'écouler à peu pres un mois sans vous écrire (chose assez rare de ma part), je ne veux pas absolument le différer d'avantage, de peur que je ne sois retardi sur ma route d'ici à Zurich plus longtems que je ne pense. Et comment vous portez vous, mon cher pere? et ma mere et mes sœurs, et Robert, leur va-t-il aussi bien? Pour moi, je me portois à merveille, quand j'entrai d'abord en Suisse, cependant depuis cette dernière excursion que je viens de faire, j'en trouve ma santé encore plus affermie. Car sâchez-vous, que je voyage actuellement à pied—c'est a dire, que je voyage comme Thales, Platon, Pythagore. Combien de plaisirs differéns on rassemble par cette agréable manière de voyager! De plus, je voyage seul—car ce plan de connôitre un pays en detail (et c'est le seul plan de connôitre bien la Suisse) ne convient pas à Mr. D.——Aussi bien je lui ai dit que je ne voulois pas

pour tout le monde gêner ses démarches, et que s'il trouvoit que vraisemblablement il s'ennuyeroit pendant une telle course, il feroit bien mieux d'aller dans notre voiture tout droit à Lausanne, et m'y attendre. Enfin il a pris ce parti—et je compte le revoir au commencement de Septembre. JOSEPH l'accompagna—car, quand j'arrivai à Zurich, il paroissoit avoir une idée si affreuse des fatigues de se promener à pied, des mauvaises accommodations, et de je ne sais combien d'autres choses, que je vis bien qu'au lieu de m'etre utile, il me deviendroit un embarras terrible, en se plaignant intérieurment du mauvais gôut de son maître, et en grondant partout de ce que les petits chalets ne fournissoient pas une chere assez delicate pour contenter sa gourmandise. Aussi bien je lui ai dit de s'en aller à Lausanne, avec Mr. D.; que je ne voulois pas m'embarasser du fardeau de ses caprices. Dans sa place j'ai loué pour le coup un honnête et robuste paysan, qui porte sur le dos un petit portmanteau, contenant quelques chemises, quelques cravates, quelques mouchoirs, quelques pairs de bas, une veste, une paire de culottes, un manteau de toile cirée (en cas de pluie sur les montagnes), des livres, du papier, et une écritoire. Vous voilà au fait de mon nécessaire à peu de chose près. Je suis fort content de cet échange. Actuellement je suis accompagné d'un bon Suisse, qui connoit le pays, la langue, et les coutumes. C'est le cousin de mon aubergiste à Zurich, qui joint même de l'instruction à de fort bonnes manieres. Il m'est impossible de vous décrire le pays que j'ai parcouru pendant cette petite excursion—et pour deux raisons—d'abord, parce que la forme gigantesque des rochers que j'ai vus, les prairies ravissantes couvertes de nombreux troupeaux, les sources jaillissantes à chaque pas, transparentes come l'air qui les environne, et pures comme les neiges toujours vierges qui les alimentent, parce qu'enfin tant de charmes réunis pour former l'ensemble le plus interessant de la nature, outrepassent toute description. En a-t-on lu? on peut en parler—On

les voit, et on se tait. Une autre raison est, que si même j'etois à portée de vous tout décrire, le tems me manqueroit dans ce moment, car cette ville ne contenant guères rien qui soit digne d'arrêter mes attentions, je ne fais que passer. Hier je fis une tres longue journée. Je me levai à trois heures du matin, et je ne me suis pas arrêté avant huit heures du soir. J'excepte trois heures de repos au milieu de la plus grand chaleur, durant lesquelles, je dînai. Je marchai treize lieues—à peu pres 40 miles d'Angleterre. Mais m'etant promené tout doucement pour jouir à mon aise les beautés de la nature, je ne me sentis pas fatigué du tout. Je pris en arrivant ici du pain, du beurre, du miel, et du lait (mon souper & dejeûner ordinaire), je me couchai à 10 heures, apres m'être baigné les pieds dans l'eau tiéde mêlée de l'eau de vie, et je me suis levé ce matin a 7 heures pour vous ecrire. Je n'ai pu faire autant il y a quelques années. Le seul inconvénient que j'en ressens, c'est qu'ayant marché deux heures dans la neige sur la cime d'une montagne, la reflection du soleil sur la vaste surface blanche m'éblouit d'une maniere si insoutenable, que j'en ai la figure un peu cauterisée. Au reste, je me porte, comme je vous ai déjà dit, on ne peut mieux. Adieu donc, mon très cher père. Rappelez moi tres affectueusement à ma bonne mere.———Que le bon Dieu vous aime tous, et vous fasse souvenir de moi! Croyez surtout que je suis, et que je serai toujours, avec le devouement le plus entier, et la plus parfaite reconnoissance, votre fils affectionné.

J. J.

XV.

To Miss TWEDDELL.

Berne, August 31st, 1796.

MY DEAR SISTER,

I have been here three days, and am likely to stay as many more, for the weather is very unfavorable to my pedestrian marches. My scheme of walking through Switzerland agrees with me exceedingly well, and I am in the height of strength and health. The other day I ascended a very high mountain, called Titlisberg.* It is 10710 feet above the level of the sea. It cost me nine hours to ascend it. I set out at a quarter after midnight, and reached the summit at half after nine. For the last two hours I marched up a steep inclined plane of ice—of course you will conclude I had machines under my feet to prevent me from slipping. I descended much more quickly, and after crossing another mountain, arrived between four and five o'clock in the afternoon in a charming little valley by the side of a romantic lake, surrounded by the huts of shepherds and herdsmen. Here I found excellent cheese, (bread I had taken along with me) fresh butter, and cream, such as my soul loveth. In the corner of the hut, the honest shepherd spread for me a quantity of hay, on which, after being refreshed with food, I lay down and slept until four o'clock

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* See a very particular account of a similar expedition by Mr. Freygrabend, a physician, in a letter from that gentleman to a friend at Lucerne, in Coxe's *Travels in Switzerland*, Vol. i. p. 321. (Ed.)

the next morning, at which hour one of my guides awakened me, and I rose (it was not necessary to dress myself) without the least feeling of fatigue, and continued my journey till eight o'clock in the evening. The air of these high mountains has very bracing qualities, and after mounting almost perpendicularly for several hours, if for twenty minutes I rest myself upon the ground, I feel perfectly refreshed and as able to continue my route as when I first commenced. I am convinced that I have benefited materially by this excursion. But exclusively of an accession of health, I have by this means seen the country in a very superior manner. In each of the cantons through which I have passed, I left nothing unseen behind me. I have travelled where neither carriage nor horse could have followed my route—and General PFYFFER* of Lucerne, who is better acquainted with his own country than any other man in it, told me that my course was one of the completest that he had ever known to be pursued. My single journey will have embraced more than Mr. COXE's tour.—By the way, have you read COXE's *Travels?* If not, buy the french translation by RAMOND†—there are two translations—but RAMOND has

* General PFYFFER—a native of Lucerne, and officer in the french service. He constructed a very curious model (formed of a composition of charcoal, clay, and other materials) 20 feet and a half long, and 12 in breadth, exhibiting a topographical representation of the most mountainous parts of Switzerland, in an accurate and minute detail, and of extraordinary beauty. The execution of it cost the General nearly 20 years, before it was brought to entire perfection.

† RAMOND—The same of whom there is often mention in the pleadings of the lamentable trial of the Cardinal DE ROHAN, and one of the Deputies of Paris to the national Legislature, where he was distinguished by the rectitude of the views and principles which he maintained. He made himself remarkable also by a speech (on 29th Oct. 1791) in defense of the clergy who refused to take the oath prescribed by the constitution, in which he forcibly asserted the rights of a free exercise of public worship. He was exiled, or lived in voluntary retreat (probably in Switzerland) where he addicted himself exclusively to literary researches. Concerning this man of letters Baron DE GRIMM testifies:—*il n'a rien écrit qui ne porte l'empreinte d'une âme très élevée et très sensible.* (ED.)

added many important observations to his, which are worth all the original together. You will be highly gratified with his observations upon the Glaciers, in the 2d vol. They are very finely written. Wherever I go, I always wait upon the men of information most celebrated in the place. I brought no letters with me (except for LAUSANNE), but the Swiss are so very obliging in communicating with strangers, and so pleased to find any stranger who interests himself about their country, that I never had the least difficulty in introducing myself wherever I wished. I always carry pens and paper in my pocket, write my observations on the spot, and transcribe them in a book before I go to bed. I have filled *four small quarto books with such remarks*, and one day or other I hope that you will have pleasure in travelling over again with me this country upon paper. Your affection will create the interest which exists but feebly in the remarks themselves. At present I am going to Basle, where I hope to find letters from Threepwood. You do not know what repast it is to hear from so great a distance—especially while the posts are so uncertain, on account of the progress of the French. I found here a letter from Lord ELGIN, our envoy at Berlin, inclosing another for Mr. WICKHAM, our minister at Berne, with whom I dined yesterday.

And now, my dearest JANE, having talked a great deal about that very unimportant being, myself, let me inquire about you. How is your health? Tell me, at least, that it is improving, and that you make progress to strength. This is a subject about which I feel the most lively interest, as about every thing which regards you. Write to me a long letter, and talk a great deal about yourself. Do you advance rapidly in the french language? One of these days I will send you some advice about books in that language.

The french authors are delicious. Have you found much use in the *Tablettes Chronologiques* which ROBERT gave you? It is an excellent book, and contains an infinite deal of precious instruction. Adieu, my dear sister! Love me always as I do you. Present my duty and affection to my father and mother; and my love to that other little sister of mine, if she has not forgotten me—but tell her, I doubt exceedingly whether her memory will ever be a year old. God bless you, and

Believe me ever,

With truest affection, yours,

J. T.

XVI.

To MRS. WARD.

BERNE, Sept. 24, 1796.

MY DEAR MRS. W.

I HAVE received your letter of the 5th August, but not till yesterday; it was sent to me from Lausanne. I must scold you, my friend—you are in truth a bad correspondent. I do not vaunt myself as very much better: but you would excuse me for writing to you so seldom, if you considered the little time I have to myself.

Travelling in general the greater part of the day—in the evenings with society; on my return I have then to make observations on what may have occurred to me in the course of the day; and, besides, an infinite number of letters, which courtesy rather than friendship requires me to reply to. Since I have been at Berne (about ten days) I have received above thirty; not, you may be sure, from England, but from different parts of Germany, the Ukraine, &c. &c. In short, this burden, for it frequently is so, is too much for me—and I am obliged to be remiss, in order to have time to breathe; when I am so towards you, pray forgive me, and believe that I never am so willingly—you have so many titles to my friendship, and all so strong. Thus I began with attacking you, and conclude with defending myself—a plain proof that I belong to the coalesced powers.

I will answer immediately your questions about Switzerland. With regard to Basle and Geneva—the former is the centre of all kinds of commercial and political negotiation*—do not think of it—and as for Geneva, it will soon belong to France; but it must first suffer another revolution. The city is full of *agitators*, sent thither by the French; and it cannot be a place of comfortable residence for many years. Look at the map only. Savoy to the east; France to the south; Versoi (belonging to France) to the south-east: consider it as at this moment belonging to France. I came in possession, a few days ago, of a conversation between

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* The intrigues of France succeeded very early in exciting discontent and commotion in Basle. It was the first canton which abandoned the old helvetic confederacy, and adopted the revolutionary code. The town is the largest in Switzerland, but its population by no means corresponds with its apparent extent, being only 14,000. (Ed.)

La Croix* and another person, in which the iniquitous intentions of France, with regard to that city and a part of the Pays de Vaud, were very clearly manifested: it is too long to detail. I do not think Zurich would please you. The men and the women live little together; the greater part of the society speak german. There is a great deal of plodding, and some talents there; but, in short, the cast of the people would not please you; exclusively of this, the situation is most delicious. As for Berne,† I like it much better—but it is not quite what it ought to be. There is much corruption among the women, unredeemed by elegance and pleasant manners. Till within these few years the women have been very ill educated; at present they begin to improve, but it is only the rising generation. As for the men, the younger part are not amiable; among the elder there are several that are agreeable and well instructed. Mr. Wyttenbach,‡ in particular, among the

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* Charles la Croix—sometime secretary for foreign affairs.

† Berne.—Mad. De Staël observes, that this place has more recently acquired a title to the regard of travellers, greater than it ever before possessed—"*Il semble que depuis ses derniers malheurs elle ait repris toutes ses vertus avec une ardeur nouvelle, et qu'en perdant ses trésors elle ait redoublé de largesses, envers les infortunés.*" It is added, that the charitable establishments here are the best administered of, perhaps, any in Europe. The hospital is a magnificent building, with this inscription over the door, "*Christo in pauperibus,*" which obtains, as it deserves, a high commendation from the learned writer. —(See Mad. De Staël, *L'Allemagne,* vol. i. p. 189. See also a description of the *fête* of Interlaken, in honour of the founder of Berne, and a beautiful sketch of the effect of an illumination of the mountains. *Ibid,* p. 188—197.) (Ed.)

‡ Professor Wyttenbach—from whose papers the University of Oxford prepared an edition of the moral works of Plutarch, enriched with that learned gentleman's annotations. (See *Gent. Mag.* vol. lxii. p. 118.) Mr. Tweddell was a guest with Mr. Wyttenbach, and appears to have presented him with a copy of his "*Prolusiones.*" The Editor

last—a great naturalist in all the departments of that study, and of general information, and extremely obliging, and benevolent. There is also a considerable library belonging to the government, and there are a great many good english books in it. The Senator FELLENBERG* would procure you as many as you wanted; and, at my desire, would do every thing to serve you at first—and at your own request, as soon as he saw and knew you. He, and two or three men of junior standing, are well versed in english literature: they are all inclined to very liberal opinions. Mr. FELLENBERG is one of the first men in the government, and the rest members

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subjoins an extract from an original letter of the Professor's to Mr. T. dated, "BERNE, 20 8bre, 1796."—"*Je commençai à m' inquieter sur votre sort, mon cher Monsieur, voyant que le tems étoit si mauvais, la saison si fort avancée, et les Alpes partout couvertes des neiges: je suis donc doublement charme de vous sçavoir en sureté et dans des endroits où l'on trouve toujours de bonnes auberges et bonne compagnie. Votre ouvrage me fait un véritable plaisir et j'y ai lû ce matin SYLLA et LOCKE: comme rien ne me charme plus qu'un beau style latin, dont je suis véritablement amoureux, vos compositions déja par là devoient me plaire infiniment. Nous parlerons une autre fois du contenu et de votre manière de le traiter, si vos courses vous ramèneront par Berne, ou si dans l'avenir vous voulez m' accorder la faveur de votre amitié et correspondence que je sçaurai sûrement apprécier.*"——"*En attendant le plaisir de vous revoir à Berne, j'ai l'honneur d'etre avec une éstime et amitié sans fard, &c. &c.*

(Signed)

J. S. Wyttenbach."

* Mr. FELLENBERG—a member of the senate of Berne. For an account of the humane exertions of this gentleman to advance the instruction and improve the condition of the poor, and of his estimable character, the reader is referred to Mad. DE STAEL's *Germany*, vol. i. p. 184.——Mr. TWEDDELL was in habits of correspondence with Mr. FELLENBERG, who seems to have honored him with a large share of his regard.

of the church.——Mr. WYTTENBACH told me also that there are some few women, for instance the daughter of the great HALLER,* who are amiable and well-informed. I confess to you I have not lived a great deal with the women in this country.—For as I am but a bird of passage in Switzerland, and as the men and women live a good deal separate, and as therefore I must choose between one and the other, I was obliged to confine myself principally to the sources of best information—which in Switzerland, Mrs. W. is whimsically enough found among the men: "they order these things better" in England. Still, however, I have seen enough of the women, not to like them so well as either my own country-

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* ALBERT HALLER—was born 16th October, 1708, at Berne. As a physician, a botanist, and a general scholar, his knowledge is known to have been profound and extensive. He studied under BOERHAAVE and became his favorite scholar. In anatomy his proficiency was such, that, being on a visit at Basle, where he was studying mathematics under the celebrated BERNOULLI, he was appointed to read lectures in that department during the sickness of the professor, being then only about 20 years of age. In mathematics and in poetry, such was the versatility of his talents, his skill was not less extraordinary. In 1736, HALLER was appointed to the professorship of physic, botany, and surgery, in the University of Gottingen, by the unsolicited bounty and discernment of the Elector, King GEORGE II. He retained that appointment until 1753, when he retired to his native place; from which the most splendid offers of honor and emolument from several monarchs, and from learned universities, could never tempt him to separate. Between the years 1757 and 1766, during his retirement at La Roche he published "*Elementa Physiologiæ corporis humani*" in eight volumes, quarto, which has immortalized his name HALLER, like his great master BOERHAAVE, was a firm believer in divine revelation, and employed his great talents in defeuse of its truth, and in refutation of the advocates of infidelity. His "*Letters to his Daughter,*" which have been translated into English (in a small octavo volume) prove his own deep conviction of mind, the excellency of christianity, and the devout solicitude of an affectionate parent, in a striking and amiable point of view. The beautiful apostrophe of Madame DE STAEL (speaking of a distinguished character) is here particularly applicable—"*Ah! qu'il est beau le talent, quand on ne l'a jamais pro-*

women, or the French or the German ladies. I like simplicity—and I like refinement also: but I do not like simplicity when it affects to be refined This is the case of the ladies of the great towns—and in the little ones, *les femmes sont bien peu de chose*—except occasionally for their beauty, as in the more retired part of this canton. But I know that with you beauty is considered as a defect: that was one of the only things in which I ever knew you contradict yourself.———As for Lausanne, I have not been there, but I will give you an early account of it. It is certainly the gayest place; and where, I apprehend, the pleasantest society is to be found; for there is of all sorts, and at all seasons. Madame DE STAEL* lives there, NECKER's daughter, whose letter to Mr. PITT you have probably read: she is undoubtedly one of the first *esprits* that are to be found among women; I shall be able to give you a letter to her. I do not mention Neufchatel. It is by no means eligible.———This, my dear friend, is the sum of all I can say to you; I only speak in generals.——With regard to introductions, I brought no letters into Switzerland myself, except to Lausanne and Geneva. I have always introduced myself, and always found the most interesting persons in every place extremely

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fané, quand il n'a servi qu'à révéler aux hommes, sous la forme attrayante des beaux-arts, les sentiments généreux, et les espérances religieuses obscurcies au fond de leur cœur!" This excellent man died on the 12th December, 1777, in the 70th year of his age. (ED.)

* Madame DE STAEL.—In one of the letters with which the Editor was honored by this accomplished lady, is the following passage:—"*Tout ce que je puis vous dire sur Monsieur votre frere, c'est que j'ai rencontré peu de personnes dont le caractére inspirât plus d'attachement et dont la conversation fut plus interessante. Le souvenir que je conserve de lui me fait desirer vivement de vous connôitre, et de causer avec vous sur l'objet de votre affection.*" (ED.)

anxious to serve and oblige me. Upon the whole, they are good people in Switzerland; but you must lock up your dreams about the golden age. The Switzers are men—sometimes good and sometimes bad enough—very different in one part from another. I forbear at present to enter into a particular history of my travels in the country, or of its extraordinary beauties. Suffice it, that I am highly delighted with the manner in which I have spent my summer, and that upon the whole my health is improved. I have, however, what is called a *fluxion* upon the breast, which I would willingly get rid of before the winter,* but I begin to doubt of it. I am going from hence to Basle: I shall from thence descend by Bienne, Neufchatel, &c. &c. to Lausanne. There I propose to stay about ten days—go to Geneva for a few days more, and then pass by the Grisons into the Tyrol for Vienna. I should have been delighted, had it been possible to meet you; indeed I know few things which would have given me so much pleasure. If I am in Italy and you in Switzerland, believe me, it is not St. Bernard, nor Simplon, nor St. Gothard, nor any other mountain, that shall prevent me from going to see you. In the mean time, I wish you every blessing, and every thing that is good for your health, satisfaction, the realization of your fondest hopes, and a life as long as it shall remain happy. Beyond that period I don't wish it to you, for then I know that it is worse than death—at least I believe it—for what death is, I can but guess.

I had forgotten to reply to Mr. WARD's question about a carriage from England: Yes—I certainly think it would be useful.

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* See an extract from the report of the physician at Athens. *Appendix.*

In the first place it is infinitely more commodious, and proportionably cheaper, than a german one. The latter costs the difference in the shorter duration and the more frequent repair. A friend of mine who bought a german carriage, at Hamburg, writes to me, that by the time he arrived in Italy, it had taken nearly double the price in repairs, and that after all it was then worth nothing: my own carriage had not cost me above four pounds when I arrived at Vienna, though I had travelled in the depth of winter through the dismal roads of Germany by Brunswick, Berlin, and Dresden: at present it is, for the same purpose, as good as new. I would recommend to WARD to have his carriage made strong, particularly the wheels, and to have imperials. I would have a cover which should embrace every thing but the windows, in order to protect it from the dirt. I was obliged, from the real weight of luggage, &c. to have four horses, and sometimes six; you will probably travel in a better season, and certainly in better roads, and therefore three horses will probably be sufficient.———Do not be shocked at the odd number of three horses—it is quite the thing in Germany—and when four are not necessary, the difference of one horse is there, I assure you, a consideration in so long a journey. You must make up your minds to bad accommodations, frauds, stoppages, &c. &c., I would have added, and dirty sheets, if I did not presume that you would have the precaution to take your own. Two pair will be sufficient, or even one, for there will be sufficient time to wash them while you change horses—There's comfort for you. You must take a provision of small-toothed combs with you—your head will soon tell you, why. Another thing which you must take with you is, patience—you will want it at every inn. You will find the first horses yoked a hundred yards before the second horses; You may think that the reason of this is, in

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order to go before for the purpose of ordering dinner; but it is not so.*

I confess to you I have doubts about the peace of Switzerland, in consequence of the conduct of the French on one side, and a message of the imperial minister on the other. But this will be decided in a few days one way or the other, and Mr. FELLENBERG will give me immediate notice of it.

Adieu, my good friend,

J. T.

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* A gentleman who has travelled much on the continent, informs the Editor that this mode of harnessing has its advantages in bad roads, and in difficult countries. The compact mode of harnessing used in England incurs the casualty, sometimes, of bringing all four horses to the ground at once. In crossing frozen waters in Sweden, &c. the leaders are sometimes literally yoked five yards before the shaft-horses: and in case of the ice failing the traces (of rope) are instantly cut. (ED.)

XVII.

To the Hon. STEPHEN DIGBY.

MY DEAR MR. D.

Since I have been in Switzerland I have received two letters from you, both addressed to me at Lausanne; where, however, I have not yet been. I have found so much interest in the interior of the country so seldom visited, that I have had no time yet to repair to the general resort. I quit Basle the day after to-morrow, and shall be at Lausanne in eight days from that time. For myself, I am better than when I wrote last; but the fluxion on my breast will certainly not quit me before the winter; however, it gives me less pain. It is extraordinary enough, I can walk from morning to night without the least symptom of fatigue, and yet I cannot run three paces nor leap a ditch of three yards. But I suffer no present inconvenience, at least, no material one—and I am willing to believe that my general state of health is not materially connected with this disorder. Besides, a pain in the breast is little to me—*his graviora passo.* I suppose that C—— thinks of returning home. As for me, to return home is out of the question. You are very kind in saying with what pleasure you would see me—I know it—You have been always kind to me; and certainly there would not be less pleasure on my part in meeting again with you. I would give much to talk with you some part of every day. There was an herb

which grew in Greece, called λωτος,* those who tasted which forgot their country and the scenes which they had passed in it; as for the scenes which I have passed in mine, I know of none which bring pleasure to my memory—only my own family, yourself, Josh, Mrs. W. and one or two other friends, are all that I would except from oblivion. Every thing else presents to me either a duty neglected, or a folly committed, or a loss of time, or abuse of the few powers which I have, or hopes madly conceived and cruelly frustrated.† I recall no year, no month, no week, scarcely an entire day, passed without some feeling which has embittered all the rest of it. You think I exaggerate—I assure you I do not. I do not talk of the time I passed at school. I was then thoughtless; and, though not particularly happy, yet I was not otherwise. When I first went to college I was dissipated, and regretted every day what I committed every day: I spent more money than I ought, and again regretted that I put my father to so much expense. During this period I was half the day very comfortless; reproaches and exhortations made me endeavor to redeem, what I never have done, my lost time. I was then ambitious—and no one can conceive with what fretful impatience I waited for the time of trial, and with what fears and pains I expected the decision of those trifling honors. I should have been ill if I had not succeeded—and when I did, I was not happy for three moments, because I recollected that more would be expected of me the following year. Before I left college, as evil things always grow fast, I felt a much higher

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* Homer. *Od.*

† Passages of this complexion occasionally occurring in these letters, are not to be too literally interpreted. The writer's mind at this time, owing to incidental causes, was tinged with a shade of melancholy—which was very far from being his real or habitual temper. (Ed.)

ambition, but equally foolish—till, all on a sudden, without being either disappointed or gratified, it nearly died away of itself. Then, my father entertained great notions of my distinguishing myself at the bar; the consciousness that this would never be, from the excessive disgust which I felt at the life, the principles, the habits, the style, the every-thing of a lawyer, acted upon my temper most uniformly and constantly, and made me frequently pass very unpleasant moments.——All this time I was most unhappy, though I tried to banish the idea, and to persuade myself that I had no reason to be so—you know what followed, and I have been more happy since. This last circumstance, certainly, has materially changed me.——— On the whole, I am now in a fit condition for society. Formerly I liked only to sit by myself, and to think or read, or to pass my hours quietly and collectedly with such a friend as Losh or you. I did not feel myself upon an equal footing with society; but at present I mix upon the same terms, and go like the rest, to lose ideas instead of acquiring them—at least, very often this has been my only view. And thus far it is certainly true, that although the first principle of entering a large society being lost, I afterwards swim with the tide, and partake for the time of whatever humor is uppermost with the crowd; yet, did I feel myself quite happy within myself, I should frequent these helter-skelter parties much less than I do now: for I sometimes am amazed at the total change of my life: I now go every where with eagerness, where the snow-ball rolls; and formerly I as regularly avoided it.——My best chance of tranquillity, I believe, is to pursue the same plan which I now pursue—and to turn my thoughts, with what remaining earnestness I have, to the side of useful information, and to take advantage of the situation in which I find myself, in order to see in what manner humanity learns to cross and jostle in a crowded room.

My journey in Switzerland has not, I think, been without use to me. I am content with the information which I have picked up upon many little points which the greater part of travellers disdain—and pleased with the country and the people. My intentions with regard to Greece and Egypt remain unaltered. I purpose in five weeks to return to Vienna; to pass there, at least, a couple of months, and then to proceed to Constantinople by land.

I hope you received my letter, dated about the beginning or middle of August from Zurich. I am ashamed to think that I have not written to you since; but letters increase upon me formidably. Some, indeed, amply repay me for the time which is occupied in correspondence—such are those of Mr. O'Donnel at Vienna, and of Mr. De Souza the portuguese minister, in whose praise you may recollect me to have said much while I was at Hamburg. He is, indeed, a most excellent man—and a prodigy for a minister. In general, diplomacy gives a cast to the features; and a man's credentials, by way of commodiousness, are graven in his forehead; the characters of office are deep in proportion as the character of the official person is shallow. Mr. De Souza* is the only minister, except, perhaps, the Baron Hardenberg, who does not affect mystery either in his air, manner, or conversation. He communicates all that it is not necessary to hide, with frankness, as the news of the day; for, said he, "after all, there is very little at the bottom of all this which it is necessary to keep secret; and as for that which is really important, I conclude that no man

* Mr. De Souza, subsequently, married the *ci-devant* Mad. Flahaut. (See Letter II.)

of sense will ever ask me a question upon the subject." All ministers, almost without exception, that I have seen, affect humbug.—If you ask, what's new? a shrug, a hint of confidence—*don't talk of it yet publicly*—I beg, then, to be excused, I only wished to know what was of no importance. The grand secret has generally been in the Gazette the week before.—I beg Mr. FRASER's pardon. He, indeed, has no foolish pretensions. He is a simple, plain man—fat, and good-humored, and unaffected. My-Lord E**** is a gentleman-like obliging man as he can be—but he pretends to be capable of negociating, because he was employed to negociate at Brussels—a commission which he executed ill. He has moderate talents, and positively no information; so that upon the most indifferent political subject he always felt uneasy—for he was not at home—and then mystery is requisite. His conversation is of a most trifling complexion, although never pompous. But in his political transactions he has never been suspected of diplomatic treacheries, and is, I dare say, too honorable to have recourse to them. At Dresden, next comes Mr. E*****, also a very obliging man, at least I have reason to say so; but full of pretension, affectation, singularity, mystery—affecting openness, without a spark of ingenuousness in his character (but this imposes, and people think him frank)—a humorist, first by plot, latterly by habit—adopting that opinion which every other man rejects. But he has parts, and pleasantry; I like his society upon the whole, and think him by far the most capable of all those that I have seen in my tour. But then, oh! then, no diplomatic artifice is too gross, if he can compass the obtainment of his intelligence. Then comes Sir ———, an empty coxcomb of seven feet high; fit object to sit in state under the clipped wings of the imperial eagle. He puts me in mind of a stuffed thing in a naturalist's cabinet of outlandish rarities—it does not appear the less because it has no

entrails.—Put him aside. Then Mr. W******, at Berne: he is a polite, well-bred, obliging man; but he, too, though not so mysterious as the greater part, has the character of his order upon him, and you note him as belonging to the *corps diplomatique*.—O folly! folly! Why all this difference between a man and a minister? Official practice for two months; the reading of half a dozen books, which most well-informed men read without a diplomatic education; a recurrence to dead Gazettes; good connections in two or three countries on the continent; and some general historical information; is more than what composes the greater part of these pragmatical little gentlemen. How painful is it to see a human being that yesterday was only characterised by the broad distinction of man, subdivide himself to-day into the intriguing and winking lacquey of the first favorite!

The ministers of other nations are much the same as our own in general, and alike infected with the wish to be thought something—almost all, except Mr. De Souza; whose morality is as pure, and whose frankness is as perfect, as when he first entered this vitiating career. For, in general, their principles are as lax as their manners are close—and their morality is full of joints, so as to shift at every moment to all quarters, and appear in every form and attitude without effort or preparation. Then, at last, they retire home, bringing with them, according to their age and the remains of their original humor, either an imperious dogmatism or an insufferable peevishness; because, forsooth, they know every thing, though formerly every one perceived that they knew nothing.

What a letter have I penned!—full of all kinds of unimportant matters unconnected together! When I once begin to write

to *you* I go on as if I was talking.——I have not time to read over again this long collection of nonsense—therefore excuse what I have written *calamo currente*, for it must be full of mistakes and *unintelligibilities*.

I am, &c. &c.

J. T.

XVIII.

To JAMES LOSH, Esquire.

Basle, October 3, 1796.

MY DEAR LOSH,

You will have received e'er now my letter from Zurich, written about the middle of September. I have been so much occupied ever since, in travelling during the day, in society at night, and in writing observations an hour or two between, that I really have been obliged to neglect my friends. Besides, my epistolary correspondence is become a serious toil to me. The number of my real friends is, perhaps, little augmented; and to them it is always a pleasure to write. But I receive letters from many persons whose acquaintance I have made either in Germany or Switzerland, and to whom politeness obliges me to reply in preference even to those whom I like better. On the other hand, there are some to whom I should make answer with great pleasure, were I fixed any where, instead of being as I now am, on the *pavé*—such as

those of Madame De Nadaillac, the Duchess of Guiche, the Comtesse De Polignac, and a particular friend of their's, Mad. De Noiseville—a woman of very high understanding and extraordinary wit. The last three, though all in the same family, write to me separate letters, and in such a manner that I am obliged to write separate answers—for they are all of them in a different way. I wish, above all things, every time that I think of this family, that you had known them.——I had a very long letter from Heyne* the other day, very interesting, exclusively of its being more than civil.—I am obliged to sit up all night to despatch a part of what is due to the accumulation of claims in this way.

I am delighted with the good accounts you give me of your health. As for myself, I have lately had pains in my breast, and a return of head-aches; and what is more, a physician whom I have consulted informs me that there is a *fluxion* on my breast, and that I must take great care of myself. To outward appearance I never was better: I am grown more plump, and have more color; and when the weather is really fine and I am on the top of a mountain, I never felt myself stronger than I feel; but if the weather changes, I change with it: however, this is a trifle, I hope—and my general state of health is not particularly affected. Take care not to say to any one that I am not quite well—I would not for the world that this was believed at Threepwood.

I wish I could talk with you upon the subject of what I have

* Christopher Gotlob Heyne—*Poeseōs et Eloquentiæ Profess. in Acad. Goettingen. R.S. Lond. Inst. Paris Soc. &c.* honorary member of the Society of Antiquaries of London. This celebrated classical scholar died in July 1813, at Goettingen, in the 83d year of his age. He retained all his literary ardor to the last; and several persons had letters from him, written both in German and Latin, which were dated the evening before his death. (Ed.)

observed in the course of my travels—but it is impossible to begin upon this subject by letter. I have a great want of you. In Switzerland, believe me, there is much less liberty than people imagine. I give you my word, that few places exhibit more of despotism than Zurich.* The government of that canton is iniquitous in a very sublime degree, But I should be laughed at for saying this, by every traveller almost who runs through Switzerland—"Oh! Switzerland is free—happy Switzerland!" Now nothing is more idle than to talk of the liberty of Switzerland, as if it were one state. It consists of thirteen governments, exclusively of numberless subdivisions of government, and the liberty of one often borders upon the tyranny of another. The aristocracy of Zurich raised my indignation while I staid there—I speak not of the form of which one reads, but of facts which passed under my own eyes—I have some damning documents upon that subject. The government of Zurich cannot last 20 years: I think it will not live above half that time. As for Geneva† it is on the eve of another revolution. If I had time,

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* ZURICH.—This city stands at the northern extremity of the lake; the mountains form an amphitheatre about it; and the intermediate plain, rich in cultivation, and overspread with villas and hamlets, on a gradual declivity to the borders of the water, renders the environs extremely delightful. This was the birth-place of CONRAD GESNER, and of LAVATER. Its population, before the french revolution, was between ten and eleven thousand. It has a well furnished arsenal; in which is shewn the identical bow and arrow with which WILLIAM TELL is said to have shotten the apple from the head of his son. The people of the districts around Zurich, disaffected to the existing government, instituted committees of reform, sent deputies to Paris, finally deposed the old magistracy, and planting the tree of liberty in their city, new modelled themselves according to the french system. (ED.)

† GENEVA has been the scene of so many revolutions, that it might be imagined there were something in the very constitution of its people which unfitted them for tranquillity and content. To their boasted philosopher, ROUSSEAU, and the disciples of his school, they no doubt are largely indebted for the principles of all that factious turbulence and instability

I could give you a curious conversation which passed lately at Paris upon that subject, and in which the minister of the interior, La Croix (who, by the way, was tipsy) had the principal share. The members of the government of that once flourishing town are base scoundrels—and those real patriots who had hitherto remained at Geneva at great risque, only in the hope of staying the plague, are preparing to leave it, as approaching to its fate—I have seen several of them.

I met 300 *carmagnols** upon their retreat a few days ago. I told them I was an Englishman—and we discussed the terms of peace between the two nations—I assure you it was a precious scene! I dined with two or three of the officers—and had a warm dispute about the politics of France with one of them. Another of them was on my side, and when my antagonist maintained that we should have peace in six months, he observed that if France had peace in six years, she might think herself fortunate; for if there was peace to-morrow with England and with the other powers, they would have to fight a long time in the interior—and this (said he to me) is a distinction which you may venture to make between the republic and the republicans—the latter wish for peace—the former (*i. e.* the government) dare hardly make

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which has so long distinguished their city. Mr. Tweddell's prediction was unhappily too soon fulfilled. After suffering another revolution, which Mr. Coxe observes, "was accompanied with all the horrors of pillage, proscription, banishment, assassination, and executions, Geneva at length deservedly suffered a punishment due to unceasing turbulence, in the annihilation of its independence, and an incorporation with the french republic in 1798." (See "*A Letter from a Citizen of Geneva*," vol. ii. p. 417.) (Ed.)

* Carmagnol.—The nickname given to the raw soldiery of France at the outset of the great revolutionary war; which may be said, at length, to be terminated, after lasting from 1791 to 1814!

it. They foresee the conflict which will follow the re-admission of all these men into the bosom of their country. He talked to me as freely upon many other subjects. He said that it was his opinion that they had gone much too far from home; that they had now every thing to fear, upon every check they received, from the peasants whom they had fleeced; and that if the Austrians knew how to conduct themselves, the French would suffer a severe reverse: but they do not know this, that is, their officers do not. It was entirely their fault that the French made any progress in Italy. I saw a person a few days ago who conversed with the French upon their entry into Piedmont. The officers said they did not comprehend the convention, if it had not sent them expressly to be cut off. The troops were at that time discontented and all in rags, without money and without provisions of any kind; the greater part of them boys. But the Austrians appeared; they gained an advantage and retreated; they received a check and retreated; whether they gained or whether they lost, the general order was retreat. Then there were terrible suspicions, on the part of the austrian privates, against the fidelity of their chiefs, who exposed the lives of their men in the most scandalous manner, sending small troops of a few hundred men, hour after hour, where as many thousands could have done little with effect. There has been both perfidy and incapacity on the side of the austrian officers. The fountain-head is corrupted also. I have no doubt in my own mind, from what I saw at Vienna, that Baron THUGUT,* the prime minister, was purchased by three powers: by England to continue the war; by Naples, to employ such and such officers; and by France, to make such arrangements as might facilitate the success of that power. Every person of capacity in the civil and military line, equally, was disgraced at Vienna—as soon as he

* THUGUT—pronounced as if written in English, TOOGGOT.

discovered talents, he was no more employed. I could give you a thousand curious anecdotes upon this head, but my letter is long and I am obliged to take leave of you.

I have just received a most polite and obliging letter from BARTHELEMY,* to whom I had addressed myself for a passport to pass through a part of Franche-Comté. The letter shows how much he is controlled; and how little powers are confided to him. He says, that upon consideration he cannot give me a passport; that the *bureaux* of *surveillance* in the places through which I passed would not fail to write to the minister of exterior relations,† that he had given a passport to an Englishman, without an official authority from that minister; and that I, on my part, should run a risk of being detained. He begins, "*Si j'étois le maître de suivre mon sentiment.*"—BARTHELEMY is a very polite and liberal man, of an even and correct judgment; he has more than once preserved the peace of Switzerland by his moderation, when it was very nearly embroiled. He is extremely popular throughout the country.—— Adieu, my dear LOSH,

Believe me, &c.

J. T.

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* BARTHELEMY—the nephew of the author of "*Anacharsis*," who was in England five-and-twenty years ago, as secretary to the french embassy; who was transported to Guiana during the revolution; who made his escape to England, and was afterwards one of BUONAPARTE's house of Peers, has been made *Grand-cordon* of the Legion of Honor by LOUIS XVIII. The vicissitudes in this man's fortune are astonishing. If the Editor does not mistake, after BARTHELEMY's escape from Guiana, he was found at our secretary of state's office, where he had been accustomed to appear with distinction, lying on a sack in one of the anti-rooms, having been brought there under doubtful appearances. (ED.)

† EXTERIOR-RELATIONS.—The term used in the neology of the french revolution to express Foreign-affairs.

XIX.

To JAMES LOSH, Esquire.

LAUSANNE, 1st November, 1796.

MY DEAR LOSH,

My pedestrian courses are now, I think, finished; and I shall repose here for some weeks. I should go much earlier, but that I have found out a person here of great instruction, who gives me every day certain informations with regard to the country, which I have not hitherto been able to procure. In order that I may have no scruple in occupying his time, I have agreed to pay him for it. I therefore go to him every morning at half past ten o'clock, and stay and consult him upon the laws, customs, &c. of the country. He is a judge, and very highly respected in his office; which does not prevent him, in the consideration of this country, from accepting a pecuniary recompense without any singularity. I have not met with any man of such general information for a long time.——. Geneva is not in a situation to invite visitors at this moment. But as on Thursday next I am invited to spend a few days with Necker, whose house is only two leagues off, I shall certainly go thither for a little time. Necker's daughter, Mad. De Stael, is one of the most extraordinary women I ever saw. She has infinite powers of reasoning; she has lately published a book, "*De l'Influence des Passions*, &c. which discovers much eloquence and strong powers of mind.

I have been here nearly three weeks, and have never once dined at home. You will guess there is some society: it is not, however,

very excellent. There are few English here: but those that are here are a good set. Lord COWPER is a very gentleman-like young man; Lord WYCOMBE* I see a good deal of, and a few others. I do not, however, live so much with the society of Lausanne as with that of Geneva—with those who have settled here since the troubles in that city, and who are greatly preferable. This is a delightful place; during the first fortnight I lodged a little out of the town, by the side of the lake, and had a most magnificent view of the country, and of the snow-capt mountains of Savoy. The rocks of the Meillerie† were opposite to my window. I had four good apartments, one of them a superb room, at the rate of five louis per month—not dear, surely. I have since removed into the town. Switzerland is an excessively dear country; it cost me half the sum during my pedestrian tour through this country (I speak of the common expenses of travelling) half the sum on foot that it cost myself and D—— to travel in Germany, with four horses and sometimes six. This certainly is not a place to pass the winter in on any account: Vienna alone furnishes adequate objects worthy to fix a traveller at this moment; its society, and the conveniences of the best masters, &c. give it a decided preference over every other place. As for the carnival, that would weigh with many persons; but, although it is reckoned one of the most brilliant in Europe, I would willingly dispense with it.

Believe me, &c.

J. J.

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* The late Marquis of LANSDOWNE.

† The village of Meillerie is situated in a bay at the foot of the mountains, which in some places present the form of naked rocks, in others are clothed with wood to the water's edge. "*Je n'ai plus qu'un mot à vous dire, O! Julie. Vous connoissez l'antique usage du rocher de Leucate, dernier refuge des amans malheureux. Ce lieu-ci lui ressemble à bien des égards. La roche est escarpée, l'eau est profonde, et je suis au desespoir.* (*Vide* ROUSSEAU; *Eloisa.*) (ED.)

XX.

To Mrs. TWEDDELL.

The Castle of Copet, near Geneva,
9th Nov. 1796.

MY DEAR MOTHER,

I left Lausanne about ten days ago, upon an excursion. I had an invitation to pass a few days with Mons. Necker, formerly minister of France: this invitation was too interesting to be refused, and I spent with him first of all near a week—I then went to Geneva for a day or two, and am now on a return to Mr. Necker's in my way back to Lausanne. My visit here has been highly agreeable. We have had a very small party in the house—a Madame Rillet, Mr. Micheli de Chateauvieux, and Mr. and Mad. De Stael.——Necker talked to me a great deal and with much interest about England. Upon France he said less, and wished in general to avoid the subject. He is generally thoughtful and silent—but I have had the good fortune to contribute to his amusement, by recounting to him different circumstances in our political affairs; so that Madame De Stael tells me that she has never seen him for many years so much interested, and so abstracted from himself and his own thoughts. He was anxious that I should give him an idea of the different manners of style and oratory of the first speakers in our House of Commons. As I recollected speeches of almost all of them, and possess the base faculty of mimicry, in some measure, without being (I hope) what is called a mimic, I repeated to him different speeches of Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, and Dundas, in

their respective manners: he understands English perfectly well, and you cannot conceive how much he was delighted with this. He desired me to go over them again; and almost every day we have passed several hours upon similar topics, either touching upon HASTINGS's trial, or the examinations and trials of the state-prisoners; or other subjects, relating to the constitution and government of England. Thus he has been, many of these days, quite lively and cheerful, and instead of passing the greater part of his time in his own cabinet, reading and writing, he used to enter soon after breakfast into his daughter's room, and spend with us the greater part of the day. He was, indeed, pleased to say, that nothing had interested him so much for many years. ———Mr. DE STAEL, whose conduct in France had given umbrage at the Court of Sweden, and who apprehended that his functions might in consequence be suspended, received while I was at Copet, a courier to confirm him in the exercise of them. Mad. DE STAEL is a most surprising personage: she has more wit than any man or woman I ever saw; she is plain, and has no good feature but her eyes; and yet she contrives by her astonishing powers of speech to talk herself into the possession of a figure that is not disagreeable.'

You mistake with regard to LAVATER;* he does not take

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* JEAN-GASPARD-CHRISTIAN LAVATER—a protestant minister, celebrated by his work on Physiognomy, was born at Zurich, in 1741. His character is thus sketched by an able pen—"That which made LAVATER in the first degree remarkable was his personal character; there was a mixture of penetration and enthusiasm in him rarely met with; he observed human nature with a refinement of mind perfectly singular, and gave himself up with a confidence the most absolute to ideal impressions which might be characterised as superstitious; at the same time nothing could equal the religious simplicity and candor of his soul; one could not behold, without astonishment, in a drawing-room circle of our own times, a minister of the holy gospel possessing the wit and intelligence of a man

profiles. Had this been the case, I would have sent it to you. I lived a good deal with this extraordinay man during my residence at Zurich. He is a most interesting and amiable character: I was exceedingly pleased with him.—The other night I was at an assembly, where there was a gentleman who cut out resemblances upon paper in a very remarkable manner—I never saw a more ingenious talent or quicker execution. He being desired to give the company a specimen of the skill and quickness with which he cut out a profile, I happened to be pitched upon as the subject, and in about a minute he took what every one present said was a very striking resemblance of me. It appeared so to myself, though I cannot be a correct judge. I was desirous to procure this with the intention of sending it to you; but after it had gone through the hands of different persons, it disappeared; and although I addressed myself certainly to the person who is in possession of it, that person would not confess so much, and I was unable to procure it.

My general health never was better. My long walks, I assure you, have done me no harm.* I am extremely strong, and no quantity of exercise produces fatigue. I walked down to Copet, whilst Madame RILLET came in her carriage. She set out at

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of the world, with something like the inspiration which belonged to the apostles. The ingenuous sincerity of LAVATER was attested by his good actions and the graces of his aspect, which bore an impression of vivacity inimitably fine. (See Madame DE STAEL's "*Germany*," vol. iii. p. 289.) This very extraordinary and amiable man is said to have been stabbed by the bayonet of a french soldier in one of the streets of Zurich. (1801.) (ED.)

* Mr. TWEDDELL was surely mistaken in this opinion. His violent exercise in Switzerland appears to have laid the foundation of all that was fatal in his last illness. (See Physician's Report. *Appendix.*) (ED.)

the same time, and arrived half an hour later. From Lausanne to Copet is nine leagues. I walked it in eight hours: Do you recollect when a ride to Hexham* used to weary me?

Geneva is built in a superb situation. Professor PICTET, a very learned and very estimable man, had the goodness to spend with me all the time that I passed there, and to conduct me to whatever was most remarkable, and into different societies. I could have wished to have spent some time longer there, but the season was not favourable. Mr. PICTET charges me with a small packet for Comte RUMFORD at Munich, whom I shall thus be certain of finding there.†———I have some account to give to my father upon the culture of the vine in Switzerland,‡ and will send him the detail in a few posts.

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* A distance of six miles.

† Professor PICTET, in a letter to Mr. TWEDDELL thus expresses himself:—"*Ce seroit un extreme satisfaction pour moi si vous me faisiez l'honneur de me mander de Munich quelques details de vôtre entrevue avec cet excellent homme, et vos observations sur la Maison d'Industrie. Si ces details étoient de nature à etre insérés dans la* Bibliothéque Britannique, *en tout ou en partie, vous obligeriez tout le public en même tems que les Rédacteurs. Vous m'aviez paru désirer de connoitre les evénémens de notre dernière revolution. Vous les trouverez consignés dans l'un des ouvrages de Mr.* D'IVERNOIS, *que je prends la liberté de vous envoyer. J'y ai joint d'autres écrits de même auteur qui ont paru dans le Courant de la Ville, et qui font honneur à son talent et à ses principles. Agreez, Monsieur, avec mes vœux bien sinceres pour le succés de votre voyage, les assurances des sentimens distingués d'estime et de consideration avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'etre*

&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) *Pictet,*

Prof. de Phil. F.R.SS. Lond. & Edin."

(ED.)

‡ See Letter XXI.

You ask me if I can afford any hints, from the charitable institutions I have seen, of advantageous appropriations for the income of ——— charity. The regulations in such cases must always be relative to the opportunities afforded by each country in which the institution is. At Hamburg* the money belonging to the poor is kept in a bank; of which the establishment is somewhat singular, and about the effects of which very different opinions are formed. Perhaps my father may feel an interest in knowing the general principles of that bank, as he is conversant in such operations. The bank of Hamburg is, properly, a bank of *dépôt*; none but the burghers can deposit their money there; foreigners are obliged to employ the name of some inhabitant. The bank receives bars of silver, or spanish piastres at the same, *i. e.* considering their weight and alloy. No transaction is made at exchange, no bills are paid or drawn, but in *banco* money. This bank has no operation of any considerable importance. The fees of the writers and administrators are drawn from a small *mont de piété*, and from what every merchant pays for his folio of accounts every day delivered in the evening, *i. e.* the account of all his transactions of the day before. No discount is permitted, nor can they make use of the money deposited until this last regulation is complied with. The security of this deposit, the regularity of the accounts and administration, are unquestionable. The administrators (6 elected by the *bourgeoisie*) are so strictly observed, and obliged to such revisions, that it is impossible any malversation can take place. If by this establishment every transaction becomes simple by transfers, if every merchant spares two or three clerks, and avoids the risk of having

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* Mad. De Staël, speaking of the institutions at Hamburg, remarks: "*l'un des services les plus éminents que le Baron* De Voght *et ses excellents compatriotes aient rendus à l'humanité, c'est de montrer que sans nouveaux sacrifices, sans que l'état entrevînt, la bienfaisance particulière suffisoit au soulagement du malheur.*" [See pp. 185-6, vol. i.] (Ed.)

cash at home or at private bankers, if circulation is increased by it, and a constant standard of money kept; if in times before this, before the situation of Europe had thrown a sudden and prodigious augmentation of trade into the hands of the Hamburgers, this bank was found adequate to all its purposes, yet now some inconveniences are felt from a periodical delay of fourteen days in drawing the accounts, which days they employ in making the balance. This occasions a high discount, and the necessity of stopping transactions, or of the merchant providing himself for that period from another source; and this is an annoyance and shackle in trade.

There is another pecuniary establishment at Hamburg, called **Aerschurg's Anstalt**—which is found to answer. It is a fund or capital made by actionaries, where every man can buy a *rente viagere*† at a low interest, paid according to the age and the *tables de* DESPARCIEUX. The *rentier* can fix the period at which he shall begin to receive it; provisions may be made for widows, orphans, burials, &c. The benefit of such an establishment for servants, artists, and labourers, is wonderful; the fund was last year in *banco* 1843533 marcs. But, to form a just idea of this institution, the books and documents of this establishment should be read; it is impossible to enter into all the details.

I understand that another bank is going to be established at Hamburg, that the poor may therein deposit the small fruits of their daily or weekly economy.

Adieu, my dear mother.

Believe me, &c.

J. J.

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* RENTE VIAGERE.—Life annuity.

XXI.

To FRANCIS TWEDDELL, Esquire.

Lausanne, 26th Novembre, 1796.

MON TRES CHER PERE,

Dans une lettre que j'écrivis il y a dix jours à ma mère, j'ai promis de vous donner le resultat de mes observations sur la cultivation des vignes en Suisse. Sachant que c'est une objet que vous soîgnez beaucoup, j'ai été d'autant plus curieux de m'en instruire, et de m'en procurer même tous les détails. On regarde la culture des vignes en Suisse comme bien supérieure à celle de la France et de tout autre pays.

On choisit donc en général une terre saine, marneuse, et un peu compacte. Le produit d'une terre graveleuse est meilleure en qualité mais moindre en quantité. L'exposition en est, ou doit être, au midi, et au levant, et, si c'est possible, au couchant aussi, de sorte que la terre puisse jouir du soleil toute la journée. On commence dans le printems à remuer le terrain jusqu' à trois pieds de profondeur—on y mêle des debris de vieux bâtimens, ou de plâtre. L'on plante dans ce terrain des vignes coupées au printems, bien vivaces, et du meilleur plant (car c'est là leur mot) qu'on puisse trouver. Ces chapons (en ceps) sont plantés à trois pieds de distance—ordinairement 2 en chaque trou. On les enfonce 1 pied et demi. La premiere année ils ne produisent rien, et fort peu la seconde. Cependant on les cultive, on les taille, on ôte les mauvaises herbes qui croissent à leur pied—on y met des engrais; pour les terres fortes le fumier de cheval, pour les terres légères la fiente de vache. Si l'on veut avoir le vin de meilleure qualité, on met fort peu de fumier, presque point. Mais si l'on veut en avoir

la plus grand quantité, on en met beaucoup. La troisieme année la recolte commence à etre de quelque consequence. La 4me. elle est encore plus forte. La 5me. elle est dans toute sa vigueur. Le produit continue de cette force pour 15 ans de plus—ce qui fait en tout 20 ans depuis le plantage. Puis on les arrache, et on les replante.

Dans les terreins bas et froids, où un nouveau plantage ne donneroit une bonne rècolte qu' au bout de 10 ans a peu pres, l'on *provigne** c'est a dire, au lieu de planter des chapons, au lieu de renouveller tout un vignoble à la fois, et par là de perdre les interets de ses terres, et de ses travaux pour une dixaine d'années, on replante les places vuides par les branches des ceps voisins, qu'on couche et couvre de terre dans des creux d' $1\frac{1}{2}$ pied de profondeur. La derniere méthode est celle qu'on suite à la Côte et en general—la premiere est poursuivie dans le pays de Vaud.

On cultive les vignes de cette maniere. D'abord dans le printems on coupe les branches de l'année précédente—on fait la taille—Il y a deux méthods de tailler—1°. ce qu'on appelle *tailler sur la raisin*—lorsqu' il s'agit d'une vigne qu'on va arracher—alors on laisse plusieurs boutons à fruit, et plusieurs branches sortant de cep. 2°. *tailler avec économie*—pour menager le cep—On ne laisse alors que 2 or 3 branches selon la force du cep, et un ou deux boutons à fruit sur chaque branche.

Apres la taille, il faut bêcher soigneusement la vignoble, pour rendre la terre meuble—en même tems il faut y mettre du fumier. Quelque vignerons répandent le fumier egalement—d'autres par places alternatives, c'est à dire, cette année ils le repandent dans un endroit, l'année suivante dans un autre.

* PROVIGNE—Provine, means to propagate the vine by laying the vine-stock in the ground that others may come from it.

Apres la taille, le propriétaire de la vigne doit toujours aller examiner de quelle maniere on l'a fait—Car les vignerons ayant pour gages la moitié du produit, un vigneron qui compte s'en aller l'année suivante, laissera plusieurs boutons, et épuisera le terrein et le cep.

On compte communément que sur une *pose* de vigne (qui est à peu pres nôtre arpent) il faut 4 chars de fumier—chaque char contient à peu pres 6 quintaux ; il coute à present un louis par char, ce qui est terribilement chèr. Depuis 6 ans le prix en a monté d'un $\frac{1}{2}$ louis à 1 louis.

Il faut *eserler* ou sarcler la vigne—l'effeuiller—l'échalasser—lier les branches—et bêcher la terre une seconde fois—quelquefois même on la béche une troisieme.

Mais d'abord, les vignes etant sur une pente, et les neiges et les pluies ayant fait tomber le terrein du haut en bas pendant l'hiver, il aura fallu le rapporter du bas en haut.

Un homme ne peut cultiver que deux poses de terre. Il paroit donc qu'il n'y a point de cultivation plus penible et plus couteuse que celle des vignes—et apres tous ces travaux et toutes ces dépenses, une seule heure de grêle ou de gêlée suffit à detruire toute la récolte. Mais, de l'autre côté, quand la récolte va bien, elle est excessivement lucrative. Une pose de vigne pres de St. Saphorin, à côté du lac de Geneva, a donné l'année passée jusqu'a 17 chars de vin de 400 pots chacun.

1 char de vin de la Vaud se vend communément de 140 à 160 livres de Suisse—or 16 livres de Suisse faisant 1 louis d'or, 17 chars de vin à 150 livres de Suisse chacun, feront 157 louis et

1 gros écu. La moitié de la récolte, comme je vous ai dit, est au vigneron pour prix de ses travaux. Le proprietaire avoit donc 78 louis pour produit net d'un arpent de terre. Mais c'etoit là une récolte prodigieuse. Le produit ordinaire est 6 chars la pose dans la Vaud, et 4 chars à la côte.

Les frais de vendarge, les frais de pressurage, sont tous entiêrs sur le compte de vigneron. Les frais d'échalats, les frais de fumier, se payent moitié par le proprietaire, moitié par vigneron. Les frais du proprietaire en fumier, et en échalats peuvent monter à 5 louis, tout au plus. Or, reste au proprietaire, pour produit net d'un arpent de terre 73 louis—non 78, car j'avois oublié cette petite deduction. Cette somme aux interêts de 4 pour cent suppose un principal de 29000 francs de Suisse, plus de 1830 louis. Cependant on ne donneroit pas sûrement pour cet arpent 1830 louis—car c'etoit une récolte miraculeuse. Souvent on donne pour une pose, (un arpent de terre) à côté de St. Saphorin, 800 louis.

Je crois vous avoir donné ici, mon cher père, la partie principale de la cultivation des vignes en Suisse, en aussi grand detail que l'on puisse le faire par lettre. J'ai pensé que cette information ne manqueroit pâs de vous interesser, amateur comme vous l'etes des vignes. D'ailleurs je n'avois rien de plus pressant à vous mander—ayant écrit si récemment à ma mère. J'ai voulu toute fois vous donner encore de mes nouvelles, avant que je ne quittois la Suisse. Je compte partir d'ici mardi matin. Je me porte à merveille.

Adieu, mon tres cher père. Croyez que je suis en tout tems votre fils affectionné.

J. J.

XXII.

To FRANCIS TWEDDELL, Esquire.

Vienna, 15th Dec. 1796.

MY DEAR FATHER,

I set out from Berne on Saturday night, the 3d instant, after dining with our minister there,* who, as I wished to travel quick and without stopping on the road, gave me despatches for Sir Morton Eden here, and the passport of Courier-Extraordinary. By this means I was delayed no where for horses, or turnpikes—the former being furnished me immediately, and I not being obliged to pay the latter.——I staid a day and a night at Munich, for the purpose of seeing Count Rumford. I wrote to him as soon as I arrived, and he desired me to come and sup with him and his daughter and another lady. I also breakfasted with him the morning after, and went to visit his institutions of different kinds. The House of Industry offered the most delightful spectacle of any I ever beheld. About 700 poor persons dined there *gratis*—and the food, which I tasted, was all excellent; and as much cleanliness and as much order in every department as in any gentleman's house. You have no doubt read the details of that institution in the pamphlets which the Count lately published

* The allusion is to Mr. Wickham—a gentleman whose spirited remonstrances to the government of Berne, in 1797, against the arbitrary requisitions of the French Directory (demanding the expulsion of the emigrants, &c.) and his dignified announcement of the termination of his embassy, when he found his mission no longer respected, associate his name with honorable recollections. (Ed.)

in England. He was extremely kind to me, and sent his carriage and two servants to take me to different places as long as I staid. I arrived at Vienna on Sunday morning. Here I found letters which have changed my projects of winter residence. The Duke of POLIGNAC and his family left Vienna in the summer to settle in Poland. Upon going away he pressed me to spend some time with him, if my travels should conduct me that way before I returned to England. This not being very probable, I thought little about it. He now writes me word, that upon arriving there, he found his new house not yet habitable—But that in his neighbourhood are some of the first families of Poland, and a society very interesting; that the house of the Comtesse POTOSKA especially, is the resort of a variety of distinguished strangers, and upon a footing very different from that of any other country; that during the winter season especially, she invites from different quarters, such persons as she wishes to assemble together, to pass a few months; and that he and his family having talked to her a good deal of me, she is desirous that I should go and spend the winter in that society, and in her house. This letter is accompanied by an invitation from the Comtesse POTOSKA, to pass three months with her instead of seeing the carnival at Vienna. I have accepted of this proposal for the following reasons:— In the first place, I find that the society of Vienna is not nearly upon so pleasant a footing as when I left it; for you will recollect me to have said, that the house which I constantly frequented, and which was in effect the only one open, and where the best society assembled every night, was that of the Count RAZOMOFSKI,* the Russian Ambassador: at present, on account of the extraordinary expenses with which that great establishment

* See Page 76, Letter XII; also COXE's "*Travels in Poland*," I. 314.

was kept up, a retrenchment became necessary—and only formal suppers are given once a fortnight, instead of parties every night. This is still more likely to continue to be the case since the death of the Empress, who chose her ambassadors to live in a state of grandeur. But the present Emperor of Russia has a turn for retrenchment. In the next place, the carnival is about to begin; which, though very brilliant here, occasions a state of tumultuous society, inferior in point both of pleasure and of profit to the more regular system during the rest of the year. I had too much carnival last year at Berlin. Thirdly, I shall see new people, and a new style of living. For the great houses in Poland, such as the Comtesse POTOSKA's, are conducted upon a footing quite different from those of other countries; it is a sort of palace, in which you have your own apartment perfectly independent. Instead of having masters for occasional attendance in the different kinds of instruction for her family, she engages them by the year, and gives them an establishment in her house. She has officers to preside over the different provinces of her household in the same manner as in a little court. She was particularly connected with the late Empress CATHARINE; and her fortunes were, therefore, not affected in the division of Poland.

In addition to the society of the house of POTOSKA, I shall also have that of the POLIGNACS, which was very decidedly the pleasantest and most accomplished, in every way, at Vienna, and the absence of which from this place is a sensible falling off. In the neighbourhood of Madam POTOSKA is a very large russian army, under the command of the Marshal SUVARROW.* The Prince

* ALEXANDER VASILIEVITCH SUVARROW—descended from a swedish family ennobled in Russia, was born in 1730, and at the age of twelve enrolled in the russian army. He signalized himself in Poland, against the confederates in 1771, and on numberless occasions afterwards, but more particularly by his campaign

DE LIGNE* tells me that its movements are an object of very considerable curiosity; and he gives me a letter to the marshal. In short, I think you will agree with me in seeing many reasons which render this proposal as desirable as it is flattering to me. I set off to-morrow—and shall, probably, arrive in nine days; stopping one day at Cracow, to see the salt-mines of Wilitska,† one of the greatest curiosities of the natural world.

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against the French in Italy, and his astonishing retreat over the Alps in Switzerland. After the unfortunate battle of Zuric, he was seized with a dangerous illness, and the Emperor PAUL sent a physician to attend him, with orders, at the same time, for his return, and an assurance that apartments were prepared for him in the imperial palace. Disliking, it appears, the views of his sovereign, the marshal pleaded ill-health as a reason for remaining at his post; but, after repeated and ineffectual remonstrances, he at length commenced his march, moving by slow stages, and fixed his winter quarters in Bohemia. At length, a courier from St. Petersburg brought him the notification of PAUL's high displeasure, and he instantly repaired to the capital, by forced journies of prodigious length, which increased his disorder; and he reached Petersburg, emaciated in body and his intellects disordered. He took up his abode in a small house, in an obscure part of the city; where medicine and repose restored his faculties in some degree, but could not repair his broken constitution, or heal a mind deeply wounded by injury and neglect. The only notice that the Emperor took of him was, to send his prime-minister to inquire after his health, two days after his arrival. He became quite childish a short time before his death, and amused himself with giving away estates which he did not possess, making imaginary gifts of persian horses, and otherwise discovering the aberration of his mind—a melancholy instance of the uncertainty of human good, and the precarious tenure on which wisdom and greatness are held by man. SUVARROW died on the 18th of May 1797; and was interred without any of the accustomed demonstrations of military honor. The people were indignant at the studied neglect, and manifested great sensibility and attachment to the memory of their favorite general. The room in which he died was so small, as scarcely to admit sufficient space for a canopy over the body, and for the numerous cushions, on which were placed his different orders of knighthood. (ED.)

* See Letter XII. p. 77.

† WILITSKA SALT-MINES:—extend underneath the town of that name 6000 feet from east to west, and about 2000 in a transverse direction. The number of persons employed in them is generally about 700. Throughout the whole extent of these celebrated mines,

If I had been in my english carriage I should have been overturned several times between Switzerland and Vienna. In consequence of the snows that had fallen during the course of one night, the postillion drove me into a ditch twice in the course of twenty minutes—but the carriage being low, it did not turn entirely over.

There are an immense number of English here—who live entirely together, and get drunk every day with astonishing perseverance. The Comte O'Donnel wrote to me the other day thus—"*J'ai diné hier avec la moitié des Anglois qui sont ici—Ils etoient 25 juste, qui avoient de l'esprit comme quatre.*"* I must now take leave of you, and begin to pack up—that being an office which I always

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there is not a single spring of water. In one of the shafts, or entrances, Augustus III. caused a winding staircase to be made, of 470 steps, which cost 40000 florins. By such means travellers are accustomed to descend. The grandeur and beauty of the columns and vaulted roofs is very striking. Several chapels and altars have been excavated in the salt rock, one of which, the chapel of St. Anthony, is 30 feet high, and has several spacious apartments in it. The reflection of the torches on the crystallized pieces of salt, which hang in clusters of thousands, is extremely brilliant. In 1644, the mines took fire, and again in 1696, and continued to burn for a long time. The salt is found in huge masses, from which sections are separated of from 300 to 500 cubic feet in extent. An extraordinary circumstance is well attested: a piece of an elephant's tusk has actually been found embedded in the salt, and the jaw, teeth, and several bones of the same animal have at different times been taken out of the salt-mines of *Wilitska*. (Ed.) [*See an interesting account of these in "Monthly Mag."* Part I. 1810, p. 553.]

* *De l'esprit comme quatre.*—The *quadruple* estimation of any moral or physical quality possessed by an individual in an eminent degree, is a familiar idiom of the french language; but is more usually applied to bodily strength. The first sarcastic application of having "*de l'esprit comme quatre,*" is said to have been made by Piron to the french academy, consisting of forty members (and usually styled "*Les Quarante*"); and it is here adopted as a figure of speech by Comte O'Donnel, who had much of the playfulness of parisian conversation, importing, that 25 English possessed amongst them the *entire brains of* 4. (Ed.)

perform for myself; for, having in the same trunk books, swords, linen, and a little medicine-chest, it is very necessary to use abundance of precaution. I have never had the smallest thing chafed in the carriage of my trunk from place to place, since I left England to this time.

Believe me to be, &c. &c.

J. T.

XXIII.

To the SAME.

Tulczyn,* (Ukraine) January 8, 1797.

MY DEAR FATHER,

I arrived here four days ago. My journey hither was full of accidents, and some of them serious ones. I travelled every night almost, and yet was eighteen days upon the road. During the snows I was lost several nights in the Ukraine, and one night was overturned in a very unpleasant manner: the carriage fell from a considerable height—I did not, however, suffer much; my head and one of my legs were bruised, and I have still head-aches, but they are less violent. You never can have imagined such a country as this—not an inn upon the road that it was possible to enter—no provisions to be had of any kind, sometimes no clear water. For the last 46 hours before I arrived here I never got out of my carriage. You will conclude that I might easily be indisposed from all this; I am now, however, quite well, and very comfortably established here. The Countess has a very princely

* Tulczyn.—The *château* of the Countess Potozka. The orthography of its name has been noticed at page 84.

establishment indeed—about 150 persons daily in family. The Marshal SUVARROW, and a great number of his officers occupy a wing of the palace, which is a very large and magnificent building. I have an apartment of three rooms to myself. The family never unites before dinner time. Each person orders breakfast in his own apartment, and has all the morning to himself—this is very convenient; a perfect liberty of conduct upon all these points is thoroughly established. The Countess sends a servant to me every morning, to know if I want any thing, to bring fresh linen, &c. and to ask at what hour I choose to ride out. I have a carriage and four horses, and one of her servants to attend me whenever I please; and, in short, she has omitted nothing to make my residence here in every respect pleasant and commodious. I have all the morning for study, except what I give to exercise: and in the evening there is always society without the trouble of seeking it.——The Duke of POLIGNAC's house is at the distance of half-an-hour's drive; I go thither upon what is called a *traineau; i. e.* a carriage embarked upon a sledge; and the road is one entire sheet of glass, over which the horses gallop almost the whole of the way. I have dined twice there; and was, the day before yesterday, witness of the arrival of news which gave me the most cordial joy, and which, from the knowledge you have of the friendly attentions I have long received from the Duke and his family, will not fail to give you also pleasure:—During the time of dinner a courier arrived from Petersburg, bringing a letter to the Duke, written by the Emperor himself, and containing nearly these words—

"I have this day made a grant to the Duke of POLIGNAC of an estate in Lithuania, containing a thousand peasants; and I have the pleasure of signifying it to him with my own hand.

(Signed)

Paul."

Can any thing be more noble than the manner in which this is done? The estate is worth about 2000*l.* sterling a-year, in a fine country, where the living costs literally nothing—for, according to the tenure of the estate, horses, meat, eggs, butter, &c. &c. to the minutest article, are furnished to the landlord by the peasants,* exclusively of their rent. This grant, in addition to that of the late Empress, makes the Duke almost a rich man, and will diminish his sense of the losses which he has sustained in France. I have not for a long time felt so much happiness as on that day; for there never was a more interesting family in the world than that of the Duke of Polignac. The Comte De Choiseul,† author of the celebrated work on Greece, has just left us. He is, of all the *beaux esprits* of France, the one which pleases me the most—he has given me some useful documents upon my projected tour. In short, we have some very pleasant people here. The lady of this house is a woman of great wit. She has six daughters (besides sons) who will have about two thousand pounds a-year each—what do you think of that? I will give you in my next more particulars of this place, and of our manner of living.‡ I must now

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* Peasants.—The slavery of the serfs in Poland is very rigorous; both of those which belong to the crown, and of those which are the property of the nobles. It is only within the last fifty years, that the taking away the life of a slave by his lord, was made a capital crime; and even now, unless the murderer be taken in the fact, and it be farther substantiated by two gentlemen or four peasants, he is only subject to a fine. The first noble who granted freedom to his peasants was Zamoiski, formerly great chancellor, who, in 1760, enfranchised six villages. He found his humanity speedily repaid by a considerable progressive increase of population, and an augmentation of revenue in a still greater proportion. The receipts of one particular state are nearly three times their former amount. This patriotic nobleman has since enfranchised the peasants on all his estates. [See Coxe's "*Poland*," i. 110—117.] (Ed.)

† More particularly distinguished by the style of Choiseul-Gouffier.

‡ The letter here adverted to, never reached its destination. (Ed.)

conclude, an occasion having just presented itself of sending this letter across the frontiers, and it is necessary not to let such opportunities slip.

Believe me ever, &c.

J. J.

XXIV.

To JAMES LOSH, Esquire.

Tulczyn, 5th Feb. 1797.

MY DEAR LOSH,

Your letter of November 8th overtook me at Brodi, upon the frontiers of Russia. In the midst of all kinds of wants, and in the absence of all kinds of comforts, in a road where I met with nothing but hunger, overthrows, and ice, it was a real consolation to me. I have been here about a month, and am much delighted with my residence. We are just restored to tranquillity after a mighty bustle—There has been a great wedding in the family, which has sometimes consisted of 150 persons. We have had a great mob of russian princes, and all the feet of Ukraine have been summoned to dance. At present we are reduced to about 16 persons, and our society is somewhat select and pleasant. Among these is the Marshal Suvarrow, the hero of Ismäel. He is a most extraordinary character. He dines every morning about nine o'clock. He sleeps almost naked. He affects a per-

fect indifference to heat and cold—and quits his chamber, which approaches to suffocation, in order to review his troops, in a thin linen jacket, while the thermometer of RÉAUMUR* is at 10 degrees below freezing. His manners correspond with his humors. I dined with him this morning, or rather witnessed his dinner—he cried to me across the table, "TWEDDELL! (he generally addressed by the surname, without addition) *the French have taken Portsmouth. I have just received a courier from England. The* KING *is in the Tower; and* SHERIDAN *Protector.* A great deal of this whimsical manner is affected. He finds that it suits his troops and the people he has to deal with. I asked him, if after the massacre at Ismaël,† he was perfectly satisfied with the conduct of the day? He said, he went home and wept in his tent. The

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* RÉAUMUR.—RENE-ANTHONY FERCHAULT, Lord of RÉAUMUR, was a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, and a person of the most fertile ingenuity and diversified research. For a particular account of his scientific discoveries, see "*Gent. Mag.*" vol. xxxiii. p. 112. The thermometer invented by this philosopher, which is generally used in France, divides the space between the freezing and boiling of water into 80 degrees, and places the *zéro* at the freezing point. FAHRENHEIT'S thermometer is generally used in Britain: in it the range between the freezing and boiling points of water is divided into 180 degrees; and as the greatest possible degree of cold was supposed to be that produced by mixing snow and muriate of soda, it was made the *zéro*; the freezing point became 32 degrees, and the boiling point 212 degrees. Dr. HENRY gives us the following *formulæ* for converting RÉAUMUR'S scale to that of FAHRENHEIT, and *vice-versa*:—

1. To reduce RÉAUMUR'S degrees to FAHRENHEIT'S, $\frac{R \times 9}{4} + 32 = F.$

2. To convert FAHRENHEIT to RÉAUMUR, $\frac{F - 32 \times 4}{9} = R.$ (ED.)

† ISMAEL.—See a brief detail of that sanguinary event, in "*Gent. Mag.*' vol. lxx. part i. p. 156. (ED.)

russian soldiers are inhuman beyond conception. The Marshal has given in his resignation, and has written a very imprudent letter to the Emperor—The answer is arrived to night—But the result is yet secret. The reforms which the new Emperor is introducing in this empire, are, I fear, somewhat precipitate. I wish he may succeed in all his undertakings, for they are wisely aimed—but I have fears. Above 1500 officers have given in their resignation, the Emperor's edicts all militating against plunder, the hopes of which are the motive of entering into his service. I think there will be some great event soon in the russian empire. I dare not say more—but I fear it. The Emperor at the head of his guards, the other day, drew his sword, and said, that he drew it once for all against all peculation and all injustice; and that as soon as he departed in any shape from his own principles of equity, he cared not if any one did as much for him. It is not wise for Emperors to talk in this way in these times, particularly before Russians. The officers are ***** ******* in general. The Empress entreated the Emperor the other day to proceed more deliberately; he replied, that he was determined to perish or to introduce a spirit of justice and order in his dominions. If that be the alternative, ... Every part of PAUL's conduct is firm and bold, but he has undertaken a fearful task.

The Countess incloses this letter to her daughter, the Princess SAPIEHA, and sends it by a courier—so that I hope there is little risk of its safety. The posts are so ill regulated here, that unless a courier-extraordinary sets out for Petersburg, I seldom venture my letters, for they are infallibly opened, and what is worse, not closed again.

The character of the Poles is bad, very bad. Women and

priests have governed the country from time immemorial. The morals of the upper class are detestable; their manners are pleasant.* Believe me, there is no liberty lost by the revolution of Poland. The peasants are quite as well off as before; and, in the austrian division, infinitely better—without any comparison. Yet the nobles affect to repine that the republic is ruined—these very nobles exercised the most grievous oppression, and were bought as often as a foreign court chose to buy them. I could give you some curious anecdotes about the KING†, but I have not now time. He is a man absolutely divested of all character—weak and capricious to the last degree. I have no time to lose. The courier sets off in ten minutes—so, adieu, and

Believe me, &c. &c.

J. T.

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* Madame DE STAEL informs us the Poles contributed by their *agrémens* to form the chief recommendation of the society at Vienna. "Their manners are very insinuating; they combine the imagination of the orientals with the easy freedom and vivacity of the French." (ED.)

† STANISLAS-AUGUSTUS, late king of Poland, For some biographical notices of him, see "*Gent. Mag.*" vol. lxviii. pp. 257—440; also p. 88, Letter XXVI. RULHIERE, in his *Anarchie de la Pologne*, paints the weakness and frivolity of this Prince in strong colors. The day after the Russians had forcibly carried away certain personages of rank and note for opposing the Empress CATHARINE II. an outrage almost unexampled, and which spread dismay through the capital, STANISLAS was found by the deputies of the Diet busily employed in sketching the pattern of a new uniform *costume* for certain of his attendants on the anniversary of his coronation. (ED.)

XXV.

To FRANCIS TWEDDELL, Esq.

Moscow, 19th April, 1797.

I CANNOT tell you, my dear Father, how sensibly I feel this long, very long time that I have received no letter from you; no news whatever of Threepwood. Have all my letters miscarried since I left Switzerland? or have all yours? I cannot tell how it is, but this silence makes me very uncomfortable.

I arrived here last Thursday, three days before the coronation. Lord C***** and three other Englishmen, who left Vienna for the same occasion, above a month ago, arrived the day after the ceremony. From Tulczyn hither, I was eighteen days and fifteen nights upon the road—Such a road! The roads of Brunswick and Wolfenbüttel are bowling-greens in comparison. I was overturned twice, and broke three axle-trees. Of all the scoundrels I have yet seen the first is a russian peasant.* I had the satisfaction of putting those into prison at Toula, who, after overturning my carriage, refused to assist to lift it up again. Mr. DE RIVIERE, myself, and our servants, after many fruitless efforts at length

* It is impossible not to remark the striking confirmation here afforded of the truth of the portrait given by Dr. CLARKE of the Russ proper, or genuine Muscovite; the likeness of which has been contested by prejudiced persons. The Cosaks, &c. furnish honorable exceptions. (ED.)

succeeded; and were then obliged to drive the horses ourselves to the end of the station, about 15 miles. As soon as I arrived at Toula, I addressed myself to the Governor, who, by a wide deviation from the principles of russian humanity, had the justice to afford us redress. In short, if we had not been well armed with sabres and pistols, we should never have arrived at all. Were I to recount to you one half of the difficulties we encountered from the roads, the rivers, the boats, the snow, the ice, and the peasants, I should seem to be travelling again over the same ground—and I am content with one experience.

The ceremony of the Coronation was very brilliant—and all the magnificence of the russian empire was displayed. I would give you the detail of many singular regulations which have lately taken place—But all letters are opened; and more than one minister have advised me to write nothing about it. There is a system of *espionage* every where. I shall be presented to the Emperor to-morrow, and shall in the evening be at the ball at Court.

I left Tulczyn on the 27th of March. Two days after, the Countess Potocka received a letter from the Emperor, begging her to come to Moscow—she set off immediately, and arrived here this morning at six o'clock. This is a great and pleasant surprise to me; as her house will be an additional resource whilst I stay here. As I am now so near to Petersburg, I certainly shall make a trip thither, in order to visit so celebrated a place—though as all the society of that town is now here, and as the Court means to remain here three months longer, there will be little to see but the town itself, and Cronstadt, the great port of the Baltic Sea. As for the manners, &c. of the Russians, I saw enough of them at Tulczyn—neither men nor women please me. From thence

I shall return hither, to stay the remainder of the time that the Court passes here.

Sir CHARLES WHITWORTH* is very superior indeed to all our ministers that I have seen—and to all the other ministers of foreign courts now here. I have seen few men whose manners and habits of all kinds are more truly noble and pleasing. He has much real dignity united with much ease. I dine there whenever I am not engaged elsewhere, and he has introduced me into all the best circles. He lives in a very magnificent style.† The King of Poland is here: I shall be presented to him to-morrow.

I feel as if I were writing to the winds. God knows whether you will ever receive this letter—this is discouraging, and prevents me from saying many things which I should otherwise be inclined to communicate. It is now near four months since I have heard from you.—Adieu, my dear Father.

Believe me, &c.

J. T.

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* *Vide* Letter from Sir C. WHITWORTH to Mr. J. S. SMYTHE, recommendatory of Mr. TWEDDELL, in the *Appendix*.

† The following note which the Editor had the honour of receiving from Lord WHITWORTH, manifests the estimation in which Mr. TWEDDELL was held by that distinguished nobleman,

DUBLIN CASTLE, 20th Sept. 1813.

SIR—In reply to your letter, and which I beg to observe requires no kind of apology, I have only to regret that my acquaintance with your late worthy brother, Mr. TWEDDELL, has left me no memorials such as you are anxious to obtain, unless it be a very high sense of his amiable qualities, and of his intellectual endowments. It was with sincere regret that I learnt the death of a young man, who, as far as I could judge, bid fair to be an honor to his family, and an ornament to his country. I am, &c. &c.

(Signed) *Whitworth.*"

XXVI.

To THOMAS BIGGE, Esquire.*

Moscow, 29th April, 1797.

MY DEAR BIGGE,

It is an immense time since I heard from you; but the state of the posts precludes all judgment about the regularity of correspondents. I have now only a moment to give you, while dinner is preparing, as Sir Charles Whitworth's messenger to England proceeds this evening.——I have been here about three weeks, and shall, probably, stay a fortnight longer. Every thing is extravagantly dear at this place, beyond all that I ever heard of. Luckily my lodging costs me nothing. Lord C***** pays for his 50*l. per* month; a carriage costs nearly as much, for it is necessary here to have four horses. This city is so immense, and people live at such a distance from each other, that, exclusively of what is positively required in order to go to court, the proprietors of *remises* will not furnish you with a carriage unless you take four horses. The Marquis De Riviere and myself, have, however, found means to hire a carriage for a guinea a day. This is, indeed, our great expense, for we have few things to buy. We dine out every day. We are in the centre of the town, and yet we have at

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* Mr. Thomas Bigge, formerly of Benton in Northumberland, and now of Brompton-Row, near London, was educated at Oxford. A similarity in taste and sentiment united him and Mr. Tweddell in the strictest friendship, which continued without interruption until the death of the latter. (Ed.)

least five miles to go to the english minister's; and as far almost to all our other acquaintances, who say in like manner that they live in the centre of Moscow.* The distances are really immense. Moscow is certainly the largest city in Europe.

The coronation here was a splendid ceremony, as it is likely to be one of the last things of the sort, I determined not to miss the

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* The imperfection of Mr. TWEDDELL's notices of Moscow (which is easily accounted for by the risks to which the extreme suspicion of the government, and the uncertainty of the posts, subjected not only correspondence by letter, but even the writer of * it) is abundantly supplied by the very ample and interesting picture of that city, which is presented in Dr. CLARKE's "*Travels*," see vol. i. chap. iii. page 40. "*Le Conservateur Impartial*," St. Petersbourg, No. 80, 6 Octobre, 1814, presents the following notice on this capital:—

"*Le Journal intitulé:* Le Fils de la Patrie, *contient dans son n° 39, des notions statistiques tres-interessantes sur l'état actuel de* Moscou. *En voici le résumé:*—

Habitans.	*Au mois de Janvier 1814.*	*Au mois d'Août 1814.*
Ecclésiastiques	3909	4571
Gentilshommes	8329	8256
Militaires	12733	22930
Marchands	12111	12824
Bourgeois	13448	12133
Domestiques	29407	35654
Etrangers	1508	1832
Habitans qui appartiennent à d'autres classes	80541	
Total	161986	172991
	dont	*dont*
	102514. *h.*	101729. *h.*
	59472. *f.*	71262. *f.*

Maisons.	*Avant L'Incendie.*	*Après L'Incendie.*	*Reparées & rebâties.*	
En pierre	2567	526	—	—
En bois	6591	2100	—	—
Total	9158	2626	—	—

La ville de Moscou a une surface de 16,120,800 *toises quarrées. Elle est divisée en* 20 *parties, et subdivisée en* 90 *quartiers.*

Naissances en 1813.	*Morts en* 1813.
2498 *garçons.*	4357 *hommes.*
2663 *filles.*	3646 *femmes.*
Total 5161	*Total* 8003

* See Letter XXV. and others.

occasion.* You may like to know what sort of a man the Emperor is. He is a caricature of PETER the third in many things. The troops of the late Empress wore certainly the handsomest uniforms in Europe, such as I saw them at Tulczyn under the Marshal SUVARROW. PAUL has stuffed them into the most hideous sacks imaginable—the old Prussian dress half a century ago. Some of the reforms which he has introduced in the military are, however, good: he has prevented the plunder exercised by the officers, in comparison of whom BARRINGTON was a man of the most fastidious probity. He is extremely severe and very despotic —much more so than the late Empress; but he is pacific—a weighty virtue. He has performed some acts of generosity—more of folly—some of injustice. He has given to one of his ministers, at the time of the coronation 16000 peasants (it is thus estates are estimated in this country), and in another quarter 36000 acres of land. The whole amounts to about 18 millions of *livres-tournois*.† To Prince KOURAKIN‡ and his family he has given near a million

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* The catastrophe by which Mr. TWEDDELL's speculative remark on this occasion has been so speedily and unhappily contradicted, can hardly fail to present itself to every reader's recollection: but a remarkable circumstance attendant upon the succeeding coronation is, perhaps, not so generally known. Shortly after the accession of ALEXANDER, the following letter, written by a french lady in Russia, named Madame DE BONNEUIL, to BUONAPARTE, under cover to PERREGAUX the banker, was intercepted by Count PAHLEN, the russian minister of police:—"*J'ai assisté au couronnement du nouvel empereur: c'est une belle cerémonie. Je l'ai vu partir du Kremlin, pour se rendre à la cathédrale, où l'attendoit l'archévéque* PLATO. *Devant lui, marchoient les assassins de son grand-pere; à côté de lui, ceux de son pere; derrière lui, les siens*"! NAPOLEON's fair correspondent was, of course, promptly exiled from Russia: there remains only to hope she may not prove so true a prophet as she shewed herself a correct historian and an accurate painter. (ED.)

† 750000*l.* sterling.

‡ Prince ALEXANDER BORISSOVICH KURAKIN—"possesses considerable estates (says Prof. PALLAS) in the government of Pensa, and now enjoys a philosophic retirement, at a period of life much too early for the seclusion of his talents." [See *Travels through Southern Provinces of Russ. Emp. Transl. from the German of* Prof. PALLAS, vol. i. page 26.] (ED.)

and a half of our money. At least, no other sovereign can do the same at this moment—and no other sovereign of any country ever, perhaps, did make so prodigal a grant. PAUL I. is a great imitator of FREDERIC II. for which reason he wears great boots and hideous uniforms, and exercises his troops at six o'clock in the morning without his hat on, when the cold is at 16°.* He wishes to unite magnificence with economy—for which reason he makes superb presents to individuals, and great retrenchments in the general departments of state. He certainly has the most brilliant court in Europe; it is truly splendid. On the day of his coronation, at dinner, the lieutenant-colonels presented his dishes upon one knee. How can this eastern despot pretend to unite such base servitude with his love of the military? He is capricious and minute—attaching weight to trifles. All the military are obliged to have long queues; a man with short hair cannot command his armies. General MACK would not have sufficient merit to be a sergeant—for he has the vice of baldness: the Emperor would treat him as the naughty boys treated the prophet ELISHA. He judges all men upon the model of SAMPSON, and conceives their force to be in their hair. His first acts, such as the liberation of KOSCIUSKO, placed him in a fair light, and made him appear brighter than he ought to appear. Had the Empress lived, KOSCIUSKO would also have been liberated in a few months. In short, PAUL is a poor thing; he does not want sense, but he has not capacity to embrace a comprehensive system of measures. He is a little man standing on tip-toe—he libels dignity when he struts; and reminds me of a poultry yard, when he traverses the palace in the midst of the dames of honor. He has the air of endeavouring to reign with double pomp, in order to make up for the time he has lost. I would contrive to give you some idea of him by one or two acts of his administration, but I have not time, as Sir CHARLES

* 16° below O of RÉAUMUR. See page 136.

WHITWORTH advances with his packet. There are spies in almost every house, and all letters sent by the post overland are opened.

I supped with the King of Poland* last night. We had a very small party, about ten persons. His manners are very engaging, and his person very interesting; but he is much dejected. I am going there again to-night.

All that I see of the great world, of its pleasures and of its vanities, has no other effect upon me than that of convincing me that the little of happiness which is made for man must be found in the other extreme. I see every where so much folly and so much wickedness, such a mad appetite for vitiating the wholesomeness of Nature, that she has become doubly dear to me since I see so little of her. The ambitious projects which I will confess that I once had, are dead within me. All that surrounds me in

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* KING OF POLAND.—After the act of his abdication, STANISLAS resided for a while at Grodno, where he enjoyed, or rather, was suffered to possess, an annual revenue of 200000 ducats. Being invited to Petersburg by PAUL, in 1797, he fixed his residence in the "marble palace," on the banks of the Neva. At the first he appears to have been treated with great attention and respect by the Emperor; but the caprice of that weak and despotic sovereign was ever changing its fashion, and STANISLAS was in a little time doomed, in the most wanton manner, to suffer every species of mortification and dishonor. At the grand coronation at Moscow, whither the imperial mandate urged him to repair, he was compelled to be present at the recital of the act by which a portion of his kingdom was incorporated with the russian empire. Oppressed by fatigue and emotion of mind, he was tempted to lean against his seat: but the haughty Emperor suspended the recital, and sent his aide-de-camp to command him to rise. In public he seemed to bear the indignities shewn him with a manly equanimity; but in his private hours he is known to have yielded himself to the impulses of the keenest affliction.

STANISLAS AUGUSTUS died at Petersburg, on the 12th of February 1798; and was interred with royal and military honours. That he was a person of great humanity, of a fine taste, of polished manners, and a cultivated mind, seems generally allowed; that he was a cruelly oppressed and most unfortunate prince, admits of no denial. (ED.)

that way is calculated to make a feeling and reflecting mind groan and weep. After having seen the part which fools play upon the great stage, a few books and a few friends are what I shall seek to finish my days with. In the mean time, being in the bustle, I mix with it—I swim with the tide, and mark how it ebbs and how it flows, and all its various eddies and directions. There are many things in this world which it is worth while to see, merely to know that they were not worth the pains of seeking.

I have seldom passed my time so pleasantly as in the Ukraine. In my last letter I gave you a long account of our way of living, and of the persons whom I saw there. But the greatest treasure to me was the society of the POLIGNACS—with whom I dined always three or four times a week, and spent the whole day. It is truly a rare thing to see women who have lived so much in the great world, and on its pinnacle—and who while they appeared made only for that—so highly possessed of every thing which gives a charm and a relish to private life. The Duchesse DE GUICHE and the Comtesse DE POLIGNAC are among the few women whom I could live with for ever; with every grace of person and manners they unite more solid accomplishments—and so attached to each other, not a sentiment of rivalry ever entering into the imagination of either, I shall see them once more in passing to the Crimea, and then, perhaps, never more; this is, I assure you, a serious regret.————I have had a longer time allowed me for this letter than I at first imagined.

Adieu, dear BIGGE, I am ever, &c.

J. J

Remember me to Mr. and Mrs. INGHAM,* &c.

* Mr. INGHAM—a surgeon of high repute at Newcastle in Tyne, and not more distinguished for his professional skill than for his private virtues and general knowledge. Mr. TWEDDELL entertained the greatest esteem for him. (ED.)

XXVII.

To FRANCIS TWEDDELL, Esquire.

Moscow, 15th May, 1797.

MY DEAR FATHER,

I write to you seldom by the post, and particular occasions present themselves very irregularly, and without much notice. A courier will be despatched in a day or two by Sir Charles Whitworth, and I shall give him in charge this letter, and a portfolio of prints and drawings of Switzerland.* Permit me to beg your acceptance of them; it is not a very large collection, but I may venture to say it is a very choice one. There are few countries which produce so many artists in landscape as Switzerland; and certainly there is none so capable of furnishing rich and romantic objects. As I have visited every canton and almost every corner of each, I particularly selected those views with the justice and execution of which I was most satisfied. I made acquaintance with all the painters of the different towns, and employed those whose judgment and taste most pleased me. It certainly was an object with me to purchase such drawings as might serve to recall to me, hereafter, the scenes which I then contemplated with so much delight; but I will confess to you that it was a much more weighty motive with me to afford to you, and to my mother and sisters, the occasion of forming some faint idea of those picturesque beauties which feasted my eyes and my imagination from day to day. If those prints and drawings afford you the pleasure which I hope

* This was safely received, and is in the possession of the family. (Ed.)

they will, I shall feel myself amply recompensed for the small deduction which they made from my travelling revenues—and shall think with satisfaction that you are sometimes travelling over the same ground, in thought and in fancy, which afforded me so much real delight during the last summer. This collection will, I hope, appear to you to render more perfect that which you already have;* and Italy will not be less dear to you for being associated with the romantic wildness of Switzerland. I will beg leave to mention to you those prints which are considered to possess the greatest merit, and you will afterwards be at liberty to determine whether your judgment agrees with that of the generality of persons who have seen them. The engravings of RIETER occupy the first place; and his chef-d'œuvre is the cascade of Reichenbach.† I assure you it is so faithful a representation, that you may almost fancy yourself standing under it, and wetted as I was for near an hour, whilst I contemplated in silent admiration that magnificent spectacle, under a shower of foam, scattered to an inconceivable distance. The chain of the Alps is another of his best performances; it is accompanied by an explanation, and a nomenclature of the mountains. The summit of the Jungfrau,‡ which is de-

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* Mr. TWEDDELL alludes to a valuable collection of italian engravings made by his father, who had, himself, in early life, travelled through various parts of France and Italy. (ED.)

† REICHENBACH.—This fall presents a column of spray and foam precipitated from a height of 200 feet. The rock is black marble, most of it bare, but the summit covered with shrubs; hence, much of the beauty arises, as the water is thus broken, and its foaming whiteness forms a striking contrast with the gloom of the marble. [COXE, i. 376.] (ED.)

‡ JUNGFRAU.—"We beheld in the distance (says Mad. DE STAEL) this mountain, which has the name of the *Virgin* (jungfrau), because no traveller has yet been able to place himself on the summit: it is inferior in height to Mont Blanc, and yet one regards it with more respect, from knowing that it is inaccessible" (ED.)

cidedly the most beautiful of all the snow-capt hills of the canton of Berne, is, perhaps, deserving of the third place. I speak of those which he has published—for by the side of these you will find a large drawing of a swiss cottage,* which RIETER painted expressly for me, as I wished to possess, in the most minute detail, that which was most characteristic of that pastoral country. RIETER told me that he never took so much pains with any drawing, and was never better satisfied with his success. This print is not written under, as I had the first impression. Mr. WICKHAM, our minister at Berne, was highly delighted with this drawing, and told RIETER that he would take as many copies as he could furnish him with. The view of the castle of Wimmis, and the tower of Peyl† were originally done by the famous ABERLI—but have increased in estimation since they were retouched by RIETER —they are very exact.

Next to RIETER, I prefer BIEDERMAN—He has drawn all the capitals of the 18 cantons; but as I could not undertake to purchase the whole set, I selected those which are the most romantic,

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* The traveller, to whose entertaining volumes these pages are so much indebted, observes, that the inside of a swiss cottage conveys a lively image of cleanliness, ease, and simplicity. The Editor, on a visit last summer, in Lincolnshire, was particularly struck with appearances of the same kind in the cottages of the peasants in that part of the kingdom. He visited many of them, and found in almost every instance the same uniform character of cleanliness, and apparent competency of the conveniencies of life, in a degree which he has never before witnessed. Yet the county of Lincoln is not among those which are most advanced in civilization: the fact, for that reason, is the more important, and may give rise to some moral reflections. The distinction at all events is honorable to the county. (ED.)

† This print, though specifically mentioned in a subsequent letter, as having certainly been sent, was not to be found among the drawings of Switzerland.———N.B. The box was opened before it was forwarded to Threepwood, by the person to whom it was (unfortunately) consigned in London. (ED.)

and particularly those in which I found water—for that is his *forte*, as you will see. BIEDERMAN has drawn every leaf, and every shrub, in the different spots which he has selected, and he has not added the minutest trifle of his own. Never did art copy nature so exactly. You will find seven engravings of the Swiss Costumes by FREUDENBERGER. Among the number which I found in his *porte-feuilles*, I principally selected those which are most descriptive of the Canton of Berne, and where the dresses, implements, &c. were most strongly distinguished from those of other countries. ZEHENDER's view of the Isle of Schwanau, on the lake of Lowertz, gives me great pleasure—it recalls to me the most delicious little retirement in all Switzerland, and a spot almost wholly neglected by travellers* I spent three days with the hermit who lives at the foot of the old castle. That print and the village maid are all I have from the pencil of ZEHENDER. He is quite a young artist—but promises great things. In a printed book, which I have not yet bound up, you will find 20 views by RIETER and ABERLI—ten of them are by the latter, and all ten represent different views of the lake of Bienne; the other ten, by RIETER, are taken here and there in different parts of the Canton of Berne. There is also one book of prints entirely devoted to the island of St. Peter on the lake of Bienne. It certainly is one of the most exquisite situations of Switzerland, and the favorite residence of ROUSSEAU, of whose life, during that residence, the book is a description. Unluckily it is written in German, and will not be too intelligible. I send you also 52 engravings by the celebrated GESSNER. They are quite in another way, but they have much merit. There are two little almanacks which contain each of them six prints copied by

* SCHWANAU—Mr. COXE does not notice this place in his tour, at least the Editor has not been able to discover any such reference.

MEYER, in the manner of GESSNER. It is the same artist who has executed the engravings of Italian Switzerland, bound in green —these latter are generally preferred to GESSNER's own. I do not mention the rest: their principal merit is, that they recall with tolerable exactness, the places which they represent, especially the castle of Chillon,* and the view of Mont Blanc from the vale of Sallenche. The latter will appear to you to be of a colour greatly beyond nature—and it is true, that they *are* too high-coloured—but not so much so by a great deal as you will imagine. The purity and transparency of the air, and the vivacity of the colors of nature in these regions are greatly superior to any thing I had an idea of before I went thither. Of the prints representing the ascent and descent of Mr. DE SAUSSURE,† I say nothing,

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* CHILLON.—This castle stands on a rock in the Leman lake, which rock is connected with the main land by a drawbridge. When this castle was taken by the troops of Berne and Geneva from CHARLES III. of Savoy, there was found in a deep dungeon, below the level of the lake, the Prior of St. Victor, who had been confined there six years, and by constant walking to and fro in his prison, had worn a cavity in the rock. (ED.)

† SAUSSURE made two attempts to gain the heights of MONT BLANC; the former he failed in, owing to a storm of snow; in the latter, as is well known, he was successful. The expedition took place early in the morning of the 13th August, 1787. He was attended by eighteen guides, carrying a tent, philosophical instruments, &c. &c. At four o'clock the next afternoon, the party pitched their tent, at an elevation of 12762 feet above the sea, having first formed a spacious excavation in the congealed snow. At eleven o'clock next morning, they reached the summit, and continued there during four hours and a half. Mr. DE S. published an account of the whole enterprise, and of the result of his observation, which has been translated by the Rev. Mr. MARTYN, Professor of Botany in the University of Cambridge. It was ascertained that on the summit of Mont Blanc, 30 minutes were required to make water boil, whilst 14 or 15 m. are generally sufficient at its foot. When Dr. PACCARD, a physician of Chamouny, attended by JAMES BALMA, executed the same project the year before, the wind was so piercing as they passed along the highest ridge, that their faces could not endure it, and they were obliged to walk sideways: though they only

except that they will give you an exact idea of the mode in which travellers, who engage to walk over the *Glaciers*, ascend and descend—as I have done myself: I have sent you a little book which explains this in greater detail. Upon the prints representing Pissevache, the Devil's Bridge,* the plain of Rutti, and two or three more of the same dimensions, I put no kind of value; they are coarsely executed and ill colored—but they are exact. In short, such as this collection is, I am happy to offer it to you. You will imagine that you are upon the same ground over which I walked so lately. I have been upon the top of almost all the mountains which you see, at least of all those which have hitherto been ascended. If I have contributed to your pleasure, and to that of my mother and sisters, for however short a while, my end is fully answered, and my satisfaction complete.

In about eight days from this time, I shall probably be in Petersburg. But the Emperor having changed his intentions, and the Court having quitted Moscow already, I do not now propose to return hither, but go back by a nearer way into the Ukraine. —Madame Potoska returns no more to Tulczyn. I shall therefore pay a visit of about three weeks to the Duke of Polignac, at Woitovka; from thence, instead of going directly by Odessa to Constantinople, I will make a short tour through the Crimea for

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remained half an hour on the top, the provisions were frozen in their pockets, and the ink congealed in their ink-horns. The highest pinnacle is 15662 feet above the level of the sea. [See Coxe, p. 28—39, vol. ii.] (Ed.)

* Devil's Bridge.—This, in common with every thing either useful or ornamental, was destroyed by the Republicans in 1799; notwithstanding which, the frightful chasm (over the Reuss) was passed by Marshal Suvarow and his brave Russians, by the device of tying planks together with the officers' scarfs, as related in a curious despatch of Suvarow to the Emperor Paul. (Ed.)

about five weeks; and embark at Sevastopol for Constantinople, which is a sail of about 36 hours with a fair wind. The Duke of POLIGNAC lies directly in the road—and the Crimea, which is now entirely russian, is very commodious for travelling, both in point of roads and horses; and by every account is one of the most romantic countries in the world. Thus I may expect to be at Constantinople by the middle of September; from thence to go into Italy in the latter end of winter or the spring, touching at Athens and some of the grecian isles.—— Constantinople is allowed by every one to be the most beautiful situation in the world; and, from my acquaintance with the Comte DE CHOISEUL-GOUFFIER, the author of that magnificent work upon Greece, and so long a time ambassador at the Porte, I am furnished with every letter and means of introduction to render my journey interesting and profitable. I think you will agree with me that this plan is well imagined, and diversifies my other travels very agreeably, by giving me an acquaintance with countries so famous in ancient times and so little visited in modern.

The country houses near Moscow are delightful.* We have had spring quite decidedly for the last five days, and every thing is green—or rather we have summer, for in this climate there are only two seasons, which join each other almost without any interval. I will write to you immediately on my arrival at Petersburg. I regret that I am not rich enough to send you my picture

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* The perfection to which horticulture is carried at Moscow appears to be very extraordinary. MR. PALLAS says—"the largest shoots of asparagus are reared here in the midst of winter in hot beds, and in such plenty that they are transported to Petersburg." (See *Travels in the Crimea*, vol. i. pp. 7 and 8.) The nobles of Moscow, who live in a sumptuous style, exhibit great choice and profusion of fruits at their tables, as well as the utmost magnificence in the whole of their establishments. (ED.)

from thence. Mad. LE BRUN is most decidedly the best portrait-painter in Europe; and there is not one in Italy whose works have much merit at present. ANGELICA KAUFFMAN's* portraits are excessively dear, and do not please me; there is an air of effeminacy in them all. But I have seen portraits by Mad. LE BRUN, of most exquisite execution. She drew a half length of Mad. DE GUICHE, which is a charming picture, though not near so handsome as the original; and the full lengths which I saw at Vienna, of the Princess MARIE ESTERHAZY and others, were of most striking merit and resemblance: but the price which she expects is excessive, and I must not think of it.

Adieu, my dear Father,

Believe me ever, &c.

J. J.

I am just going to dine at the Princess DOLGOROUKI's, at about 15 miles from Moscow; a most charming retirement. There will be music in the shade, and a dance upon the grass.

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* ANGELICA KAUFFMAN—was born (1742) at Chur, otherwise Coire, in the Grisons. She was the daughter of JOSEPH K. a portrait painter of Bregenz, on the lake of Constanz. Having attended her father to Milan, she there applied herself to the study of painting, and copied many works of the first italian masters. From Milan she went to Naples, and thence to Rome; where she continued her labors with great success. In 1765 she visited England, where her reputation had preceded her, and she was admitted of the Royal-Academy in 1767. In 1782 she returned to Rome, and continued there till her death, in 1807. As an historical painter her works rank high in the estimation of *connoisseurs*. As a painter of portraits, she formed her style after the antique; and her female figures have much of the grace and beauty of the grecian models. In her portraits of men she was less successful. ANGELICA possessed a very interesting figure, with a countenance and manner expressive of modesty, dignity, and sweetness: these added to her merit as an artist, made her equally celebrated and admired. [*Gallerie historique des hommes célèbres:* Paris, 1808.] (ED.)

XXVIII.

To Mrs. TWEDDELL.

St. Petersburg, 29th May, 1797.

MY DEAR MOTHER,

I am just arrived here: it is now seven o'clock in the morning. I left Moscow eight days ago, and have never been in bed since. I cannot say I am much fatigued; I shall, however, repose myself for a few hours—but first, as I learn that a post sets out for England to day, and as I cannot tell at what hour I may awake, I will express to you shortly, what at greater length and with more time I could never do more sincerely, my warmest felicitations upon the event of this day,* and my most earnest wishes for many happy returns of it. I trust I am not too sanguine when I hope that my gratitude and affection may contribute to embellish it in future years, and that you will not have reason to view its recurrence with less satisfaction on account of its touching so nearly upon the 1st of June.† Your comfort and happiness are at least nearly connected with my own—which truth must, to you, be the earnest of the interest which I feel, and shall ever feel, in all your griefs and in all your joys. I will not say that you will always approve what I may think or what I may do; those who make such promises, and those who exact them, are equally inattentive to the different shapes and workings of human nature in different beings—but I hope I may venture to say, that the general

* See Letter XII.

† See answer to Letter XII.

bearings of my conduct in my various relations with society, in public and in private, shall be such as to give to you and my good father pleasure rather than concern, and to repay in some feeble measure the long continuance of your many cares and kindnesses. I believe you are assured that I never say what I do not feel.

It was with the greatest difficulty that I procured horses upon the road; every town resembled a fair, on account of the immense numbers returning from the coronation. I made some pleasant acquaintances upon the road. There were sixty carriages in the streets, and not a single horse remaining. The King of POLAND, whom I passed upon the road, took 300 for his carriages. The Prince KORTZAKOW, aide-de-camp of the Emperor, with difficulty having found four in a neighbouring village, offered me a place in his carriage, and we are just arrived together. The swedish ambassador paid 2*l.* 10*s.* per horse for the two last stages. At another moment I would have given you some curious scenes that befel me in consequence of all the bustle—but you will excuse me if I now go to bed, instead of *prosing* any longer.

I am ever,

My dear Mother,

Most affectionately yours,

J. T.

XIX.

To JAMES LOSH, Esquire.

St. Petersburg, $\frac{\text{May 31,}*}{\text{June 11,}}$ 1797.

MY DEAR LOSH,

I am rejoiced at the good account you give me of your health, and especially at the happy effects which your illness seems to have had upon your mind: it is in that case the greatest blessing that could have befallen you. I assure you, your letter, wherein you talk of your own firm persuasions, gave me infinite satisfaction; it is precisely the temper of mind which becomes a good man, and such, as if all the world had, would render it a very different world from what it is at present—as it is, I am weary of it, Oh! very, very weary—But I will talk no more in this strain at present.

Different motives have weighed with me so far as to induce me to defer my journey into the East for a considerable period. One of the most material of these motives is, the critical state of England. I do not, however, foresee that my general plans will be changed—and I count equally as before upon setting out for

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* $\frac{\text{May 31,}}{\text{June 11.}}$ This mode of marking the date with a ruled line, expresses the difference between the old style still adhered to in Russia, and the new, adopted throughout every other part of Christendom. (Ed.)

Constantinople in the beginning of the autumn. There are those, indeed, amongst my friends, who press me to return—Some hold out to me ambitious views—for which it is not the time in my opinion, and of which also the principle is dead within me—and others foretel black events, which as I have had no hand in bringing on, and have no power of putting off, I see no reason why I should witness, at least in their approach.———My father and mother, however, intimate all this while, no pressing desire that I should return, and my father seems perfectly well satisfied with all I do: he knows that I mean to go to Constantinople, and from thence through Greece into Italy. Sir CHARLES WHITWORTH has strongly recommended to me to employ the greater part of the time which I shall stay in the North, till my letters arrive, in making an excursion to Stockholm, which is almost in the neighbourhood. I mean to do so, and shall set off in a few days, and then return hither. By sea, I might go there in four days, but I shall go by land, and return by sea—as Finland is an interesting country to travel through, and the passage over the gulph of Bothnia and the little island is celebrated for its beauties.——I have seen every thing in Petersburg over and over, and have been living in the same society since I arrived at Moscow, in April—for with regard to society, it is only the place which is changed. The road from Moscow to Petersburg was like a fair, and exhibited a whimsical mixture of high and low, red beards and crosses of St. Anne, sheep-skin coats and *cordons* of St. Alexander, chamberlains in the straw, and tender ladies upon hard tables. A great many persons were fourteen, and some eighteen, days on the road. I contrived to arrive in seven and a half—I was cited upon the road as a model of expedition, not speaking the language myself, and my servant speaking it very ill. But in truth, I did not rely upon the force of words, but wherever I arrived, I seized hold

of the first horses I found, and often yoked them myself, affording mirth mixed with jealousy, to those who were obliged to stay behind. Every thing was abominably ill regulated for so great an occasion, though there were about 700 horses at each post—but the police was infamously bad, and no progress was made by gentle means and by solicitation.

I shall write to you more at length in a few days, for I have much to say to you. In the mean time, let me beg to recommend to your perusal a book which will, I am confident, afford you very exquisite pleasure—"*Les Etudes de la Nature*," by BERNARDIN DE ST. PIERRE. An air of benevolence breathes every where throughout the book. The style is excellent, the ideas original, the philosophy sometimes, I apprehend, false—but the author's mind, character, and ideas upon all subjects, are calculated to delight you, if I understand at all your temper and your taste. There are one or two little episodes attached to it, such as "*Paul & Virginie*," "*La Chaumiere Indienne*," "*Voyage à l'Isle de France*," the pathetic morality of which touched me very sensibly—the discourse of the old man on the death of Virginia is a master-piece. In short, buy the complete edition of his works. The little story of Ariadne which he relates in order to instance the effect of moral feelings upon the beauty of landscape, is told with much more grace than by any of the ancients. There are many very charming remarks upon the system of plants, and perfectly new to me. It is a sort of moral botany, if I may use that expression. The object of "*Les Etudes*," is to lay open, to its inmost sources, the simple wisdom of nature, to shew every where the hand of design, and to vindicate Providence from the different objections brought against it, from the alleged disorders of the moral, vegetable, and animal world. It is just the book

that I should wish to read and to study in the country with the person that I loved.

When you write to CECILIA, have the goodness to remember me to her, if she should recollect a person who sincerely respects and esteems her, though of short acquaintance and little personal knowledge.———There is another book which would please you much, and which lately fell in my way. Madame DE STAEL first recommended it to me, but I never found it till the other day. The title is, "*Lettres* écrites de Lausanne.*" It is only one little volume, and it is the second part of that little volume which contains the chief interest. It is the story of Calista—she is certainly the first character ever sketched by the hand of a novelist—and quite out of the vulgar road. Pray seek for this book in London and read it—and now, good bye! my dear LOSH, for the present moment—a person has just called on me to go into the country.

Yours, ever affectionately,

J. T.

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* These letters were translated by an anonymous but classical hand, and were well received by the Reviewers. (ED.)

XXX.

To JAMES LOSH, Esquire.

St. Petersburg, June 20, 1797.

MY DEAR LOSH,

To the solicitations of yourself, and some others of my friends, who seem to wish that I should return to England, I may reply, that I have no motive to return, which is not counterbalanced by some motive still stronger. You tell me, that a career opens before me which no single misfortune should prevent me from entering upon. I agree with you, that if any means of being useful presented themselves to me, I should not be justified in turning aside. But I do not see these means. I know of nothing that I am fit for that I can command—as for pursuing any profession, that is now too late. All the disgust which I once had is multiplied (and you may conceive this) an hundred fold. If the career you allude to, be a political one, I do not know that it is open to me—and even if it were, what am I to do? come in for a borough and be a M.P.? I will confess to you this was once among my ambitious projects—But it is no more so. Were it offered to me to-morrow, I think I can say with certainty, that I should refuse it without the smallest hesitation. Ambition I have no longer.——There is only one path which could suit me —and that is, the diplomatic—I think I am less unqualified for that walk than any other. I have now seen a good deal how things are conducted—how little talents and how little address fall generally to the lot of that notable corps—and I assure you

I should not fear to negotiate with the greater part of those whom I have seen and known in the different courts where I have been. But to procure a reputable station any where, perhaps requires more interest than I have, and I do not feel strongly the humor of solicitation.—In order to take advantage of any hopeful opportunity, I ought to be upon the spot—and I confess to you I do not, for such a hope, care to derange my plans, and to abandon upon so vague a reckoning the unambitious projects of a more sober imagination. So few things in this world are worth the pains, I so dread to agitate my mind, and in short, I am so little alive to what the world is so greedily running after, that if it were not to remove the futile objection of passing my youth without any ostensible pursuit, I could be more happy to remain in a corner unnoticed, than to take any active part in the busy scenes of this silly world. However, I have written to ****, and such a letter as I think you would approve of—I tell him, that if it should occur to him, that I could be useful in any public way without interfering with the ambition of any man, but more especially in that line which I have before mentioned, because I conceived myself best calculated for it, that in such case I should be ready so to engage myself, provided the means were open to me—that I made no request, because it was my hope to repay such appointment by the fidelity with which I should discharge it; and that so far from wishing for a station where I did not conceive myself likely to be useful, my principles would not permit me to accept of such an one were it offered to me. I have not a copy of my letter, otherwise I would shew it to you. I have, however, no doubt that it will be useless. I declare to you also, that were such a thing to fall in my way, I do not know whether satisfaction or regret would be uppermost. But the uncertainty of my mode of life for many years to come, and especially after my return to England, and the hints which I might

chance to receive at home upon what is called the want of occupation (*i. e.* upon being neither a lawyer, a parson, nor a doctor) are my only motives for inclining me to wish for employment rather than leisure. * * * * says that in case of a change, he is sure it must be my fault if I am passed over—after this I do not think it will be my fault. Should no events of particular importance occur in the space of five or six weeks, nor I have any reason to new-model my plans, I shall pursue my first intentions, and go to Constantinople.

Petersburg is a most magnificent town; one of the streets is very superb indeed: it is built on the borders of the river Neva, which is as broad as the Thames. There is a prodigious number of fine buildings in the place—and yet a hundred years ago this very spot was a marsh, breathing exhalations upon a few unhealthy peasants, living in huts by the side of it. This is, truly, a surprising consideration! The society is much pleasanter than I found it at Moscow, though it is in a great measure the same. I meet, almost every evening, a *coterie* of pleasant and handsome women, whom I have just quitted to write this letter. If I had the same portion of vanity I once had, I would tell you that I am somewhat in vogue among them, and I would give you one or two ridiculous instances of it, if I did not fear that you would think me as young and as sensible to that kind of success as I once should have been.

But, after all, notwithstanding that I mix, and have long mixed, with society as much as it is possible to do, having seldom either dined or supped at home since I left England; and, though I certainly endeavour to partake of the spirit of it, whatever it be; yet all this has made no serious alteration upon the permanent feelings of my mind, whenever I am alone. I have no particular grief at present, at least, no very acute one; but I am not happy: I feel

a want of something which I once thought necessary to me—and I don't know what it is to possess that tranquil habit of thought or feeling, which some persons owe to mere health, and others to the tenor of a contented life, that has never been disturbed.

Believe me to be ever,

My dear JAMES,

As long as I live,

Your affectionate Friend,

J. T.

XXXI.

To MRS. WARD.

STOCKHOLM, 29th of August, 1797.

MY DEAR MRS. W.

I RECEIVED your letter of the 15th of June, just before I left Petersburg, about the beginning of July; and much pleasure it gave me, my dear friend, to see your hand-writing once more, for I began to think it a terribly long time since I had heard of you. ——I return to Petersburg in a few days, across the Baltic, which I am afraid is not very good-humored at this season. But I cannot resolve upon going back, as I came, through Finland; which is a long and tedious journey, though some parts of it are very romantic.

Mad. De Staël is now at Paris, I understand, and, perhaps, Mad. De Flahaut. I will give you letters to both of those ladies—they are both clever women: the former, indeed, is a most superior person; I have seen very few men by any means equal to her in conversation; she is not handsome—that, I suppose, makes no difference to you; besides, I recollect an article of your creed, or, rather, of your profession, by which ugliness was erected into a cardinal virtue. Mad. De Staël, however, has, I understand, entirely eclipsed Mad. Tallien, who is the *belle* of Paris, and whose beauty has retired in grand disarray before the prevailing wit of the daughter of Necker. I am sure she will be glad to see you, on your own account first, and next on mine, as I have the good fortune to stand well in her good graces. In short, she is, perhaps, at this moment, the person to whom a stranger would most wish to be addressed, who was anxious to see the state of parties at Paris, and to mix with the leaders of them. I will also give you the letter which you desire to Lavater, in case you should visit Switzerland.——God knows when and where I shall next hear of you: for, as soon as I return to Russia, I shall set off for the Crimea and Constantinople, after spending a few weeks *en passant* with the Duke of Polignac* in the Ukraine; write to me, however, under cover of *Monsieur le Comte O'Donnel, à Vienne en Autriche.*———I understand that ——— is terribly annoyed

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* Polignac.—Some allusion has already been made to the history of this family, whose intimate connexion with the unfortunate Louis XVI. proved so fatal to their fortunes and their repose. The parting scene between that monarch and the most confidential and interesting of all his friends, is recorded by the author of "*Memoires concernant Marie Antoinette,*" in very affecting terms:—"*Le roi s'approchant du Duc et la Duchesse* De Polignac, *il ajouta ces mots,' Mon cruel destin me force d'éloigner de moi tous ceux que j'estime et que j'aime: je viens d'ordonner au Comte* D'Artois *de partir; je vous donne le même ordre. Plaignez moi, mais ne perdez pas un seul moment.'*"—[*Memoires, &c. par* Joseph Weber, à Londres, 1806.] (Ed.)

about the Shakspearean* forgery. There, is the misery of being a proud critic; I am also among the number of the wise-ones duped upon that occasion; and I should be well content to have no other cares than those which that circumstance has occasioned to me: it was, to be sure, a very facetious humbug.——Remember me kindly to Mr. WARD; and

Believe me, &c.

J. T.

XXXII.

To MRS. TWEDDELL.

STOCKHOLM, 29th August, 1797.

MY DEAR MOTHER,

——————————The mines are the most interesting things in this country. I am just returned from an excursion to the north of Sweden, in order to visit them. I descended into an iron,† a cop-

* SHAKSPEARIAN MSS.—Of SAMUEL IRELAND, Esq. and his concern in that extraordinary transaction, see a circumstantial account in *Gent. Mag.* vol. 70, part ii. p. 901.

† IRON MINES.—Of these, that of Dannemora is the most celebrated, as producing metal of superior quality to any other. Nature, in this instance, has also deviated from what is commonly observed, that where the bowels of the earth are rich, the surface is for the most part barren. The situation of Dannemora is in the midst of beautiful scenery.

per,* and a silver† mine; and saw the mode in which they blasted and worked them, and the different processes of iron forges and copper melting houses. The descent into the iron mines was rather for-

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The mine is about 80 fathoms deep, and has been wrought for more than 300 years; the ore which it produces is distinguishable into three sorts, varying in goodness and quantity of produce. Sometimes it yields only 25 per cent. of cast iron, sometimes as much as 75. The cause of the superiority of Dannemora iron has never been satisfactorily explained; by some it is ascribed to the presence of *manganese* or *silica*, and by others to the superiority of the process employed. The quantity obtained in one year amounts to above 4000 tons. It appears, from a table exhibited by Dr. THOMSON (p. 403), that there are 176 iron mines in Sweden; 338 smelting furnaces; 421 forges; and that the total annual produce of wrought iron is 431,137 iron bars of 300 lbs. weight each. [*Travels in Sweden*, by T. THOMSON, M.D. F.R.S. &c. &c. p. 186.]

* COPPER MINES.—The oldest mine of copper ore is that of Fahlun; which, for many years was the greatest in Sweden. It is about 200 fathoms deep, and the descent is by an easy spiral staircase. There are 600 workmen here employed, but the mine is poor, seldom yielding more than 1½ per cent. One of the proprietors of this mine, residing on the spot, and conducting several manufactures there, is Assessor GAHN, a gentleman of great knowledge in all the branches of science, and possessing in that remote situation a familiar acquaintance with all the latest discoveries. The town of Fahlun lies nearly in north latitude 60° 35′. It is not unworthy of remark, that the two churches here are covered with metalic roofs—one of copper, the other of iron. The former, by exposure to the atmosphere, becomes of a dirty whitish green, which appears in patches, as it were, of different shades, and is very unsightly; the iron, on the contrary, assumes a uniform reddish brown, and has an handsome appearance. [THOMSON's *Travels*, p. 216.] (ED.)

† SILVER AND GOLD MINES.—The silver mine is situated near Sala, in the province of Westmanland, not far from the border of Upland. The silver is obtained from a vein of what mineralogists call *galena*. It has been wrought above 300 years; its annual produce in 1506, was estimated at 32266 marks; at present, it does not exceed 2000. The descent into this mine is by a bucket, the machinery attached to which is very ingenious. The number of workmen employed is 100; and the quantity of lead obtained annually about 32000 lbs. The Gold-mine is situated in the province of Smoland, at Adelfors, about 50

midable. In the course of one week I travelled over a great deal of ground: The posting in this country is very rapid.* I found here two english gentlemen, or rather they found me here; one of them, a Northumbrian, young Mr. Burrell, of Broom-park. He was in company with Mr. Shepherd, an Oxonian, who is a very sensible and well-instructed man; we travelled to the mines together—I left my own carriage here, and hired a little single-horse chaise, which just contained myself and my servant; we went at full gallop almost all the way. I have now taken my passage on board a vessel that will sail for Petersburg in two days. I shall not stay long there, but shall set out for the Duke of Polignac's, in the Ukraine. My servant is well acquainted with that country. Oh! by the way, I believe I have not said any thing to you about my servant since I told you I had hired the black. I was obliged to part with that poor fellow at Tulczyn, which I much regretted, as he was very faithful and much attached to me.† The cold nights

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miles from Ionköping. The working was begun in 1738, and continued till about 1789, when it was abandoned on account of the smallness of the produce. The precious metal was found in a bed of mica slate—sometimes native, but chiefly combined with iron pyrites. In the rocks at Adelfors, the gold occurs in veins, and not in the rock itself. [See Dr. Thomson, pp. 232 and 301.] (Ed.)

* Since the period when Mr. T. wrote, a great alteration appears to have taken place as to the rate of travelling in Sweden. Dr. Thomson complains repeatedly of the long delays suffered at every stage, and of the tardiness with which the drivers proceeded. A law has recently been passed in the Diet, that post-horses shall not be driven at a greater rate than about five English miles in the hour. The charge *per* mile, for each horse, is equal to ninepence sterling. The roads in Sweden are remarkably fine. [*Ibid.* pp. 23 and 74.]

† There was something in Mr. Tweddell's character and manners which pleased and attracted all who approached him. The servants, in particular, whom, at different times and places, he engaged to attend him, during his travels, appear to have become attached to him in an extraordinary degree, and not only to have been generally faithful to his interests, but to have served their master with real affection to his person. (Ed.)

in travelling between Vienna and the Ukraine, in that dismal season, were too much for him, and produced an internal discharge of blood, which rendered it impossible that he could travel any farther with me. I took good care of him whilst in the Ukraine, and sent him back to Vienna: the doctor gave me hopes that he would recover. I since hired the man I have now, who is an excellent travelling servant; he was formerly a dragoon, and fought at the siege of Ismaël under Marshal* SUVARROW; he was also at the siege of Oczakow†—he is upwards of 6 feet high, a stout and commanding man—makes no objection to ride upon a seat at the outside of the carriage every night for a week together, singing in all weathers. He is a German originally. Exclusive of his own language, he speaks, writes, and *sings*, Russian, Polish, and Moldavian; and is extremely well informed upon every thing worth seeing in all those countries. He has been in 30 different governments of the russian empire, and has written down all particulars

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* MARSHAL.—GIBBON remarks that this military office, still so respectable, was already conspicuous in splendor when divided between the famous *Messir* JEAN LE MAINGRE, surnamed BOUCICAULT, Marshal of the Crusade, and another personage. BOUCICAULT afterwards defended Constantinople, governed Genoa, invaded Asia, and died in the field of Azincour!

† OCZAKOW—an important fortress of Bessarabia, on the Black Sea, near the mouth of the Dnieper. The memorable assault was made by Prince POTEMKIN on the 6th Dec. 1788. The slaughter lasted three days, and the Russians spared neither age nor sex. The Author of the "*Survey of the Turkish Empire*," mentions a trait of heroism in the conduct of the women who survived the storming of the place, which is extraordinary; 400 of them were placed under his superintendance for the night, and, although the cold was intense, and they had no protection against it but a tent, and both in body and mind were sustaining the utmost degrees of complicated affliction, his statement says, "I observed that there remained a perfect silence among them: not one woman weeping or lamenting, at least audibly, though every one perhaps had lost a parent, a child, or a husband." The russian pronunciation of this place's name is *Otchakofe*. The Turks call it *Ozun*. (ED.)

relating to battles, sieges, roads, inns, horses, &c. &c. &c. I have with all this had a very good account of him both for courage and integrity—and have had myself some proofs of his disinterestedness. He is engaged to be married, and says that this is the last voyage he will make, but that he will stay with *me* as long as I please. He has travelled now eight years continually. I give him 36*l.* a year, and he furnishes himself in every thing. This is extremely cheap,* no servant in Petersburg being willing to go with me for less than 60*l.*: I have, upon the whole, been very lucky in point of servants. In the last letter which I wrote to my father from Vienna, I inclosed my profile cut out upon paper—I suppose it has dropped out of the letter in opening it, as you have never mentioned it.†

It is now beginning to be late at night—just the time that you and I, my good Mother, used to prose over the parlour-fire, till you drove me away to bed. I hope the same scenes will one day be repeated, as I am sure that I shall always feel the same interest and the same affection: at present I must order myself to bed, as you are not here.——I feel very anxious about ROBERT. He is now preparing to sit the first time for a fellowship.

Adieu, my dear mother.

Your ever affectionate son,

J. T.

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* Dr. THOMSON paid his travelling servant 4*s.* per day, which is at the rate of 73*l.* per annum. (ED.)

† This is the identical Profile from which the Engraving is taken that stands as the frontispiece. It was hastily cut out in paper by an ingenious person, dining in company with Mr. TWEDDELL, at a moment when he was engaged in conversation: the likeness was seized during the act of speaking. (ED.)

XXXIII.

To JAMES LOSH, Esquire.

Stockholm, 30th August, 1797.

MY DEAR LOSH,

I came hither by way of Finland, and crossed the gulph of Bothnia. I have since been to visit the iron, copper, and silver mines. In a few days more I shall return to Petersburg, thence to proceed upon my eastern scheme. I shall go immediately into the Crimea, the accounts of which have raised my expectations very high. I am too late to sail upon the Euxine, as every one says, that a wreck is the probable consequence of embarking there at this season. I shall therefore turn round by Perekop back again, spend a few weeks with the Duke De Polignac, and then proceed to Constantinople by land; which in many respects I am not sorry for. The most noted places in those countries, exclusively of those which I have seen already, and exclusively also of the Crimea, are Pultowa,* Kherson, Oczakow, Bender, Ismaël, Adrianople, &c. &c. All these lie in my road, or very near to it—and I have a servant who is as well acquainted with every inch of

* Pultova—celebrated for that victory which laid the foundation of Russia's present greatness. "Every person (says Pallas) who surveys the indifferent earthen fortifications at this place, must be astonished that such a commander as Charles XII. should have hesitated to attack this town—in which the memory of his disaster, so prolific in consequences, is now preserved by a columnal tower, erected near the beautiful church of Voskresenski, and on which is exhibited a cast-metal plate, representing the battle. [See "*Travels in the Crimea*," &c. vol. ii. p. 507.] (Ed.)

that country as with his natal village. He is a stout intrepid man, very brave and very honest. This is precisely the kind of man that I want in countries little accommodated for travelling in many respects—and where especially a single person, without friend or companion, is much at the mercy of scoundrels, and, indeed, of his own servant, if he cannot be relied on.

The burden of my song always is, would that you were with me! I should be much happier. But I must not think of my disappointments, among which your absence is, perhaps, that which, when I am most reasonable, I regret more than any other. The young king* is not here now; I am sorry for it, as I intended to

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* Gustavus Adolphus IV.—who has since abdicated the crown, and retired into Switzerland, with the title of the Count of Gottorp. That the earliest developement of his character presented some amiable features, is easily credible; but the reader who will be at the pains to consult the vith and viith chapters of Dr. Thomson's "*Travels*," will find the most satisfactory evidence that his imbecility of mind, and extravagant violence of temper were such, as must, in a very short time, have wrought the certain and absolute destruction of his kingdom. There seems to have been a strong similarity, in some respects, between this prince and the late Emperor Paul of Russia; and in nothing more than in their common propensity (indicative always of weak minds) of attaching importance to trifling things, and, in particular, expending a main part of their royal solicitude in contriving new and fantastic modes of dress for the military. When the supplementary troops were raised for the defence of the kingdom, at the time of the invasion of Finland, he actually spent a great part of a year in devising a proper shape for their coats, whilst the recruits remained all the while so destitute of the most necessary comforts, that several of them actually perished from cold and hunger. He abdicated his throne on the 29th of March, 1809: and it is asserted in an account of his deposition, published 1813, that the act of abdication was composed by himself. Like all kings who have ceased to be sovereigns *de facto*, Gustavus-Adolphus has lost his admirers and followers: the innumerable eyes which six years ago were turned towards him, can hardly now (but for his occasional newspaper notifications) discern whereabouts he has taken shelter: but the fact of his uncontrolled choice of a residence (liberal provisions at the same time being made for him and his family) offers a remarkable confutation of the antient saying, that there is but a short step from the prison to the grave of him who has worn a crown. (Ed.)

have been presented to him: and he is, I am told, a very interesting young man. His reforms are very great, that is, in point of expense—they were absolutely necessary. Though one must detest the assassination* of the late king, and though he was certainly, in many respects, a very shining monarch, yet the event in itself was fortunate for the country. His extravagance would soon have ruined it. What a contrast between Petersburg and Stockholm! 'Tis a palace by the side of a cottage. Every thing in the former place has the air of magnificence and opulence; and here all is poverty. The streets at Petersburg are crowded with carriages and six horses, no one drives less than four—Here no carriages are seen at all, at least, very very few, and those most miserable old inventions; in short, they are two worlds. There is more corruption among the higher classes of society here than at Petersburg; I mean with regard to women; for I am inclined to think the Swedes of all classes much more honourable men than the Russians; though I have had little means of judging of the swedish nobles, as they are almost all out of town; but as for the russian nobility, to their general want of common integrity I can speak very decisively. The best establishment here is what is called "The Society."† It is a house where you meet the best company

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* Ankastroem.—The instrument of this assassination, who had been an ensign in the king's guards, and afterwards captain in one of his regiments, aggravated the atrocity of the deed by ingratitude, having experienced the royal clemency when under sentence of death for being concerned in a former conspiracy. The assassination was perpetrated 29th March 1792. The criminal had his hand cut off, and was beheaded on the 22d of April following. "My life," said he "to his judges, was become hateful to me; I rejoice in the loss of it, so as it may be the means of delivering my country from a prince who was its scourge." Such a pretext of patriotism was, probably, as far from truth as it is remote from public virtue. A plate is annexed of this infatuated criminal, representing him during one stage of his punishment. (Ed.)

† "Society."—This institution at Stockholm, which bears the french name *Societé*,

Engraved by James Smith, 68 High Holborn

After a Swedish print in the collection of the late John Tweddell Esq.r

JACOB JOHAN ANKARSTRÖM.

Late Captain; 30 years of age; committed his crime on the 16.th March 1792: was apprehended the 17.th; sentence pronounced on him the 16.th April: set on the Pillory, with an Iron collar around his neck, in 3 public places on 3 successive days, namely, 19.th, 20.th and 21.st April, and each time received by the hand of the executioner 15 lashes; had his right hand cut off, was beheaded and quartered at the Gallows, 27.th April.

of Stockholm, both nobles and merchants; there is a very fine suite of apartments, a dinner and supper every day, at a very reasonable price, where a stranger may always dine, after he is once introduced, and find the foreign papers and a billiard table. It is, in short, the best establishment of the kind I have yet seen. By the way, I am grown a great billiard player; it is good exercise, and the only kind you can take after dinner. They play a great deal both here and at Petersburg. I yesterday performed great exploits in that way.

I hope to find one or two letters from you at Petersburg—if, that is, a storm upon the Baltic does not deprive me of that pleasure. I am unfortunate upon sea; there is always either a storm or a calm. In crossing the gulph of Bothnia we had an absolute hurricane; it blew ever behind us, and our passage was so incredibly short, that people have difficulty to believe it; the boat was half under water all the way; and had I taken the smaller of the two open boats, as the men first proposed to me, they afterwards

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consists of an association, or club, of 500 individuals, who by an annual subscription, secure for themselves the privileges which are here mentioned. Not only the foreign journals, but a considerable collection of books, with magazines, reviews, &c. &c. are provided. The entertainment costs 21 pence sterling per head; and every member has the right of introducing a stranger for a month, making himself responsible for the propriety of his behaviour. There are no taverns in Stockholm, which makes such an institution, in a manner, necessary. By the bye, Dr. THOMSON, in his account of the churches at Stockholm, has this remark—"The pews are all locked, and the Swedes never ask you into any of them; so that if you go into a church you must stand in the passage." The latter part of the sentence reminds the Editor so strongly of what he has often witnessed in the churches of England, that he cannot but think it a fortunate discovery to find it ascertained, on respectable authority, that this anti-christian custom, whether it be a fragment of the feodal edifice, or a corner of the temple of aristocracy, in this most liberal and enlightened age, is not originally british, but derived and appropriated from the frozen regions. It certainly does not exist in roman-catholic countries. (ED.)

said we must, probably, have been lost. I sat all the time upon deck, in my carriage.

You ask me what books, french and english, I would recommend to a female friend. As for the english part, at least, you are more competent to say than I am. With regard to the french, I mentioned to you a book in my last letter from Petersburg, and spoke at some length on its merits: "*Les Etudes de la Nature* by BERNARDIN DE ST. PIERRE." I will not repeat what I then said. Above all the authors in the french language are, in two different ways, RACINE and LA FONTAINE, at least in my mind. But I suppose you do not wish me to enumerate books so generally in hand as the tragedies of CORNEILLE, RACINE, VOLTAIRE, CREBILLON; the comedies of MOLIERE, REGNARD, DESTOUCHES, PIRON—I will mention some that are not quite so common. Have you ever read "*Considerations sur les Mœurs de ce Siecle*," by DUCLOS? it is a most precious book. You know "*Les Jardins et les Géorgiques* by *L'Abbé* DE LILLE;"* the "*Lettres de Mad.* DE SEVIGNE;" "*Les Mondes* by FONTENELLE;"† "BOSSUET *sur L'Histoire;*" "*Les Contes moraux*, by MARMONTEL;" "*Les Essais* DE MONTAIGNE."

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* When the Abbé DE LILLE published his Georgics, a poor scribbler, of the name of ROSSET, indulged himself in some sarcasms upon the author. It was at that time the custom, in Paris, to use stiff paper, or pasteboard, in the construction of light carriages; and the Abbé bought up a quantity of ROSSET's works (which had become bookseller's-lumber), and having appropriated them in that way, used jocosely to say, when driving about in his *cabriolet*—"I tread ROSSET under my feet; and which I drag him through the mud." (ED.)

† FONTENELLE—boasted in his old age—"*J'ai quatre-vingt ans; je suis français; et je n'ai pas donné dans toute ma vie la plus petite ridicule à la plus petite vertu.*" This was, indeed, a proud subject of self-gratulation. (ED.)

"*Le Cours d'étude*, by *l'Abbé* DE CONDILLAC,"* is a useful book for a young person. The abridgments of French history by D'ANQUETIL, or rather, his histories of interesting epochs, are very interesting; his "*Esprit de la Ligue*," "*Esprit de la Fronde*," "*Mémoires de* LOUIS XIV. *de sa Cour, et du Regent;*" are well written and very amusing. Among the novels, (a kind of reading which you and I do not despise), let me recommend "*La Princesse* DE CLEVES,"† all the *Romans de Mad.* RICCOBONI;" especially "*Fanny Butler*" and "*Juliet Catesby*"—which are extremely well written, often very eloquently, and contain just reproofs upon the conduct of men towards women: the last letter in "*Fanny Butler*," containing the reproaches of a betrayed woman, is inimitably well written. MONTAIGNE must be a favourite of your's: he is a friend with whom you converse by the fireside. He pleases and interests me excessively. Do not forget LA BRUYERE, and LA ROCHEFOUCAULT; they do not, indeed, think well of mankind, especially the latter; and I believe they are quite right—I am sure I think worse of them from day to day. But I like these kind of books, they are good to travel with in a carriage, when you cannot read constantly, one observation, sometimes, furnishes thought for a day. I do not mention "*Anacharsis*,"

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* See the merits of CONDILLAC, as a writer, discussed in "*L'Allemagne*, by Mad. DE STAEL," (vol. iii. p. 38.)

† "LA PRINCESSE DE CLEVES,"—a romance of Mad. DE LA FAYETTE; which secured for the author a high reputation. Mad. DE LA F. frequented the first literary circles in Paris, at the period when Mad. DE RAMBOUILLET, VOITURE, MONTAUSIER, and others of that standing, flourished, and enjoyed a first place in the exalted esteem of the Duc DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULT. Her french biographer draws her character under a very amiable view—"*des traits charmans elle joignoit un cœur sensible, un esprit juste et brilliant, une facilité prodigieuse, une penetration qui lui faisoit devancer les leçons des ses maitres, &c.*" She died in 1693. Her works are published in 8 vols. 12mo. Paris, 1786. [See *Galerie des Hommes celebres, &c.*] (ED.)

because I know already your opinion of that book. There are also abundance of others that I do not mention, such as the divine FENELON, &c. &c. because I believe you to be familiar with them, as no doubt you are with the greater part of those above. Did you ever read "*L'Art d'aimer*," a poem by BERNARD? I do not recommend it to a lady, but it is beautifully written. Read DUCLOS by all means, if you have not yet read him. There is a novel, also, of his, that has very great merit, "*Les Confessions du Comte de* * * *"; the characters are finely drawn, especially that of Mad. DE SELVE. Have you read BUFFON? There is a good useful book upon chronology, in 2 vols. called "*Tablettes Chronologiques de* LANGLET." "*Les Synonymes, par* GIRARD," is a very good book to teach the niceties of the french language. I have not mentioned BOILEAU; have you read his poem "*Le Lutrin?*" By the way, for your *own* reading, let me recommend "*Les Contes de l'Abbé* VOISENON;" they are full of wit.* The poems of GRESSET are some of them very pretty.

I have now filled this sheet, my dear LOSH, in one way or other; I am afraid you will not be able to read it, for I have written in haste, and have bad pen, bad ink, and bad paper.

Yours, ever affectionately,

J. T.

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* The Abbé DE VOISENON's wit and talent were associated with the most shameless immorality. The history of his connexion with Mad. DE LAVAL presents such a jumble of the forms of devotion and the manners of voluptuousness, as is equally disgusting and preposterous. He was, in truth, a contemptible libertine. (ED).

XXXIV.

To JAMES LOSH, Esquire.

St. Petersburg, Sept. 27, 1797.

MY DEAR LOSH,

"I found here, on my return from Stockholm, about a fortnight ago, your letter of 21st July. It gave me, on many accounts, very great and sincere pleasure. I am now, my dear Losh, on the eve of pursuing those projects, about which I have talked so long, and against which I have been so strongly dissuaded by many of my very good friends. But the man who is least of all bigoted to his own imaginations will sometimes feel himself decided in favour of them by an inward sense of his own situation, which, perhaps, he would find it difficult to explain to the complete satisfaction of any other person. As for myself, the full conviction that I can be of no use in England; that I have few enjoyments to expect there—and the impossibility of travelling in any part of Europe where I have not already been, except that whither I am now going, determine me to leave Petersburg the day after to-morrow, to visit the Crimea, Turkey, and Greece. The last news from Paris seems to remove peace farther than ever. You know at the time that I write this, that Barthelemy is arrested. Pichegru* will certainly be guillotined; I have long

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* Pichegru.—In a work recently published, of, perhaps, apocryphal authority, entitled "*Memoires secretes de* Napoleon Buonaparte, &c." an exact detail is given of the supposed murder of that gallant general in his prison by Mamelukes employed for the purpose by the late sanguinary Ruler of France. The memory of this warrior ought to be

myself known of his correspondence with the *émigrés*. But I will not talk of politics—Confusion and blood will, I fear, be the consequence of all this—wretched humanity! Among the friends, however, whom I have consulted upon, or rather to whom I have imparted my eastern schemes, there are some who are far from dissuading me from them.——— In short, my dear Losh, I see no reason in the world for returning to England: were there any great and powerful call for my return, I would subdue my own feelings and have regard to it: now, there is no such call that I see; France and Italy are out of the question; I must see the East now or never; for, as to the idea that, if I returned home now, I might realise my present projects hereafter, do not believe it. I persuade

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cherished by Englishmen, above all, for his upright, humane, and manly opposition to the execution of the decree of the french national convention, ordaining the summary infliction of the pain of death upon all English, Hanoverians, and french emigrants taken in arms.

"Pichegru:—*est né à Arbois, en* 1761. *Il a fait ses premieres études au college d'Arbois, et sa philosophie chez les Minimes de cette petite ville. Ayant soutenu un acte particulier, et montré un goût décidé pour les sciences exactes, les Minimes l'engagerent à aller répéter la philosophie et les mathematiques dans le college qu'ils avoient à Brienne. En enseignant les mathematiques aux autres,* Pichegru *s'étoit lui-même fortifié dans cette science. Il s'enrola dans le premier regiment d'artillerie. Les officiers de ce corps ne tarderent pas à s'appercevoir que ce jeune homme avoit porté des connoissances précieuses dans l'art de l'artilleur. Ils le nommerent sergent. On sait qu'alors c'etoit un grand cadeau à faire à un roturier* [*et que c'étoit l'*ultimatum *de son avancement, parce que la noblesse étoit aussi exclusive que les jacobins.*] *La revolution est survenue;* Pichegru, *sans trop frequenter les proconsuls, qu'il n'estimoit pas, en a été connu, et il est monté de grade en grade au généralat de trois grandes armées, et les a aussi bien conduites que s'il avoit été tiré de la cuisse de Jupiter. Sa figure est sévere, au premier abord; mais elle s'adoucit dans la communication, et inspire la plus grande confiance. Sa politesse ne ressemble point à celle qu'on nomme d'etiquette, qui n'est ordinairement qu'une duplicité et une fourberie. La sienne est sans affectation. On voit qu'il est franchement obligeant, et qu'il est naturellement bon."* [See *Hist. Chron. de l'Armée du Nord*, p. 240.] (Ed.)

myself, indeed, that could we, as I wish we could, talk over this subject for half an hour, we should be altogether of one opinion upon it.

Under all circumstances, therefore, I set out, as I before said, on the 29th of this month for the Crimea: from thence I shall go to the Duke of POLIGNAC's; and from thence by Yassi, Bender, Ismaël, over Mount Haemus, to Adrianople, and so to the "Sublime Porte." A great part of this road I must ride on horseback, both on account of personal safety from the banditti which infest Mount Haemus or the Balkan,* (who seldom attack horse-passengers, especially if accompanied by a janissary and three or four guards), and also as travelling in carriages is extremely slow, as well as expensive, in these parts.

I am afraid it will be a long time before I shall be regaled with any intelligence from England. I must live upon the past, which I found here upon my late return. Sir CHARLES WHITWORTH gave me fourteen letters on the night of my arrival: I assure you I quit Sir CHARLES with real regret. He is one of the most amiable, and most liberal, and most honorable men I ever met with. His manners and character please me infinitely; I have received all possible kindnesses from him. What is, perhaps, still

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* BALKAN:—A name which the Turks give to the mountains of Thrace; and in general, to all high chains of mountains. The ridge of the Balkan presents many ruins of antient houses, and numerous excavations in the steepest rocks (supposed by some to have been the strong holds of the Genoese, and by others to have been used as repositories of the dead, by the antient inhabitants of the country). In the highest region of these mountains Baron DE TOTT found the flowers of violets in abundance, at a time when the roots and leaves were in part concealed by snow—forming, as he expresses it, a natural carpet, not less astonishing than delightful. (ED.)

more uncommon, he made me, the other day, an offer to supply me with any sum of money I might want, in case I should wish to expend more than my regular income furnished me withal. I have seen few men so well qualified for the office he fills; none, certainly, in point of manners and a noble deportment. He has strongly pressed me to pass the winter here, and live in his house; I have a very great regard for Sir CHARLES; and on this and other accounts, should like it very much if it were only a question of so many months; but my health and safety are in some measure concerned in not waiting for a warmer season. The pest is little dangerous at this season, and, exclusively of the greater risk during the summer months, the heat alone would be insufferable to me, who do not bear heat well. The pest, indeed, is now in Wallakia in great vigour; but I shall leave that to the right—in short, I believe the present season is infinitely the most secure one, which is a powerful consideration.———I am most glad to find that the state of your mind upon religious matters is such as you describe it. God bless you. Give me a good account of yourself; and

Believe me to be, ever, &c.

J. T.

XXXV.

To FRANCIS TWEDDELL, Esquire.

Sevastopol,* in the Crimea, Nov. 8, 1797.

MY DEAR FATHER,

I have waited some time since my arrival in this country in hopes of finding some one who was going to Petersburg, to take charge of a letter so far—I have found no such occasion; and although in sending it by the post, I fear it will never arrive, yet I will take the chance at least, lest you should be anxious on account of not hearing from me.——I wrote to my mother from Mohilow (on the 13th of October) and arrived in the Crimea about ten days after that I left winter, or something very like it, at Petersburg: here I found summer, and to-day it is a fine autumn morning, and there is a prospect of very fine weather for some weeks to come. I have found all the world extremely hospitable. I have never once been at an inn. At Sympheropol* I lived in

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* Sevastopol. *(Sebastopolis.)* The modern name is Akhtiar. For a description of the present state of this place, and of its antiquities, see p. 45 and p. 55, &c. respectively, vol. ii. of Pallas's "*Travels in the Crimea.*" (Ed.)

† Sympheropol, or Akmetshet.—This is the winter residence of Professor Pallas, and is delightfully situated on a small but rapid stream, called the Salgir. There existed here in very recent times, the residence of Kalga-Sultan, one of the most powerful princes of that country; but since the subjugation of the Crimea, his palace, which was a hand-

the house of Professor PALLAS, the most distinguished man of letters in Russia, and well known in England on account of his works upon Natural history.* Here and at Bakchéseraï†, I have found the same obliging dispositions—and I am now just setting out upon a few days tour among the mountains which command the Black Sea. This is a most magnificent country. I will tell you more of it by a letter which I will write by the first occasion for Petersburg, which I hope to find soon. I have found a great many antiquities and inscriptions relating to the time when the Greeks were masters of this island, and after them the Genoese.

All the Governors, to whom I was addressed by the Prince KURAKIN, the Controller-General, have been extremely obliging. Through all this country they have furnished me with guides and horses, in whatever number I wished, at no expense. The interpreter of the russian consul has also had the goodness to accompany me every where. We make our tour on horseback.—Adieu, my dear Father—I wish you may receive this letter. You will perhaps hear in England the same reports we had at Petersburg,

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some structure, has been demolished. It was at this place that Mr. TWEDDELL enjoyed, in an intimate degree, the delightful intercourse of one of the most amiable men of letters of his age, and was treated with a confidence and regard which he always mentioned with the most grateful feelings. (ED.)

* See Letter XXXVII. p. 189.

† BAKCHÉ-SERAI—literally, a palace in a garden. Conformably to a privilege granted by the late Empress, this place is in the exclusive and absolute possession of the Tartars. No Russian is allowed to become a citizen. The Khan's palace is entitled to particular notice. [See "*Travels*," &c. as before, vol. ii. pp. 26, 29, &c.] (ED.)

about disturbances in different parts of the turkish dominions, &c. &c. Here, near the spot, they know nothing of it—on the contrary, all is quiet.

Believe me, &c.

J. T.

P.S. *I have made several very tolerable drawings of all the most interesting views of this country—and I have copied all the inscriptions I have found.**

XXXVI.

To the Hon. STEPHEN DIGBY.

Iéni-kalé, ce 20th Nov. 1797.

Dieu sait, mon tres cher ami, si jamais vous receverez cette lettre. Je crains que non. Je suis actuellement à l'extremité de la presqu' isle de la Tauride, dans la maison du commandant de la fortresse de Iéni-kalé. A mes pieds est le Bosphore Cimmerien à travers duquel

* Dr. Clarke, in his "*Travels*," has the following reference—"Mr. Tweddell, of Trinity-College, Cambridge, had recently visited this country, and he left with Professor Pallas his own beautiful transcripts of every inscription found here, from which documents they were published by the Professor, but without any illustration; the world having lost, in Mr. Tweddell's untimely death, and the subsequent disappearance of his journals at Constantinople, in 1799, *as yet unexplained*, all the information his great acquirements enabled him to afford." (See Clarke's "*Travels in Tartary*," &c. vol. i. p. 435.)

je vois distinctement la ville de Taman dans l'isle de Phanagorie. Il n'y a que six verstes entre l'Asie et moi. Je compte y passer sous peu d'heures—mais seulement pour deux ou trois jours, à fin d'examiner quelques inscriptions dans l'isle de Phanagorie, qui ont rapport à MITHRIDATE roi de Bosphore. La mer à present est trop agitée—Les bâtimens de la couronne sont trop vieux pour s'y hasarder, et les bateaux pêcheurs veulent attendre un moment plus calme. En attendant, Madame la Commandante, qui est Grecque née, me donne des leçons dans le Grec vulgaire—je commence à m'expliquer un peu dans cette langue. J'ai fait un voyage delicieux dans la Tauride. Imaginez vous, sur toute la côte méridionale les arbres sont encore verts de feuillage, le ciel sans nuage, et pendant plus de deux semaines que je viens de passer dans cette partie de la presqu' isle, le soleil fortement renvoyé des montagnes du dessus de ma tête, m'invitoit continuellement à me baigner dans la mer à mes pieds, tandis que toute l'espace intermediare entre ces augustes objets soulageoit les yeux et enchantoit le cœur, qui tous les deux se reposoient volontiers avec les bons montagnards Tartares au sein de ces vallées paradisiaques, tantôt dans de bosquets frais de lauriers, de figuiers, de micacouliers, d'oliviers, tantôt dans les chaleis taillés dans le roc vif, et à moitié cachés dans le feuillage épais des jardins naturels.———Je ne suis jamais grand raconteur par lettre de ce que j'ai vu.—Ecrire tout, ce seroit bien trop—écrire peu n'est guères assez—on est trop imparfait ou trop ennuyeux—or, vous savez qu'il ne faut rien de trop. Mais outre cela j'ai dans ce moment grande peur que celle lettre ne vous parvienne pas—Donc, le moyen de continuer avec un tel doute? Seulement si vous recevez cette lettre, vous saurez que je ne suis pas mort, et même que je conserve encore quelques momens de cette sotte vie, à penser à vous et aux vôtres. Ah! certes si je ne le faisois pas, je serois bien mort. Ce seroit là preuve que je cessois d'exister. Cela viendra aussi. Je ne sais

pas d'où je pourrai encore vous donner de mes nouvelles. Adieu, mon cher Mr. D—— portez vous bien, et dites de ma part à votre aimable famille tout plein d'amitiés.

J'ai trouvé sur la côte meridionale* quantité d'inscriptions et de bas-reliefs du tems des Genois et des Grecs.—J'ai tout copié—et je me suis fait, d'ailleurs, de mes travaux et de ceux d'autrui une assez jolie petite collection des desseins de la Crimée et des costumes des habitans.——J'ai passé une semaine chez le Professeur PALLAS, qui s'est etabli dans la Tauride à Simpheropol. J'ai peu vu de gens de lettres qui soient aussi doux et aussi aimables que lui. Les savans pour la plupart ne savent pas vivre.—Vous connoissez ses ouvrages sur l' histoire naturelle de Russie.

J. T.

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* "Soon after leaving Derey-keuy, (on the south coast of the Crimea) we arrived at the ruin of an old monastery, most delightfully situated on the side of the mountains which slope towards the sea, with a rapid rivulet of the purest crystal water running close to its walls. All that now remains of the original building is a small chapel, containing images of the saints, in *al fresco* paintings, upon stucco, although nearly effaced. Here my unfortunate friend and predecessor in the journey, the late Mr. TWEDDELL, had left the tributary offering of his athenian muse to the genius of the place, in some verses written with a pencil, and the addition of his name upon the stucco." (See Dr. CLARKE's "*Travels*," vol. ii. page 540.)

XXXVII.

To FRANCIS TWEDDELL, Esquire.

Nicolaiev, 28th Nov. 1797.

MY DEAR FATHER,

I am just returned from my tour in the Crimea, where the beauty of the country and the delightful climate, notwithstanding the advanced season, detained me longer than I expected. I have made and procured drawings of many situations, the representation of which will, I hope, one day afford you pleasure. *The different costumes of the Tartars, Cosaks, Calmucks, &c. have been drawn for me during my absence from Simpheropol, by a painter in the service of Professor* Pallas, *and they are executed in a very masterly manner.*———I am now at the house of Admiral Mordwinow,* the commander of the fleet of the Black Sea.—There

* Admiral Nicolai Mordvinov—resided at the village of Egis-Oba. His character is thus sketched by the learned historiographer of the Crimea:—"Admiral M. is one of those few noblemen who possess the talent of employing their fortunes to the advantage of their native country and their fellow subjects. Having evinced this excellent disposition on many occasions, and in various situations, both in public service and during his philosophical retirement, he has likewise sacrificed his private emolument to the benefit of the common weal, by establishing in this village, first, a manufactory of malleable iron, with a locksmith's shop; next, a valuable tannery, under the superintendance of a german master; and especially an excellent nursery of the best sorts of indigenous and exotic fruit-trees."—"Hence this place has obtained great celebrity by the aromatic apples of Sinap, which are annually conveyed by land-carriage to Moscow, and even to Petersburg." [See vol. ii. pp. 39 and 40.] The Editor cannot bring himself to take leave of this name without refer-

have been some little disturbances in the turkish provinces—but of the same nature, and of no other extent, than is usual in the ottoman government. A few Pashas lose their heads, and peace is restored. I beg, therefore, that you will have no inquietude on my account—I am too grateful for the anxiety which your affection creates, to give birth to it unnecessarily. I will write to you from Woitovka, the Duke of POLIGNAC's, and more frequently than usual, because I must count upon one half of my letters miscarrying—This, however, will be one reason why they will not be so long, as such an uncertainty damps the ardor of communication.*——I have seldom spent a week more pleasantly than that which I passed with Mr. and Madame PALLAS,† at Sim-

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ring the reader to page 604 of the 1st volume of Dr. CLARKE's *Travels*, for an interesting account of the last malady and death of our philanthropic countryman, HOWARD, at Kherson, and of the praise-worthy conduct of Admiral MORDVINOV on that occasion: the former part is remarkable for giving us the first genuine details of that event, related in a manner to awaken lively sympathy; and the latter makes known the existence of a debt of national gratitude towards the worthy Russian Admiral, which few among us have been aware of hitherto. (ED.)

* This sufficiently accounts for the unusual brevity and imperfection of Mr. TWEDDELL's communications from the Crimea; another reason was, that he had prepared a very complete journal of all he had seen in that country. (ED.)

† PETER SIMON PALLAS—son of SIMON PALLAS, who was professor of surgery at Berlin, was born in that city in 1741, and perfected his education in anatomy, physiology, medicine, and the other sciences, at the Universities of Halle, Göttingen, and Leyden. In 1761 he repaired to London; where, having accurately examined the collections of natural history, the favorite pursuit to which he had devoted himself, and made several excursions to the sea-coasts of this kingdom, with a view to similar researches, he returned to the continent, and settled, soon afterwards, at the Hague; where his reputation as a man of science became established by his publications in zoology, and he was elected fellow of the Royal Society of London, and a member of the academy "*Des Curieux de la Nature*;" to both of which he made valuable communications. M. PALLAS quitted Holland in 1766, and returning to Berlin, was engaged in arranging his materials for publication, when he

pheropol, on my return from the southern coast.—During five days that I was on horseback, and slept upon the southern mountains among the Tartars, I never met with more hospitality in my life.

J. T

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received an invitation from the Empress CATHARINE to accept the professorship of *Natural History* in the Imperial Academy of Sciences. In consequence of this appointment he attached himself to the expedition of learned men which the academy was preparing to send out, under the auspices of the Empress, to visit the distant provinces of the russian empire, for the prosecution of scientific enquiries. To Prof. PALLAS was particularly confided, at his own desire, the expedition to the east of the Volga and towards the extreme parts of Siberia; and he took his departure from Petersburg in June 1768, with Messrs. FALK, &c. as his associates.

From that perilous and laborious expedition, into inhospitable regions, he returned, after an absence of six years, and reached Petersburg in July 1774. The account of that extraordinary tour was published in 5 vols. 4to. and contributed greatly to extend his fame. The hardships and adventures which that enterprising traveller experienced may be sufficiently appreciated from a single sentence of his own narrative—"On the 30th of July I reached Petersburg, with an enfeebled body and gray hairs, though only in the three-and-thirtieth year of my age; and full of grateful acknowledgments to Providence, for having preserved and delivered me from numberless perils."

Professor PALLAS's "*Flora Russica*," or a description of the plants of the whole russian empire, and his numerous zoological and botanical works are sufficiently known; as also his present beautiful residence near Sympheropol, in the Crimea, on an estate granted to him by the late Empress, who purchased his ample collection of natural history for 20,000 roubles. This great naturalist having died some few years since at Berlin, left behind him an extensive "*Herbarium vivum*," which he had collected with great industry, having in view a continuance of his splendid botanical work. Some beautiful and finely colored engravings have been made from his collection; twenty-five of them, accompanied by a latin text from the pen of an able botanist, have been published at Berlin, under the title of "*Flora Russica: tomus* II. *pars* I." (ED.)

XXXVIII.

To JAMES LOSH, Esquire.

Ockzakow, 15th December, 1797.

MY DEAR LOSH,

With so much uncertainty respecting the arrival of a letter sent from hence to England, I should hardly be tempted to write to you, did I not imagine that your friendship may be anxious to know where I am, and to be assured that I am well. Know, then, if you ever receive this letter, that I am at that important spot where the balance of Europe hung suspended some years ago—but where, nevertheless, there is nothing to see. It is a place of no importance, nor otherwise curious, than to him who considers and deplores the slight pretexts upon which madness and ambition sacrifice the blood and the subsistence of infatuated nations. The counter-mines, which are now destroyed, were built by a french engineer of some name, and so unskilfully constructed that there was not the possibility of communication between them, at the time when the Turks put them in play; one part blew up and the other remained charged. I shall descend into these to-morrow morning. I have had most delightful weather in the Crimea—and have passed my time there much to my own satisfaction. I will write to you more in detail when I arrive at Constantinople, which I hope to do soon.

J. T.

XXXIX.

To FRANCIS TWEDDELL, Esquire.

Woitovka, (in the Ukraine) Jan. 20th, 1798.

MY DEAR FATHER,

Since my last letter the weather has been stormy and cold; so much so, that I have been prevailed upon, without much difficulty, to protract my visit at the Duke of Polignac's.——I shall sell my carriage here, and return to Odessa, and there embark for Constantinople. I think you will not find that this change in my operations was ill-concerted. All that is to be said against it is, that it is so much of the time that I destined to travelling spent without much food for new observation. When I left England you never mentioned to me any thing as to the time of my return. No doubt you foresaw, from your own experience, how difficult it would be to imagine any precise limit, especially in such a state of the world as the present. You knew, from the recollection of your own movements in a similar situation and similar time of life, how impossible it is to determine, long before hand, what may be advisable in subsequent conjunctures; and, indeed, how ill-advised it would be to chalk out a precise path, to which, in spite of changing circumstances, a traveller should be bound to adhere. When I left England I thought it probable that the winter following I should be at Naples. I found inducements in Germany to remain there longer than I proposed, and such as I cannot repent having profited of. When I afterwards arrived in Switzerland, and was preparing to direct my steps into Italy, then close at hand, Buonaparte and the fates rendered it no longer

possible. The only road then left open was that which I afterwards took, and of which I was happy to find that you approved. Yet how impossible was this to foresee! How little did I imagine, when I left England, that I should ever have made the tour of Russia! The plan which is now before me, and to which you have also given your sanction, is certainly full of interest, as I am at this moment within a week's journey of Constantinople, the most magnificent situation in the whole world, and so little known to the greater part of travellers. When there, I am at once in the centre of the theatre of grecian splendor, and in passing by Smyrna, Athens, and the grecian isles, have an easy and cheap access into Italy every moment, provided that the face of affairs permits a reasonable and a prudent man to land there. Should the miseries of this calamitous age receive any mitigation by a general peace (which I more hope than expect, since this last revolution at Paris), then my way is open through Italy into France, and so home. My own interest is so trifling a part in that of all Europe, that I cannot presume even to say that I wish this on my account—God grant it for the sake of the world at large, for the sake of afflicted and too-long suffering humanity. But since, after the general good of mankind, it becomes permitted to consider our own, I may then say, that this would be a most desirable manner of finishing a tour, which, altogether combined, must, I think, appear not ill concerted, but rich, on the other hand, in the means and in the extent of information. But, supposing this possible, it is clear that from this period I cannot return home in less than a year and a half. When my mother, previously to my departure, asked me when I thought I should return, I imagined three years, or rather more, would comprise the whole of my absence. I have now been absent two years and three months—so that the time which I have mentioned would protract my absence to nine or ten months more.

I am sure both you and my mother and sisters are too well convinced of my tender attachment, and of the sincere pleasure which I anticipate in the moment when we shall meet again, if God permit it, to imagine that I would willingly adopt any measure which might yet protract an absence already of some length. But at the same time I am well assured that when I am once in the midst of scenes so replete with rational interest, and which, hereafter, I can never expect to approach again, you would neither wish nor choose that, for the difference of a few months, I should neglect to profit of such a rare and admirable occasion, and leave room for a future regret in suffering it to pass by. I persuade myself that in reconsidering the circumstances of Europe, you will be of opinion that my plans have not been ill laid, to extract such advantages from my travels as were within my reach; and that when I return you will have reason to be content with the effect which they have produced upon me in different ways. I certainly cannot accuse myself of having squandered my hours in pleasures and dissipation—of having neglected such means of improvement as my income permitted—or, of having lengthened my stay any where longer than I found the means of its useful appropriation. During the remainder of the time here, I shall transcribe again my remarks upon Switzerland, of which I have only one copy, and which I should be sorry to run the risk of losing;* I shall keep one copy with me, and send the other, by a safe occasion, to Sir CHARLES WHITWORTH, who will forward it to England.

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* Most unfortunate it was, *as events have since turned out*, that this purpose was not carried into effect. The reason why it was abandoned appears, from the subsequent correspondence, to have been this:—that Mr. TWEDDELL found the labor to be so very great (owing to the large accumulation of materials), and the requisite expense of *time* so much beyond all that he had calculated upon, or could conveniently spare, that he felt himself obliged, after making a short progress, to relinquish the attempt. (ED.)

Just before I left Petersburg I received two letters of considerable length from ———, written in the most friendly style, and, in part, of such interest as would have inclined me to mention one of them to you, had I then had more time—but no time is lost. I will make an extract from it in his own words; after speaking upon public affairs with much detail, he concludes thus—"Should any change of administration take place, and an arrangement be made, including me and my friends, I shall be eagerly disposed to look to you for assistance; I beg you to be assured that my first endeavour shall be to find a post of honor for you, in which your country may derive advantage from your services, and in which I, from your personal honor and friendship may gain assistance and support."

I have given you, my dear father, the substance of this letter of ———, in the sole view that you may give me your opinion; and when I ask for your opinion, though it is always possible that mine may not be exactly the same, yet it is with the view of suffering my own to be decisively influenced by yours. I owe you this deference: I have declined a profession to which you were particularly attached, for reasons, which, at the same time they appeared good to me, were felt by me to be such as would not carry the same conviction to you. Human minds are so variously constructed, that the same source, from which to one man flows happiness or fortune, produces, to another, melancholy and continued discomfort. The pleasures or the disquietudes of life depend so much upon private sentiment and feeling, and upon a peculiar moral taste, that no reason is capable of representing them in the same force to another human being, whose sentiment, and feeling, and moral taste, are differently formed. It is true, before a certain time of life, and before the character is formed; it may be said that such determination is the result either of caprice, or of an

understanding yet incomplete; or that, provided even that the feeling be just, there is yet time enough to surmount or to change it. But, after a certain time, after the moral taste has taken a decisive bent, and that the person in question is capable of comprehending the good and the evil of the different conditions of life, and the nature of those ingredients which are requisite for the composition of his particular happiness, all attempts to change the figure of his feelings must be ineffectual. The profession of the law was to me the object of singular aversion; both the study, the application, the habits which it forms, and the effects which it produces, more or less, in every department of its exercise. I felt this so sensibly and so strongly, that I assure you, it gave me peculiar pain when I reflected how differently you saw the same subject, and the disappointment which you could not fail to prove, if you had grounded your hopes upon my distinction or my advancement in that line. This idea often clouded the moments which I passed alone, and not unfrequently affected my temper when in company. I neglected other studies, because I knew that you expected me to pursue that alone; and I was unwilling to strengthen my habitual dislike by the diversion of more favorite pursuits. And certainly, had I continued in England, I should have complied with what I knew to be your wish; though, with my feelings upon the subject, I am sure it would never have answered either to you or me. I should not have made even a moderate fortune; and my temper would infallibly have suffered from the disquiet which my mind constantly experienced. Those who are accustomed to consider the important effects which result from seemingly insignificant causes, especially in their influence upon the mind and the manners of men, will easily comprehend this. You recollect the event which decided this point, and my departure from England. The consequences of that event are, I apprehend, of a mixt nature. If I have lost on the side of happiness, perhaps, in other ways, I

I have gained. The ambition which I once possessed is, nearly, if not quite, extinct; it was propagated first by successes at the university, rather extraordinary—and, though I believe that its outward effects were not declared by either vanity or presumption, yet it continued to grow inwardly for some time longer, and to receive nourishment from the applauses which I received in the world from persons whose favorable opinion has been seen to intoxicate men both graver and older than myself. This is now passed by. I think much the same as I ever did upon most of the subjects which I have at all considered attentively—but I am much less anxious about the influence of events upon myself, much more penetrated with the sense of those vanities of the great and little world, which I once thought deserving of attention. My wishes are more bounded, and my head and my heart are more calm. My enthusiasm is burnt out in a great degree; I find that there are few things in life worthy to be coveted with ardor; that it is, for the most part, a choice of evil, and that the villany and folly of the greater part of mankind furnish slender hope, to a cool calculator, of the good producible by the effects of the virtuous few. I believe that if there is any happiness to be found, it is in retreat; and the great and chief good which I feel to result from my daily observations upon every thing which has struck me for a long time past, is the idea that, at some future time, if ever I should enjoy tranquillity and repose (for happiness is too much to count upon), I shall reap from reflection upon what I have seen and felt, the solid conviction, that all which passes beyond the sphere of a contracted station is unworthy to excite a wish or a regret.

At the same time that I say this, I would not willingly fall into a culpable extreme, nor avoid the occasions of utility; and, as I certainly could not fill any situation in life without discharging its

functions faithfully and conscientiously, am I free from blame, if, by refusing to occupy it myself, I suffer it to be less worthily occupied by another? For instance, in the case mentioned by ———, suppose that an administration, the composition of which I approved, offered me such a post as I could accept with honor, would you wish me to accept or to decline it? I assure you, your wish, decisively expressed, will have great influence in guiding my determination. It is this point that I have been long approaching. I have declined a profession which you approved and recommended —I will not adopt another without your approbation; and, what is more, neither will I decline it, should it be offered, if you recommend it. I express no preference of my own for pursuing or not pursuing it. My hopes of happiness in any situation are so sobered of late, that I have little choice, provided that I have not a decided aversion; and, if you say, decidedly, that the circumstance to which I allude will give you pleasure, or the reverse, I will guide myself accordingly. This is, after all, only a supposition, in case of such or such an event; but I should wish to know your feelings on the subject beforehand: and, to give you an additional idea upon the subject, I will tell you what kind of post I am well assured ——— alludes to; at least, I know that he has spoken of me to different persons, as well qualified to hold a diplomatic character in some foreign court. Without pretending to decide to what point I am so qualified, I believe I may agree with him that I am at least better qualified for that situation than for any other. I have seen a good deal of the manner of the diplomatic body—of their mode of conducting affairs—of their means and sources of information—and I must confess, also, that I have seen very few of that class whom it would be a matter of difficulty to cope with in point either of address or information.

I have stated to you, in general terms, my dear father, a case

which it is possible may never occur—for the present state of things baffles all the calculations of human foresight. To a question so general, and for a conjuncture which may be remote, I am aware that no direct answer can be given: but I shall be able, at least, to seize the spirit of your inclinations.

I hope you have received the two boxes which I have sent you: the one a tin box, from Stockholm, containing a few prints, &c.; the other with books, &c. from Petersburg. *I have made a pretty collection of drawings in the Crimea*; a part of them by myself, and a part by a painter employed by Mr. PALLAS. These last are in a masterly style and *contain all the dresses of the Greeks, Albanians, Cossacks,* Calmucks, Tartars*, men and women, scattered through different parts of that delightful country. I have always

* COSAKS or COSSACKS. The celebrity which these warriors have recently obtained by their extraordinary services in the late war, invites a brief notice of them. They are supposed to have come originally from the region of Mount Caucasus, and established themselves in the fine and boundless plains watered by the Don and the Volga. In 1574, they first made their appearance in the russian armies. In the battle of Preuss-Eglau, when the french cuirassiers made their desperate charge on the russian centre, the Cossacks instantly bore down upon them, speared them, unhorsed them, and in a few moments 500 of the heroes of the Don re-appeared in the field equipped in the spoil of the slain. A subscription was afterwards made among them, to defray the expence of conveying these cuirasses to the native regions of the hardy conquerors, where they will be preserved as memorable trophies of their prowess in war. Both as a soldier, and an individual in time of peace, the Cossack has a character peculiar and interesting. Mounted on a little ill-conditioned horse, but well-bred and of great speed, armed with a pike of from 14 to 16 feet long, with a short whip on his wrist, a pistol in his girdle, and a sword, he is a formidable and desperate enemy in the field; whilst, in the season of peace and in his own country, he is generous, domestic, affectionate, hospitable to the stranger, faithful to his engagements, and presents a graceful simplicity of manners, which engages confidence, and recommends him to regard. His costume is a blue jacket, a pair of loose trowsers, short boots, a black cap with a plume on the side, and a white or black hair Circassian short cloak. [See Sir R. WILSON's *Campaigns in Poland*, p. 25—39.] (ED.)

things more important than description to talk of when I write home; so that I can never give you an idea of what I see. But if I have time to recopy, also, my remarks upon the Crimea* whilst I am here, I will send one copy home, together with my journal through Switzerland.

The Comtesse De Witt, formerly so celebrated at Vienna and at Paris by the name of *La Belle Grecque*, has been here this morning, on a visit to the Duchess of Guiche and the Countess Idalie —she tells me that if I send my letter to her to-night, she will send it to Petersburg to-morrow by a courier, whom she despatches on her own affairs. I have, therefore, little doubt of this letter reaching you. If I had more time, and had not already written so much, I should be tempted to give you some idea of the morality of this country, of the manner in which families live together, &c. &c. But as I have written enough to exercise your eyes and your patience for one day, I will take leave of you without farther delay. I shall by that means save not only my eyes, but my credit as a faithful historian. You have not a sufficient stock of credulity to believe what I should write, if I reported every thing. You would be almost inclined to imagine that I exercised the long-established privilege of travellers.

The Duke's family tell me that I am increased in size since I was with them last year—I see little difference; but I feel that my travels agree well with my health.

I am ever,

My dear Father, &c.

J. J.

* This was, probably, never accomplished, and for the same reasons which prevented the completion of a copy of the journal through Switzerland. [See note at page 118.] (Ed.)

XL.

To the Hon. STEPHEN DIGBY.

Woitovka, in the Ukraine,
20th Jan. 179(7)8.

MY DEAR MR. DIGBY,

You see how man is the slave of habit! For what good reason should a man write 1797 on this side of last new year's day? Why, but because he has been accustomed to write it during the course of the last year, and he abides by the custom though it be but a twelvemonth old. If we are thus firmly attached to conventional forms and indifferent usages, nay, to what is much worse sometimes, to painful thoughts and grievous reflections long sealed in the memory, let it be permitted to us at least to treasure up with careful solicitude the recollections of past pleasures, to recall and to arrest in the mind ancient scenes of cordial intercourse, and to perpetuate the ideas familiar to friendship.

The last time I wrote to you, my dear Mr. D., I was at the extremity of the Crimea. I do not know that you will ever receive my letter. The Crimea is certainly one of the most delightful countries in the world. I quitted it in the beginning of December under a warm sun. The southern coast, along which I travelled during a fortnight, with the high mountains above my head, and the sea at my feet, amongst groves of laurel, and fig-trees, and olives, and almost all the productions of Anatolia, still in high verdure, offered some points of view more romantic and

more picturesque than the most romantic and most picturesque part of Switzerland. I drew a good deal, and have taken views of many interesting spots. *A painter, also, whom I found there, finished some paintings for me in a very masterly style.* I spent ten days among the mountains with the Tartars, and was charmed with their disinterestedness and hospitality.* But a letter is too limited to give you any notice of the country—When we meet again, we will talk over that and many other subjects. On my return from the Crimea, I repeated my visit to Professor PALLAS, and arrived here three weeks ago. On my road hither, the ruins of Oczakow, that fortress ever renowned in the history of ministerial gasconades, had nearly proved as fatal to me as to the Turks.

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* TAHTAR HOSPITALITY.—When the French Resident to the Khan of the Tahtars was travelling through Tartary, on his route to Constantinople, on arriving, towards dusk, at a village in Bessarabia, under the conduct of an officer appointed by the Khan, they found every inhabitant standing at his door; and on enquiring the cause of this of a venerable old man (whose interesting appearance had determined the travellers to make choice of him as their host), he answered—"Our eagerness to come to our doors is only to prove that our houses are inhabited; their uniformity preserves an equality, and my good star alone has procured me the happiness of having you for my guest. We consider the exercise of hospitality as a privilege.

Frenchman. "Pray tell me, would you treat the first with the same humanity?"

Old-Man. "The only distinction we follow, is to go and meet the wretched, whom misery always renders timid; in this case, the pleasure of assisting him is the right of the person who first approaches."

Frenchman. "The law of MOHAMMED cannot be followed with greater exactitude."

Old-Man. "Nor do we believe that, in exercising our hospitality, we obey this divine law. We are *men* before we are Mahometans: humanity has dictated our customs, and they are more ancient than the law."

(See DE TOTT's "*Memoires*," vol. i. part i. pp. 212—216.)

My horses were too powerful for the driver, and after galloping at full speed for a considerable time, approached so near to the border of these terrible ruins, that, if my servant had not forcibly turned them out of that fatal direction by a sudden check, we must have been destroyed. As it was, my carriage was overturned close by the edge of the precipice, and with so much violence, that the body was thrown from the forewheels, which were carried away by the horses to a considerable distance, though the driver still held the reins, while he was dragged along the ground. Luckily, I foresaw the moment of the fall, and drew my travelling cap over my eyes, which saved them from being cut by the glass of the windows, on which I fell with my forehead. My head was cut a little, and my knee bruised—my servant fared somewhat worse—and my carriage was broken to pieces. At present, however, I feel no more effects of an accident, which had nearly put an end to our corrrespondence. I have been overturned exactly 12 times in the last 12 months. You have not the remotest idea of the meaning of *bad roads*, in England.

I did not mean to have staid so long here, but the weather is very stormy, and the plague* seemed to gain too much ground in

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* PLAGUE.—ASSALINI, in his treatise on the plague, expresses a positive opinion of its not being contagious, and asserts in illustration thereof, that during the egyptian expedition, the Turks actually rifled the victims of this horrid disease in the pest-houses, and dug up corpses recently buried at Cairo, without being infected. When our indian army descended the Nile, they found whole villages in a state of entire abandonment, the inhabitants having been swept away by the raging pestilence, which was calculated to have destroyed 60000 persons in Upper Egypt. The following extract, from "*A Collection of Papers, intended to promote an Institution for the cure and prevention of Infectious Fevers in Newcastle-on-Tyne, and other populous Towns,*" presents a very important fact, whilst it records the end of a gallant and distinguished officer—"Mr. TAINSH, an intelligent practitioner, late surgeon of H.M.S. Theseus, of 74 guns, received on board that ship, in 1799,

Moldavia and Wallachia, for me to venture at that time through those provinces,* across which lies the road from hence to Con-

off the coast of Syria, Captain PHELYPEAUX and four seamen, infected with the plague. The Captain was placed in a cabin by himself, but would submit to no medical treatment and died on the fourth day. The surgeon fitted up a berth for the other four, apart from the rest of the crew (500 or more), with no better separation than painted canvas, and kept them as cool and clean as possible; only one of the four died, and not one of the crew took the infection." [See a disquisition on this subject *in* HAMILTON'S "*Ægyptiaca*." c. xi.; also THORNTON'S "*Present State of Turkey*," p. 321—323.] (ED.)

* MOLDAVIA and WALLAKIA:—(the former of which turkish provinces submitted to the Porte in 1529 and the latter in 1418) are rich in pasture, and support abundance of sheep, goats, and horned cattle, which, with their natural advantages, under any government, but that of the Turks, would render them, on the whole, flourishing and productive in the highest degree. The appearance of the country is extremely picturesque, and the air, in general, salubrious, though the heat in summer is immoderate, and that dreadful enemy the locusts, sometimes make their appearance, and spread desolation over this beautiful country. They will even pass the lofty ridge of the Carpathian mountains, and light upon Transylvania, where the government has been known to call out regiments of soldiers to disperse and destroy them with the report of cannon and the smoke of gunpowder. These, however, are evils comparatively light when contrasted with the oppressive exactions of a cruel and tyrannical government. The prince of these provinces, who is always of greek extraction, receives his absolute but precarious authority from the Porte, and exercises it with all that vexatious injustice which consequentially arises, where pride and ambition are combined with an avaricious desire of accumulating wealth. Hence the peasants of Moldavia and Wallakia are in a state of abject slavery, and, inhabiting a fertile and beautiful soil, are miserably indigent and humiliated under the operation of violence and fear. The number of inhabitants in the two principalities is calculated at one million, and the chief sources of revenue are the capitation tax, salt mines, the custom duties, and taxes on pasturage, bees-wax, and tobacco. The *chinganehs* or gypsies, abound in these governments, and manifest the same propensities for which they are so notorious in England. The mode of travelling is in a light cart drawn by four horses, but the carriages being only held together by wooden pegs, are frequently breaking down, and also very liable to be overturned. The roads at some seasons are extremely bad, and from this circumstance, together with the nature of the vehicle, which is both low and insecure, the traveller in Moldavia and Wallakia, though he moves with expedition, is liable to be covered with mud or with dust, and finds his journey fatiguing and disagreeable through a most enchanting country. [See THORNTON'S "*Present State of Turkey*," c. ix.] (ED.)

stantinople. It has gained, indeed, Podolia, that part of the Ukraine where I now am; and, when I came here, it existed in a village about eight miles off; a *cordon* of military was drawn round this part of the country, and a quarantine established. It is now at an end; the extreme cold has destroyed it; and I might now, in perfect safety, recommence my journey; but as the same frost which kills the plague might also kill me, especially as a great part of the journey must be performed on horseback, I have, without much difficulty, yielded to the kind entreaties of this family, to pass three weeks more with them; about the end of which time the Black Sea will be again navigable.———I conclude that you know Woitovka to be the house of the Duke of POLIGNAC; it is not possible to find more charms in the society of one family. I was, perhaps, in the humour of condemning your eyes to pore over some ten pages of God knows what, in the old style, when, fortunately for you and for your patience, the Comtesse DE WITT, who came here on a visit, sends to tell me, that if I will finish my letter immediately, she will forward it to Petersburg to-night by a courier, whom she despatches on her own affairs. Adieu, therefore, my dear Mr. D. Write to me a long letter, full of interest and you. My kindest regards to CHARLES and Miss DIGBY, and the little ones.

Your's, affectionately,

J. J.

XLI.

To JAMES LOSH, Esquire.

Woitovka, Jan. 20, 1798.

MY DEAR LOSH,

The occasion which presents itself at this moment for Petersburg will not allow me to converse with you so much at length as I could wish. But I apprehend that you will prefer a short letter almost sure of arriving in England, to a long one almost sure of being lost between here and Petersburg. I wrote to you from Oczakow, on my way from the Crimea hither. I arrived there the evening which preceded the capture of that place 10 years ago. It was the eve of St. Nicholas. The day following all the Russians were drunk in honor of the massacre Oczakow is now a most miserable place, bearing in every shape the marks of destruction. For some miles before arriving there, the ground appeared still white with the bones of the horses, which died of cold and hunger during the latter part of the siege. For full four years after the capture, the stench of the corpses slaughtered upon this occasion infected the air. Still even, in the great droughts, when a particular wind blows, disease seems to sit in the air. General Catenir told me that from the unwholesomeness of this cruel scent he had lost his daughter and two servants, and felt his own health sensibly impaired, all within the space of one year; that he had found human bodies upon digging in his garden, and was obliged to discontinue the cultivation of it, for fear of contaminating the town by moving the soil. The Russians lost between forty and sixty

thousand men during the siege, by cold, hunger, &c. all which was the effect of the incapacity of the Prince POTEMKIN;* the history of whose exploits in these countries during that war has so much the air of romance, from absurdities on the one hand and magnificence on the other, that no man who was tender of his reputation would venture to publish it in naked detail.

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* GREGORY ALEXANDROVITZ POTEMKIN (or properly written *Patiemkin*)—born in 1736, at Smolensko, of a Polish family, was ensign in the horse-guards. It was he who first suggested to the Empress to take possession of the Crimea; which was the scene of one of his most extraordinary campaigns. He maintained the siege of Oczakow in the midst of a most rigorous winter; and having consumed some months before it, in a state of luxurious inactivity, during which the most extravagant schemes of magnificence and enterprise alternately engrossed him, he, at length, took the place by storm, and put the garrison and inhabitants to the sword. Twenty-five thousand Turks are computed to have been slaughtered. POTEMKIN, during the brunt of the attack, is said to have been in a place of safety, where, sitting on the ground, his head reclined on his hands, he only lifted it up occasionally, to ejaculate fervently, "Lord, have mercy upon us!" The Empress presented him with a sword worth 60,000 roubles, to mark her sense of the importance of that bloody achievement. The character of Prince POTEMKIN presents an anomaly in the history of the species, and seems, in some respects, to have exceeded the bounds of imagination, and to make the best description inadequate. Mr. DE SEGUR, ambassador from France to the court of Russia, sums it up in the following very striking language:—"*Cet homme fut l'un des plus extraordinares de son siecle: il rassembloit dans sa personne les defauts et les avantages les plus opposés. Avare et magnifique, despote et populaire, dur et bienfaisant, orgueilleux et caressant, politique et confiant, libertin et superstitieux, audacieux et timide, ambitieux et indiscret, prodigue avec des parens, ses maîtresses et ses favoris, il ne payoit souvent ni sa maison, ni ses creanciers. Rien n'egaloit l'activité de son imagination, ni la paresse de son corps. Aucun danger n'effrayoit son courage; aucune difficulté ne le faisoit renoncer à ses projets, mais le succes le degoûtoit de ce qu'il avoit entrepris—il avoit l'air embarassé dans toutes ses societés, et sa presence génoit tout le monde.* POTEMKIN *commença tout, n'acheva rien, derangea les finances, désorganisa l'armée, depeupla son pays, et l'enrichit de nouveaux déserts.*" At the congress of Yassi, at which this astonishing man assisted, he felt symptoms of indisposition, and conceiving the air of the place unwholesome, set off for Nicolaoff, but, before he had proceeded many miles, grew sensibly worse, and, alighting from his carriage, expired under a tree, 15th of October 1791, aged 55 years. [See *Memoirs of Prince* POTEMKIN: also *Dict. Hist.*] (ED.)

I have now been at the Duke of POLIGNAC's* more than three weeks, and shall stay near a month longer.——I wish you were here with me. You would be delighted with the Duchess of GUICHE and the Countess IDALIE DE POLIGNAC; they are most lovely women. We live here quite *à l'Angloise*, in respect of hours. We breakfast at ten o'clock, and dine at half past five. In the mornings I generally read to Mad. DE GUICHE or Mad. IDALIE; or whilst one draws another reads. In the evening they play on the harp and the piano-forte—then we have, commonly, some french *petits jeux de societé*—I play regularly a couple of games at chess with the Duke—and at midnight we separate. I assure you, you would pass your time here very much to your own satisfaction.

Adieu, my dear LOSH. Write soon and at great length, upon the state of the country, &c. &c. and that of your own health and prospects. Ever yours, &c.

J. T.

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* POLIGNAC.—The Editor avails himself of the recurrence of this name to make good the omission of a notice concerning the deceased wife of the nobleman named in the text, and mother of the two ladies whose disposition and accomplishments are so highly eulogized by Mr. TWEDDELL. A portrait of that highly interesting personage is affixed in an appropriate place in this volume; and the following sketch is here presented of her person and moral character, drawn by a gentleman who enjoyed much of her society prior to the fatal french revolution: it is given in the original, because much of the charm would be lost by translation:—"*Celle-ci avoit la plus céleste figure que l'on pût voir: son regard, son sourire, tous ses traits, étoient angeliques. Elle avoit une de ces têtes où* RAPHAEL *a seu joindre une expression spirituelle à une douceur infinie. Son caractère ne démentoit point sa figure; toujours égale, sereine, elle sembloit contente de sa situation aussi bien que de ceux avec qui elle se trouvoit. Elle menoit une véritable vie de château; une douzaine de personnes formoient, avec sa famille, sa societé; il y regnoit une aimable liberté. Je me rappelle encore un plaisir mêlé de regrets, les agréeable soirées que j'y ai passées pendant les deux hivers qui ont precédé la revolution. Enfin ce qu'il y eut de plus triste pour elle, c'est qu'elle partagea l'animadversion presque générale dont, à l'epoque de la revolution, la reine devint malheureusement l'objet.*" [See *Souvenirs et Portraits, par M.* DE LEVIS. Londres, p. 132.] (ED.)

XLII.

To Miss TWEDDELL.

Woitovka en Ukraine, 16 Fev. 1798.

Bon jour, ma bien chère amie! Avant de quitter Petersburg, je vous ai donné de mes nouvelles—en avez vous reçue? Je l'espére. De tems en tems je tâche de me faire une idée de ce que vous faites, et en imagination je vous accompagne dans vos amusemens et dans vos études. En attendant je n'en sais rien positivement—car depuis mon départ de Petersburg, j'ignore tout ce qui se passe en Angleterre. C'est triste—mais il n'a pas pu être autrement. La nécessité est la consolation des malheureux. Dans un mois je m'embarquerai à Odesse pour Constantinople. Alors la mer se trouvera assez tranquille, et les vents favorables—et l'entrée du détroit du Canal présente, dit-on, un spectacle des plus magnifiques. Pourquoi, ma chere, n'êtes vous pas avec moi, pour jouir de tout cela? La societé de cette maison vous auroit plu infiniment—Elle est, on ne peut plus, aimable.—Elle voudroit aussi faire votre connoissance—car nous parlons quelquefois de vous, et l'on croit même déja vous connoitre. La Comtesse Idalie De Polignac a dessiné pour vous un eventail—et si je savois le moyen de vous le faire passer, il vous garantiroit des chaleurs de l'été prochain. Mais il faut attendre une occasion sûre. Etes-vous contente des dessins de la Suisse que j'ai envoyés à mon père? Vous en avez pu concevoir que la nature est belle dans ce pays-là, n'est-ce pas? *J'en ai aussi de très jolis de la Crimée*—j'en ai fait une partie moi-même, mais quand je parle des dessins

très-jolis, vous sentez bien que je mets les miens à part. Quels sont les livres que vous lisez actuellement? Je crois avoir recommandé à mon père les "*Etudes de la Nature*" par BERNARDIN DE ST. PIERRE. C'est un livre charmant, et fait pour enchanter un cœur qui se plaît dans la bienveillance et dans la vertu.—"*Le cours d'études*" de l'Abbé DE CONDILLAC est un excellent livre aussi. Il y a un peu de tout qui est bon à savoir. Mais il est bien volumineux. Avez-vous lu une partie du théatre François? C'est là à mon avis le fort de leur littérature. RACINE sur tout fait mes délices. Nous n'avons rien en Anglois qui en approche pour la connoissance du cœur et la sensibilité. Je vous recommandé sur tout *Britannicus*, *Iphigénie*, *Andromaque*, *Athalie*, *Mithridate*. Il y a encore une autre pièce que je préfere à tout cela—mais peut-être ne vous plairoit-elle pas tant. Je crois que mon père a les ouvrages de RACINE. Dans le théatre de VOLTAIRE, *Zayre*, *Alzire*, *Mahomet*, *Tancrède*, *Brutus*, *Semiramis*, *l'Orphelin de la Chine*. Dans celui de CORNEILLE, *Le Cid*, *Rodogune*, *Les Horaces*, *Cinna*, *Héraclius*. Toutes les pièces de MOLIERE sont bonnes. Dans son genre il est sans rival. La malheur est, qu'il s'y trouve de tems en tems des choses un peu trop fortes pour une jeune personne. Je crois cependant, que *Le Misanthrope* est exempt de cette objection. Vous avez lu peut-être *les fables de* LA FONTAINE*. Si-non vous avez un plaisir à venir. Il est au dessus de tout écrivain pour cette heureuse naïveté qui plait tant, quand elle plait, et pour le charme qui distingue sa maniere de raconter. MOLIERE, RACINE et LA FONTAINE, sont la fleur des auteurs François. Lisez les caractères de La Bruyere,—et réfléchissez—vous y trouverez de quoi. Si vous trouviez quelque

* LA FONTAINE.—See a work entituled, "*La Fontaine et tous les Fabulistes*," by M. N. S. GUILLON, 2 vols. 8vo.—in which this writer is compared with his models and his imitators. (ED.)

part "*La Princesse de Cleves*," un roman par Mad. De La Fayette —je vous conseillerois de le lire. C'est parfaitement bien écrit. "*La Rivalité de la France et de l'Angleterre*", par Gaillard,* doit se trouver, je crois, à Beaton—demandez ce livre, quand vous y serez. "*Des Lettres sur les animaux*," par Mr. Le Roi, vous feroit un plaisir sensible. "*Les Considérations sur les mœurs de ce siécle*," par Duclos, est un des meilleurs livres que j'ai jamais lu. Il est profond et clair en même tems—bien pensé et bien écrit, comme l'est en effet tout ce qui est jamais parti de la plume de Duclos. J'espère que vous faites des notes de tout ce que vous lisez. Je vous conseillerois d'avoir un livre pour faire des extraits des ouvrages Anglois et François, de tous les genres, indifféremment—et quelques cahiers pour les idiomes seulement, et pour les phrases Françoises, qui vous paroissent ou neuves ou d'une jolie tournure. Mais je sais que vous vous occupez assidument de tout ce qui peut former vôtre gôut et vôtre esprit. Oh, vous y trouverez bien votre compte. N'en doutez point. En quel meilleur jour cela ne fera-t-il pas paroître tout ce que vous avez actuellement de bon et d'attachant! Combien par là ne devez vous point monter au-dessus de vous-même! quel soutien ne préparez-vous pas

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* Gabriel Henry Gaillard—one of the most distinguished writers of the 18th century, and member of the Academy of *Belles Lettres*. "*The Rivalship of France and England*," was published about the year 1775. It gives an account of the numberless animosities and quarrels that have existed between the two nations, from the time of William the Conqueror. It is related of Mr. Gaillard, that, in his retirement at St. Firmin, near Chantilly, he every morning, at break of day, went into the recesses of a neighbouring forest, and, taking with him some bread and a little fruit, remained in that solitude for the whole of the day, sometimes walking about, at other times seated on a rock, and thus composed and wrote the greater part of the "*History of the Rivalship of France and England*," and other literary works. At the age of nearly 80 years he composed an eulogy on Mr. De Malesherbes, with whom, from his earliest years, he had lived in the strictest friendship. Mr. Gaillard died in 1806. (Ed.)

à l'empire que vous voudrez peut-être exercer un jour sur les cœurs qui vous entoureront! En poursuivant ce même plan, vous pouvez en deux ans d'ici devenir une femme très-essentielle. Vous êtes jeune, mais pas trop pour commencer à vous former des opinions et des principes, pour réfléchir dans le cours de votre lecture à toute situation qui peut un jour devenir la vôtre, et pour vous établir d'avance des régles fixes et sûres, aux-quelles vous tenir fermement, et que vous puissez appliquer ou directement ou par analogie à toutes les exigences de la vie. Si jamais j'etois assez heureux pour voir ce jour là, le vœu le plus près de mon cœur seroit alors accompli. Mais pour cela, il faut se garder bien de se mettre sur les rangs de ces personnes, qui se disent trop jeunes pour savoir, jusqu' au jour où elles se croyent trop vieilles pour apprendre. Vous n'avez pas vécu si long-tems, chère amie, sans avoir considérée la différence de ce qui est à ce qui sera, les changemens que nous subissons, et les choses qui conviennent à nos différens états. La beauté n'est que pour une saison; les graces meurent en même tems; les talens se rouillent dans l'oisiveté; l'esprit même est à la longue bien peu de chose, sans qu'il soit appuyé par de l'instruction. Car l'âge enfin survient, et il faut l'entretenir des épargnes de la jeunesse; il faut soustraire à la saison des jouissances une partie de ses fonds àfin d'applanir les inégalités de la vie, et d'aller en déclinant tout doucement, sans trop s'appercevoir de la rudesse de la descente. Pensez-y, ma chere sœur. Qui a tems, a vie. Levez-vous le matin avant sept heures—et lisez jusqu'à l'heure du déjeuné—après cela, ne seroit-il pas bien de dessiner un peu, àfin de ne pas oublier vos acquisitions actuelles? Puis, deux ou trois heures vous avez les meilleurs écrivains François et Anglois, et surtout les bons historiens. Car il ne faut pas mourir sans s'être informé des différens accidens qu' a subi son espèce dans le courant des siècles, et du progrès de l'esprit humain. Le soir, quelque livre bien choisi dans les belles-

lettres occupera agréablement le tems que vous pourrez lui donner —et tous cela sans déranger vos autres travaux, sans négliger d'écrire tous les jours en François, et sans empiéter sur le tems qu'il faut donner à l'exercice, et au soin de votre santé, le premier de tous. Mais j'espére que votre santé est bonne actuellement, et n'exige plus toutes ces petites attentions du tems passé. Donnez moi le détail de tout ce qui vous regarde, et de tout ce qui vous intéresse, de tout ce qui vous amuse, et de tout ce qui vous ennuye. Vous jugez bien que de tout cela rien ne peut m'être indifférent.

Presentez à mon père et à ma mere l'hommage de mes devoirs et de mon affection—et croyez, ma chere sœur et bonne amie, que les sentimens que je vous ai voués ne finiront qu' avec moi-même. Dieu vous benisse.

J. J.

XLIII.

To the Hon. STEPHEN DIGBY.

Woitovka, in the Ukraine, Feb. 17, 1798.

MY DEAR MR. D.

Occasions of safe conveyance from hence to Petersburg present themselves so rarely, that a man's conscience is not at ease if he does not avail himself of all those which are offered to him. Without this feeling I should hardly have written to you so close upon the heels of my last letter, having nothing new to communicate,

but simply to tell you that I am well, and to shew you that I think of you, of which you certainly do not doubt. *Apropos*, I was the other day talking of you to Madame IDALIE and Madame DE GUICHE, who are pretty well *au fait* of all my friends, when Madame DE GUICHE said she was sure she knew you so well, that she could draw your portrait. She, accordingly, began to trace the outlines in chalk, and afterwards to proceed in oil-colours. I will not say that the resemblance was very striking, but had I been dexterous enough to be able to guide the pencil ever so little, her talent and my memory had done wonders. As it was, it was little more than a countenance of thoughtful resignation, pale and thin, and somewhat severe; though I could read in that severity better than another how nearly allied it was to every tender benevolence, and how disposed to relax itself into indulgence for the weaknesses, and pity for the woes, of others. The hair which belonged to this face seemed older than the face itself, and to have whitened officiously before its time. I assure you we often talk of you as if you were familiarly known to us all alike. It is not impossible that in a year or two from this time both these ladies may visit England, and if they do so, they are determined to visit *you*—so make up your mind to it. Seriously, this is very possible. The Comte D'ARTOIS expresses, frequently, his anxiety to see a part of this family—and, should he continue where he is, they are determined to make a visit in Scotland, and, consequently, in England. This is no small source of pleasure to me, whenever I turn my thoughts from public affairs, the alarming aspect of which hardly allows me to hope for any pleasurable scenes at the end of two years. Futurity is certainly big with alarms and with pestilence.

My plans remain the same as when I last wrote to you. I shall set sail for Constantinople about the latter end of next month.—

Meanwhile, I am not sorry to enjoy a little repose, after journeys so long and fatiguing.

A material alteration has taken place in my manner of living, which I had almost forgotten to mention to you. I no longer eat flesh-meat, nor drink fermented liquors. As for the latter, it is merely because I do not believe that they can ever be good for the constitution, and still more especially with a vegetable diet. With regard to the flesh of animals, I have many times thought upon the subject. I am persuaded we have no other right, than the right of the strongest, to sacrifice to our monstrous appetites the bodies of living things, of whose qualities and relations we are ignorant. Different objections which struck me, as to the probability of good from the universality of this practice, have hitherto held me in indecision. I doubted whether, if this abstinence were universal, the animals, which we now devour, might not devour, in their turn, the fruits and vegetables reserved for our sustenance. I do not know whether this would be so—but I do not believe it; it seems to me that their numbers would not augment in the proportion which is apprehended: if, on the one hand, we now consume them with our teeth, on the other, we might then abandon our schemes and inventions for augmenting the means of propagation. Let nature follow her own course with regard to all that lives. I am told that they would destroy each other—in the first place, the two objections cannot exist together; if they would destroy each other, their numbers would not be excessive; and what is this mutual destruction to me? Who has constituted me dictator of the realms of nature? Why am I umpire between the mistress and her servants? Because two chickens fight till one dies, am I obliged to worry one of them to prevent their engagement? Exquisite and well imagined humanity! On the other

hand let precautions be adopted against famine, when experience shall have shewn the necessity of them; in the mean while, we are not called upon to bury in our bowels the carcasses of animals, which, a few hours before, lowed or bleated—to flay alive and to dismember a defenceless creature, to pamper the unsuspecting beast which grazes before us, with the single view of sucking his blood and grinding his bones; and, to become the unnatural murderers of beings, of whose powers and faculties, of whose modes of communication and mutual intercourse, of whose degree of sensibility and extent of pain and pleasure, we are necessarily and fundamentally ignorant. The calamity does not appear to me to be sufficiently ascertained, which warrants so barbarous a proceeding, so violent a remedy upon suspicion and by anticipation. That the human body cannot suffer from this abstinence I am well convinced; and the mind, I am as firmly persuaded, must gain by it. No soldiers in Europe, nor in the world, can sustain the fatigues of the russian infantry. They abstain from flesh at least half the year; I think near 200 days. The Bramins live more than a century upon vegetables. Our passions must be much tamed and reduced, by abstinence from whatever irritates the blood, and, consequently, the habits of virtue must be invigorated, and the facility of its practice greatly increased. This reform is attended with some little inconveniences in society, and the palate does not find its account in it. But what is there that is either good or wise, that does not require effort on the one hand, and which is not counteracted on the other by the conventional prejudices of associated men? I am aware, also, that the subject is open to the attacks of ridicule, as what subject is not? The more grave and the more important it is, the greater is the purchase of wit—But I attempt not to reason either with mountebanks or with aldermen. The Duchess of GUICHE has adopted this plan also, and

we sustain every day the artillery of the whole house. In the mean time we live upon rice and milk, eggs, potatoes, bread, and dried fruit. What reminded me to mention this to you was, a note which I received after dinner to-day from the Countess DIANE, who has been confined to her own room sometime, and it is since her absence from the saloon that I have finally put my scheme in execution.

" À Mr. TWEDDELL, Pythagoricien.

" J'ai tant parlé depuis huit heures du matin, qu'il me sera impossible d'avoir l'honneur de recevoir aujourd'hui un homme à système, très aimable d'ailleurs. Demain ma poitrine sera plus forte, et j'essayerai de le ramener à la raison. Si mon éloquence échoue, je fais au plus vîte bâtir deux petites maisons, une pour lui, l'autre pour sa prosélyte, séparés par une grande haie, afin d'éviter les inconvéniens de deux têtes si mal organisées, dans le cas où elles pourroient se rencontrer. Tous les passans seront invités à faire une petite prière pour le retour de leurs esprits. J'ai l'honneur de vous souhaiter le bon soir."

" À Madame la Comtesse DIANE DE POLIGNAC, mangeuse de chair morte.

" Je suis désolé du contretems qui me prive du plaisir de discuter avec vous, Madame la Comtesse, le mérite de mon système. Je le suis davantage parceque si l'issue d'une telle lutte m'étoit favorable, j'aurois une raison de plus pour m'y tenir. Forte comme vous l'êtes dans tous les raisonnemens qui portent sevèrement sur les animaux, et amie comme vous l'êtes des illusions, je serais sûr de ne pas devoir mon triomphe à vôtre compassion, vû que d'un côté je suis avocat des bœufs, des vaches, des brebis et des poules, et que de l'autre mon système rejette bien loin le secours de l'imagination, et ne veut s'étayer que de la vérité. Du reste, la petite

maison que vous m'offrez sera fort à mon gré, si vous la faites bâtir dans la voisinage du château de Woitovka. On pourroit effectivement la construire sur une plus grande échelle, afin de contenir ensemble les deux personnes dont il est question, au lieu de les séparer par cette grande haie, qui me semble, à vous dire la verité, une vilaine invention pour une architecte de vôtre génie. Mais je m'y entends peu. Ce sera comme vous voudrez. Seulement, que mes fenêtres donnent de ce côté-ci, je ne troquerai pas une folie si heureuse et si bien conditionnée pour la triste raison de bien d'autres. Donc, la petite prière me sera inutile. Ne seroit-elle pas mieux adressée pour le retour de votre santé?"

We have been all indisposed here. The Duke and the Countess DIANE, his sister, are confined to their beds. The Countess IDALIE and Mad. DE GUICHE are not much better. Happily there is no danger in all this. It is only cold, of which I also partake—my head aches, and while I write, half a dozen persons are coughing in concert in the next room. This winter has been severe, and has made havoc in the country. There are so many wretches fewer in the world—"after life's fitful fever, they sleep well." I hope your health, my dear Mr. DIGBY, continues good —and that you take care of yourself.

Adieu, adieu,

J. J.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

Plan of the City and its Suburbs

Engraved by J. SMITH & High Holborn

XLIV.

To FRANCIS TWEDDELL, Esquire.

Pera—(Constantinople), 22d May, 1798.

MY DEAR FATHER,

I arrived here yesterday. Different circumstances obliged the captain of the vessel to defer from day to day his voyage; and I was thus condemned, by the repetition of these wearisome delays to sojourn at Odessa about six tedious weeks.—At last, I am safely arrived—At eleven o'clock in the morning we entered the canal of Constantinople—that is, yesterday—when I beheld the most magnificent spectacle that my eyes ever feasted on. The two sides of the canal are planted with fortresses and villages, and the country-houses of the turkish gentry; trees of the richest foliage, and of various verdure, shadow every part of those delightful mountains which fall down with the happiest *contours* on both sides of the canal. Boyoukdérey is at about a league's distance from the mouth of the canal—and there it is that the foreign ministers have their country houses. Our ship went to anchor immediately under the villa of Naples; but as, upon landing, I found that the english minister,* was not yet arrived there, I hired a little boat, and thus proceeded with my servant five leagues more down the canal, when I arrived at Constantinople. I cannot convey to you

* John Spencer Smythe, Esq.—whose friendly kindness and hospitality to Mr. Tweddell are felt and acknowledged by the family with sentiments of lively and lasting gratitude. (Ed.)

any idea of the impression which this affluence of the most superb scenery produced upon me; all that I have hitherto seen vanished before it. The day was most favourable for exhibiting all these views in their fairest and richest colours. But I must give you an account of this place, and of its environs, when I have seen it. I found Mr. SMYTHE just going out to dinner; so I dined alone at his house. He received me most politely, and has given me three chambers in the english palace.* Fig trees and cypresses shadow my windows, and protect me against the rays of a scorching sun. As I walked through the streets yesterday, from the landing-place to the palace of England, I saw cherries and all kinds of fruits to sell.†

You seem to have received my letters very irregularly. Every thing is ill regulated in Russia, every thing—men, women, and the

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* ENGLISH PALACE.—This mansion was a spacious edifice erected for the residence of the British legation at the Othman Porte, at the expense of the Levant Company, as recorded by the following inscription, upon a marble tablet, in the vestibule of the same:—

PALATIVM
MAGNAE BRITANNIAE LEGATORVM
LONGO JAM TEMPORE DOMICILIVM
POST ANNI PRÆTERITI INCENDIVM
AVSPICIIS
ILL^MI ET EXCELL^MI DNI ABRAHAM STANYAN
BRITANNICI AD AVLAM OTTOM^CAM LEGATI
SVMPTIBVS
INCLITÆ SOCIETATIS MERCATORVM ANGLORVM
IN IMPERIO TVRCICO NEGOTIVM AGENTIVM
A FVNDAMENTO EXTRVCTVM ANNO DOMINI
MDCCXXVI

(ED.)

† This was on the 22d of May. (ED.)

post. I have always profited of the occasions which presented any prospect of surety.

I do not know how long I shall stay here, nor where I shall go next—as soon as my plans are more matured, I will inform you of them. The French and the plague must decide, in some measure, where I shall go and where I shall not—be assured that I have no inclination to encounter either disorder: but oh! those monstrous despots, who call themselves republicans. They have degraded the name—they have done more harm to real liberty than they ever promised to do good. All their last measures are atrocious. Their conduct towards Switzerland quite enrages me. ——— I doubt whether I shall be able to visit either Malta or Sicily, or perhaps, even Naples. I thought of performing quarantine in one of those countries—but they are all menaced with convulsion.

Believe me to be, &c.

J. J.

XLV.

To JAMES LOSH, Esquire.

Constantinople, May 24th, 1798.

MY DEAR LOSH,

I am at present much occupied, and have yet seen little besides the general *coup d'œil* of what I imagine to be the proudest situation of the universe. At present I merely write to you, because I cannot postpone for a moment my most sincere and warm congratulations

on your marriage. Two words will express them as well as two thousand; you know the interest which I feel in all that concerns you, and how tenderly I am attached to your happiness and welfare—how much, consequently, I must rejoice in an event, not only so anxiously desired and so fondly pursued by you, but really so well calculated to give peace to your mind and value to your life. If happiness is to be found in this world, it ought to result from an union such as your's. The sorry conflict of little interests which engross and vilify human existence, must appear still more disgusting to him, who views the antics of mankind from beneath the shade of a modest retirement, in the enjoyment of a learned leisure, in the exercise of domestic virtues, and in the bosom of the social affections. That lot is your's—may you enjoy it long!——

I do not know how long I shall stay here; I will give you an account of my plans in my next. Address your letters to me—"*Chez Mons.* SMYTHE, *Chargé d'Affaires de S. M. B. à Péra de Constantinople.*" I have apartments in the english palace (all the diplomatic residences are palaces here), am very comfortably lodged, and most hospitably treated. The heat is excessive, and I cannot say that I am well; yet my sitting-room* is shadowed by

* Mr. TWEDDELL was in the constant practice of retiring for an hour or two in the evening, to bring up his diary, arrange his collections, and make memoranda of any verbal information obtained during the day. This habit of his exposed him, once, to an imminent risk of his life, from a shot fired into the chamber he occupied (under the roof of Mr. J. S. SMYTHE), and, probably, intended for that minister, by some of the lower class of Marseillois French, who at that time abounded in the turkish capital, and rendered it a very unsafe residence for Englishmen in prominent situations: the candle-light shewed some one to be writing, and the ball coming through the window lodged in the partition in a direction just over Mr. TWEDDELL's head: that end of the british palace was separated

fig-trees and cypresses; in the branches of which a number of turtle-doves woo their mates, and build their nests, and educate their young. This, my friend, were a fitter residence for you than for me.

The account you give me of your health yields me the truest pleasure. Take care of yourself, my dear friend—you have fresh reasons to be attached to life. If I return to England, one of my greatest comforts will be your conversation and friendship—let me find you well, as I wish you, and happy as you deserve to be.—— Mr. DIGBY writes to me in bad spirits; he says we shall meet no more—perhaps so—and if so, and, if the meeting should fail on his side, I shall have lost a very good and a very dear friend—but I know not whether I ought to wish it otherwise.———Farewell.— My best compliments to Mrs. L. my good wishes are for her also. God bless you both

I am, &c.

J. T.

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by a wall of moderate height, and only a few yards distant from a bye-street or lane, forming an outlet to one of the vast cemeteries, by which oriental cities are, as it were, belted around. (ED.)

XLVI.

To JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, Esquire.

Boyouk-derey, — May, 1798.

DEAR SIR,

Let me wish you joy, for I really feel it, upon the important escape of Sir Sidney Smythe:* had I known the circumstance as soon as Mr. De H******, or had I luckily dined with him to day, I should have been most anxious to be myself the bearer of such welcome intelligence. My felicitations, however, are not the less sincere for being less early.——If you have letters for me, have the goodness to send them to me.—Tell me when you return to Belgrad.†

Believe me to be,
Dear Sir,
With equal haste and truth,
Your's,

J. T.

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* See the interesting relation of this extraordinary event in the Naval Chronicle; an instructive and respectable miscellany, containing a general and biographical history of the royal-navy, with a variety of original papers on nautical subjects, under the guidance of several literary and professional men: vol. iv. 458; x. 189.

† Belgrad.—The place of Mr. Smythe's country house. The charms of this retired village are thus described, by one whose taste and fine discernment gave a matchless grace to all her pictures:—"The heats of Constantinople have driven me to this place,

XLVII.

To Mrs. TWEDDELL.

PÉRA—(CONSTANTINOPLE) 28th May, 1798.

I HAVE two motives for writing again so soon—the one to reply to, &c. the other, to send you, my dear mother, my good wishes and sincere congratulations upon the event of to-morrow. If you possessed all the good which I wish you, the prayers of others would be superfluous.—In the place of that mild resignation with which you now submit to the vexations that surround you, and with which you contemplate those greater possible evils that threaten the quiet and repose of every human individual in these disastrous days;—in the place of this kind and virtuous temper, which, though far from happiness, is yet, perhaps, next in degree to it, you would possess and enjoy the best lot of happiness itself. God only knows the form and figure of this eventful futurity. For

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which perfectly answers the description of the Elysian fields. I am in the middle of a wood, consisting chiefly of fruit-trees, watered by a vast number of fountains, famous for the excellency of their water, and divided into many shady walks, upon short grass, that seems to me artificial, but, I am assured, is the pure work of nature; and, within view of the Black Sea, from which we perpetually enjoy the refreshment of cool breezes, that make us insensible to the heat of the summer. The village is only inhabited by the richest among the Christians, who meet every night at a fountain, forty paces from my house, to sing and dance. The beauty and dress of the women exactly resemble the ideas of the ancient nymphs, as they are given us by the representations of the poets and painters." [See *Letter* dated "Belgrade, June 17, 1717.] (ED.)

my own part, I fear that the comforts of the present generation are ended, and that the good which sometimes appears to result from evil will be gathered by the hands of a remoter age. Such blessings, however, as may chance to be scattered here and there among the thick harvest of growing calamity—may those fall to your share—may you find them, where they are most naturally to be found, in all times and in all circumstances, in the humble shade of a modest retirement, in the peaceful exercise of domestic virtues, in the lives of those who interest and surround you, and in the bosom of the social affections.

I meant to have left Constantinople and its environs after a short residence, but the heat is yet so powerful, and there are so many things to see here in the way of prospect principally (for in antiquity this country is less rich than I imagined), that I shall, probably, be induced to remain here a considerable time longer. Besides, the coast of Asia will then have become much more healthy. I have, also, much occupation at present—I can find no painters or drawers here—and having thus no assistance, I am obliged to rely solely on myself for the views of the different places which I wish to preserve in my port-folio. I have just finished a very large one, embracing the greater part of Constantinople, especially the seraglio, the church of St. Sophia, the asiatic suburb of Scutari, down to the point of Chalcedon, with the islands in the sea of Marmora, and Mount Olympus rising above them. I hope to shew you this drawing sometime hence.

I shall go, in about six weeks hence, to the Dardanelles, and from thence to the plain of Troy, and so to Smyrna; from Smyrna I shall visit Athens and the isles.——I arrived here in a fortunate moment—just as the prussian minister had demanded an audience

of the Grand-Vezir* and of the Grand-Signor. I accompanied him to both of these audiences, and dined in the *Divan*—very curious spectacles all these; and such as I might have been here more than a year without witnessing. I have procured three drawings, representing these three ceremonies, with the dresses of all the personages present. I received, both at the Grand-Vezir's and at the Grand-Signor's, the present of a cloak made for the ceremony,† as it is not permitted for any one to appear before them, without this covering thrown over his shoulders. You easily imagine that I shall bring these to England with me.

Mr. DIGBY writes to me in bad spirits: He has been indisposed. He concludes with saying—"When we meet, if time (which is

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* GRAND-VEZIR—whose principal title is *Vékil-i-Mutlak*, signifying, in its literal sense, an absolute manager, or minister, invested with unlimited powers from his Sultan, and used in fact to be so, until more recent times, when the Sultan thought proper to establish a permanent council, to meet twice a week, under the presidency of the grand-vezir. At this council all public affairs of a material nature are submitted to deliberation; and when a resolution is taken, the execution is left to the prime minister. This novel system of public administration was adopted in the beginning of the year 1790, whilst YOUSSUF *Pasha*, the then prime minister, was absent at the camp. (ED.)

† At an audience of the grand vezir, the foreign minister having first, with the accustomed formalities, been introduced into the audience-room, and presented his credentials, a refreshment is served up, consisting of sweet-meat, sherbet, coffee, odorous waters and perfumes; soon after which his excellency is clothed with a fur of sable, and his secretary and all the gentlemen of the retinue are presented with *kaftans*, or cloaks. Having received the fur, the ambassador sits down again for a few minutes, till all the gentlemen have been dressed with the raftans; after which the *Teshrifatgy-Effendy*, or master of the ceremonies, thrusts in his excellency's bosom two embroidered handkerchiefs, and one of an inferior quality to some of the gentlemen. Upon this the ambassador rises, salutes the vezir (who, without stirring, renders him the salute of a simple bow), and retires in the same order in which he made his entrance. (ED.)

continually effecting change) shall not have made our characters greatly diverge, we will talk, reason, and debate—if not here, may we meet in heaven, without having lost our consciousness of things on earth, when we shall smile with pity on the past. Here, all things considered, it is most probable we shall meet no more." I am truly afflicted at this account—I am afraid his health is seriously on the decline.* Adieu, my dear mother. Mr. SMYTHE will forward my letters to me: he is extremely kind to me—You know, I suppose, that he is the brother to Sir SIDNEY SMYTHE, of whose escape from the tower of the Temple he has just received the welcome intelligence.

Believe me, &c.

J. T.

XLVIII.

To JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, Esq.

BRITISH-PALACE, PÉRA, 15th June, 1798.

DEAR SIR,

IGNORANT as I am of your projects, I cannot tell when or where I shall have the pleasure of seeing you again. When do you come into town? or when do you go to Boyouk-dérey? Have the goodness to let me know something of your plans. Shall you

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* So, in fact, it happened. These two excellent men, and affectionate friends, did neither of them long survive: they are gone, let us devoutly hope, to sweet communion and to eternal rest. (ED.)

remain at Belgrad all next week? If so, I will walk or ride thither about Wednesday or Thursday, and spend a couple of days with Mr. T****, and visit you, the aqueducts, &c. &c. Since the audience, I have been running about Constantinople every day; and have now seen nearly all that I can see. I return to-morrow to Mr. A*****'s. I am engaged to dine to-day with Count De Ludolf: but the *Dervishes** dance this morning; and I am invited to the ball. Write to me a few words: if you can bear to absent yourself for a short moment from green trees, purling streams, and the joys of shepherds and shepherdesses.

Yours, dear Sir, very truly,

J. T.

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* Dervish:—is a word derived from the Persian, and signifies the threshold of a door: hence by analogy, "the spirit of humility." All the turkish *dervishes* or monks are divisible into the two grand orders of the *Mevlevi* and the *Bektashi*; but the rules, or regulations and habits, observed among them have multiplied the denominations, so as to form 32 distinctions of these devotees within the ottoman empire. Eight dervishes of the order of *Hadgi* Bektash are lodged and maintained in the barracks at Constantinople: their office is to offer up prayers every night and morning for the prosperity of the empire. The *Bektashi* have no fixed habitations, but wander about, and often attach themselves to the great. No *Orta*, or regiment of Janizaries, undertakes any enterprise, but one of these begins the march. "On such occasions they commonly have their feet, legs, and a part of the body, naked; they throw over the shoulders the skin of a tiger, lion, or some other wild beast, and carry in their hand a pike, halberd, or battle-axe." (De Peyssonell's "*Strictures.*") Uveis, the founder of one of their sects, required of his followers to draw all their teeth, in honor of the prophet, who lost two of his grinders at the battle of Ohud: this sect, however, soon became extinct, human nature remonstrating violently against the sacrifice, which certainly in one sense was a serious hindrance to *good-living*. Selim I. the conqueror of Egypt, a superstitious prince, shewed great respect to the *dervishes*, and having made a visit to one who dwelt in a corner of the mosk of Damascus, he bowed himself before the saint, and stood in the most humble attitude, observing at the same time a reverential silence: the dervish held his peace out of profound respect to the Sultan; and this most respectful taciturnity was of such duration, and so conscientiously maintained, that

XLIX.

To FRANCIS TWEDDELL, Esquire.

Constantinople, 8th July, 1798.

MY DEAR FATHER,

The excessive heat here renders it necessary that I should defer my farther travels some time longer. There are also fevers on the asiatic coast, along which I mean to proceed before I embark for Athens; but in about a month's time the country will be cool and healthy, according to the common calculations—at all events, be assured I will not expose myself to any danger. In the mean time I am not idle—I draw and read a great deal. I will not conceal from you that the heat did not at first agree with me—but I only suffered in a very trifling manner, much less than many persons who first experience the effects of this climate. I have changed my diet, and find it succeed admirably—I eat no flesh meat, but live entirely on vegetables, and milk, and fruit. This has cooled and refreshed me—and notwithstanding that you would perhaps imagine that the change is violent, every possible good effect is the result of it. I only drink a couple of glasses of wine, and bear now both exercise and heat without any inconvenience; in short, I am perfectly well.

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had it not been been broken by the unholy impatience of an officer in attendance, nothing less than the principle which makes english juries unanimous would probably have terminated this memorable interview. [Thornton, pp. 263—4.] (Ed.)

We have lately received the news of the great egyptian expedition being upon the seas.* It is amazing to us that it has not been intercepted. It has been positively known here for many weeks, and we were in hopes that a fleet of such importance would never have been permitted to reach its destination, nor ever to do what it has already done. Malta is taken—a place capable of defending itself as long as Gibraltar, and possessed of two years provision. The Grand-Master has surrendered it, as it appears very clearly, by previous agreement. This is a german plot. Where is Admiral NELSON, all this time? Every one here cries out upon the negligence of the English. Had we beaten this fleet, we had destroyed, in the first place, a great part of the best troops of France, the army of BUONAPARTE—and had given courage to those who sleep in these dreadful times. The Turks will be thunder-struck, when they hear that Egypt is in the hands of the French; Egypt, the road to the holy sepulchre!† They

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* Although the events here alluded to are so long since passed, it may still, perhaps, be a matter of curious interest with many, to become acquainted with the impressions which that extraordinary expedition made on the minds of the English then in Constantinople; and what were the speculations and opinions which they entertained under the immediate aspect of affairs at the moment. (ED.)

† "Pilgrimage (says an ingenious oriental scholar) has ever been much in vogue among the orientals. It must not be believed that devotion is always the sole motive for the expence and fatigue attendant on these pious journeys; pecuniary interest often enters far more considerably into the speculation. The *kerwan* (caravan) offers opportunity for gainful traffic, in addition to the honorary reward of the title *Hadgi*, and the privilege of what is called "drawing the long-bow" to astonished auditories, about the miracles of the Kaaba, and the wonders of Mount Arrafat. The eastern christians are to the full as persuaded of the merit attached to visiting Jerusalem; as the Mussulmans are firm in their veneration for the Kaaba; nay more, the Greek Church inculcates, that worshipping at the holy sepulchre, and plunging into the Jordan, assures plenary indulgence, not only for the past, but for the future; not only for murder, incest, and pederasty, but *even*—for the breach of a fast, or the neglect of a festival!—The caravan of *Mekkeh* bears exclusively the name of *hadsh* (pilgrimage): others are simply called *kafl* (kaffle): the respect, however, which is shewn

relied hitherto upon an english fleet, which was said to be in the Mediterranean. In short, Mr. SMYTHE, who has received positive advice to that effect, is as much lost in all this business as the rest of us.——PASVAND-OGLOU is supposed to be in a bad way—but nothing certain is known. The Turks enjoin the most strict silence upon the subject, and every one of their subjects who speaks on this topic, loses his head the night following, so that nothing is positively ascertained.———*I have now collected drawings of one hundred different dresses of this country, and have either taken or copied the greater part of the views in the neighbourhood.* I shall continue to write to you by every post; so that if my letters do not abound with interesting particulars, which will be better kept till we meet,* you will at least have the satisfaction of knowing that I am well, &c.

Believe me to be,
My dear Father, &c.

J. T.

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by courtesy to each class of pilgrims respectively, has not hindered the firm establishment of the arabic proverb, " Distrust thy neighbour if he has made one *hadsh*, but if he has been twice, lose not a moment in removing away:" for in fact, experience shews that most of those devotees are remarkable for insolence and dishonesty, as if, like some gamesters, they seek the revenge for dupery in knavery." (See *Naval Chronicle*, vol. xxiv. 1810, Letter of NEARCHVS, p. 374.) One of the most remarkable pilgrimages of modern times to the holy sepulchre, was performed by Sir SIDNEY SMYTHE, attended by several of his officers, after his defense of Acre, and it may be said at the same time, of Palestine, against BUONAPARTE, of whom he was then (1799) the only successful antagonist! The journal of this excursion, from Iaffa to Jerusalem, by Lieutenant HILLIER, R.N. one of the party, is recorded in the same publication, vol. xxiii. page 297. (ED.)

* Declarations to this effect, repeatedly occurring in Mr. TWEDDELL's correspondence, prove evidently that he reserved for his port-folio whatever was most descriptive of the places which he visited, and that his Journals and other Manuscripts were the chosen depositories of his best information. (ED.)

L.

To the Hon. STEPHEN DIGBY.

Boyouk-derey, 23 July, 1798.

On my arrival here two months ago, I found two letters from you, my dear Mr. Digby. At first I was much engaged in running about Constantinople, in order to see all that was to be seen there, at a time when very little plague existed, willing to anticipate the moment when the warmth of the season and lengthened communication should have propagated this horrible malady to a degree dangerous for such excursions. It was lucky that I did so—for that moment is now arrived. Before I left the english palace in Constantinople to remove hither, above thirty houses looking upon the gardens, or in front of the building, were shut up, and abandoned by the survivors of those families where the plague had entered. Every day, numbers of bodies were carried by the gates, which were locked, and the servants not permitted to stir out; the provisions and things of absolute necessity being thrown into water through the gates. Mr. Smythe and I never issued but at such hours of the day, when the streets were nearly deserted, and upon our return we always underwent the process of fumigation, and changed our clothes, which were immediately hung out in the air for four and twenty hours, and sprinkled with vinegar. I ran a very great risk, before I left town. I had conversed with a person, touched his cloaths, and received several papers from his hands, who immediately upon returning home was taken ill of the plague, which he probably carried about with him at that moment, as he

was only a few doors from his own house. The next morning his body was carried by the palace gates in a state of putrefaction, offensive at a very great distance. I fell ill the same day: judge of the alarm. I was obliged to go to bed immediately after dinner, from the effects of a violent head-ache and fever, which symptoms generally precede the plague.* The next morning, however, it was clear that my disorder was of a less dangerous complexion. It was only a tribute that I paid to the climate, and the immoderate heats which have prevailed here since my arrival. Do not speak of this. It would create too sensible an apprehension of

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* A medical gentleman of high repute, both for his professional knowledge and his personal qualities, the late Dr. HECTOR M'LEAN, had conceived the humane but hazardous purpose of investigating on the spot, in living instances, this most alarming and pestilential disease, and had actually embarked with that view for the shores of Levant, when his noble and disinterested design was on a sudden terminated by the stroke of Death. For the following interesting extract from the column of a contemporary Journal, the Editor is indebted to the kindness of a friend—"On the 31st August, HECTOR M'LEAN, M.D. sincerely lamented by all who knew his worth and talents, the ardor with which he studied his profession, and the humanity and tenderness with which he performed its duties in the worst of climates, and in the most perilous scenes of sickness and infection. Dr. M'LEAN having completed his classical education at the University of Aberdeen, where he was the companion and friend of Sir JAMES M'INTOSH, finished his medical education at Edinburgh, and took his degree in the year 1786. His Royal Highness the Duke of YORK, sensible of his merits, appointed him Deputy-Inspector of Hospitals, and permitted him to remain at home till he had completed his valuable treatise on the diseases of St. Domingo, where he had himself taken a distinguished share in the most dangerous services, during the prevalence of a most fatal pestilential fever. Under the patronage of his Royal Highness, and with the warm approbation of Lord GRENVILLE, he embarked with Lord ELGIN in his embassy to Turkey, with the daring and generous intention above expressed.—It was on this unfortunate voyage that he was struck with palsy, and all his learning and acquirements rendered no longer useful to his profession. Dr. M'LEAN was then in the vigour of life, an excellent scholar, a skilful physician, and a warm and generous friend. He died, after a long and patient suffering, at Newhaven, lamented by his profession and his friends; and none who knew his kind and generous nature will disapprove of this slight tribute to his memory." (ED.)

my residence in this country, were it known at home. As soon as I was recovered, I left town, where, notwithstanding every precaution, the danger was too imminent to remain any longer—and the accidents which occurred from day to day in the most prudent families, shewed the necessity of removing, as the only effectual means of safety. I understand that since my departure, the distemper gains ground to a most alarming degree. I am now at a village about ten miles from Constantinople, on the side of the Bosporus—a most delightful situation. Here it is that the foreign ministers have their country-houses, where they pass half the year. The passage from hence to Constantinople by water is superior, in point of local charms, to any situation that I have ever seen or can possibly imagine. It is impossible to describe the magnificence of the first view of Constantinople, which appears to be designed by nature to be the capital of the universe. But it is from the point of the Seraglio, or from one of the minarets* of St. Sophia, that the eye best embraces all the wonders of this heavenly scenery. The most fertile imagination will only imperfectly represent at once the union and the variety of all these different aspects, which seizing by turns on the mind of the traveller, arrest his attention and call forth his enthusiasm. I do not yet certainly know when I shall quit the scene of so many beauties—I suppose in a month.—I purpose to set out for Smyrna, whither I shall travel chiefly by land; as, exclusively of the plain of Troy, there are several antiquities that I should wish to examine in my way. After going from Smyrna, still farther down that coast to Ephesus,† Miletus, Halicarnassus, Stratonice, &c. I mean to visit

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* Minarèh (or Minarey):—corruptly written in most books "minaret," the steeple of a mosk, is derived from the persian *minar*, column or pillar. (Ed.)

† Ephesus.—The modern designation of what was anciently Ephesus, is *Aiasaluk* or *Aisaluk*, a miserable village, in which are several ruined mosks, and one which is called

certain islands, from whence I shall go to Athens—and thence through the Morea to Sicily and Naples, if the times permit. My plan was, to have visited Egypt—I meant to have been at the festival of Christmas at Jerusalem; and from thence to have gone, in January to Alexandria and to Cairo; to have seen the pyramids, and at the same time the caravan,* which sets out for Mecca about that period. But the French are beforehand with me—and wherever they are I will not go.———

How many faces human misery now puts on! How gigantic is the wickedness which at this time stalks abroad in all the dominions under heaven! Not to talk of other countries, the inordinate ambition of the five kings† of France; their utter contempt of their own principles in every one of their own acts of interior government; their profligate usurpation of power, in annulling elections, and ruling by military force; their hateful plunder of their

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St. John, and which it is pretended is the church of the evangelist, in memory of his apostolical labors in this celebrated seat of one of the seven churches of Asia. The true geographical site, however, of Ephesus, is about two miles and a half from the castle of Aiasaluk, in the way from thence to a square tower of white marble on the ridge of a mountain, which is the southern boundary of the plain of the Cayster. Not a vestige is discoverable of the temple of Diana, that magnificent structure in honor of idolatry; the length of which was 420 feet, and its columns 60 feet high, and 127 in number. This is surely a most surprising fact, and one which the philosopher, and especially the christian, will not fail to contemplate with a solemn feeling and with deep reflection. Mr. HOBHOUSE observes upon it, "Present appearances might justify the belief, that it was swept from the face of the earth by some overwhelming catastrophe." All of christianity that remains in Ephesus at this day is thus described—"At present, one Greek, the baker of the village at Aiasaluk, and three or four fishermen, who live in sheds near the ferry and on the banks of the river, are the only *Christians* to be found in the vicinity of Ephesus; and there is not a single habitation, not even a shepherd's hut, on the actual site of that once resplendent city!" [See HOBHOUSE's *Travels*, p. 654—657.] (ED.)

* See Letter XLIX, p. 231; *Note*. † The pentarchal directory. (ED.)

own infatuated allies; their arrogant and disgusting pretensions to universal sovereignty, and to all the property of the affiliated republics; together with their fulsome panegyrics upon their own virtue, their patriotism, their superiority to the ancients, and that purity of honor which, in no one instance they have not violated with the most offensive and nauseous aggravations——all this horrible union of whatever is calculated to wound a feeling and a generous spirit, makes me more especially execrate those, who, having had the fairest chance of benefiting the human race, have converted all their medicines into poisons. Their conduct towards America, and more especially towards Switzerland, transports me with rage. The French have done an eternal injury to the cause of freedom—they have misassigned its holy name and its divine attributes to despotism in its worst form—to violence personating justice. I shall never forget the circumstance of their having reduced the advocates of true liberty and solid independence, to choose between the different forms of oppression—between foreign and domestic tyranny—between immediate and distant evil—between the equally palpable vexations of real aristocracy and of simulated republicanism. I am sick of thinking of what passes in the world on all sides, and of the odious forms which humanity puts on. Would to God that all my friends would consent to live quiet and avoid fevers. Let the monsters of the earth tear out each other's bowels. When the world is a desert there will be peace in it. The food of benevolence is all eaten up: vultures and beasts of prey have consumed or polluted it. The sources of charity are drying fast, to him who thinks and feels—his life will soon be engrossed by one vast and comprehensive antipathy.—— What do you think and do in the midst of all this evil, my good Mr. Digby? If we meet again, which I hope (not to hope it would poison one of the greatest pleasures which I possess in thought), it seems to me that we shall have much to say to each

other. You tell me that the *little sketch* which your last letter contained will shew me, that I might sit by your fire and smile at the past. I shall never smile upon that subject—never—I remember it with regret, and with a mixture of compassion and contempt for the weakness of my youth. Remember me very kindly to Miss D. and to CHARLES and your little ones. God bless you.

I am ever,

Most affectionately your friend,

J. T.

LI.

To THOMAS BIGGE, ESQUIRE.

BELGRAD, 24th July, 1798.

Do not, my dear BIGGE, imagine that I am where I am not. The names of ACHILLES and of HECTOR have sometimes been adopted by cowards and by bullies. This *Belgrad** has never drawn renown either from sieges or from treaties. It is a small village, about fourteen miles from Constantinople, in the centre of a forest, and in the midst of the public works, antient and modern, which convey water to Constantinople on the side of the Black Sea.——I do not make apologies to you for being so bad a correspondent—you know, or at least you imagine, that I am much employed. I have, in fact, been greatly occupied in drawing—and the toil of taking views, &c. which elsewhere I generally found means of dividing, at least, with artists of the different places, here falls entirely on myself, as no artists are to be found. I meant at

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* BELGRAD.—See Letter XLVI, p. 224.

present to have been journeying along the coast of Asia Minor, but the plague prevents me from undertaking this tour at present. Besides, the arrival of the French at Alexandria puts an end to my intention of visiting Egypt. What in the world are the English about? Why were the French permitted to accomplish in tranquillity this important expedition, the object of which has been known here three months ago?—At the same time, much as I am tempted to exclaim againt the remissness of the english cabinet, it is not that I feel at all assured that the French have carried a point of certain and important utility, or that the success of the measure finishes with the landing of the troops in Egypt. The project is full of perilous enterprise—not to mention the great risk which they incur of having their supplies cut off. The Arabs will much molest the French, though they will not be able to stand before the republican cannon. Their numbers are out of count; and their undisciplined bravery is accompanied by many talents of annoyance difficult to be entirely baffled. The effects of climate and disease are yet to be coped with—and, in short, a thousand other ideas present themselves, which will render the final success of this expedition long equivocal.——I am the most decided enemy of the *great nation*; their monstrous and diabolical conduct makes me ashamed that I ever could imagine that their motives were more pure, or their ends more salutary. My opinions are not changed with regard to our mode of commencing the war, and the views of dismemberment, &c. &c. but they are most completely changed with respect to the nature of french principles, french morals, french views, and the final result of the french revolution. The conduct of the present government towards America and Switzerland, but especially Switzerland, is the *ne plus ultra* of barbarous despotism, rioting in the consciousness of impurity and the lust of evil. There is no longer any good to be expected from these ruffian trumpeters of false freedom. I am strongly convinced, and have the best and most melancholy proofs,

that there is less liberty in France than in almost any country of the earth. In short, I lose all patience upon this subject. I abhor and execrate the pretended republic, with all her compulsory affiliations, in the exact proportion of my former hopes from her efforts in the cause of mankind. I prefer the downright sincere despotism which avows its nature and publishes its maxims, to the hollow workings and masked designs of an hypocritical liberty.

The intelligence of PASVAND-OGHLOU* is very secret: those who speak of it lose their heads. Several Greeks and Turks also have

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* PASVAND-OGHLOU (or properly PAAZU-BEND-OGLOO):—*Ayaan*, or chief magistrate of Viddin, inherited, together with that dignity from his father, the same spirit of disobedience and revolt which cost the latter his life about five-and-twenty years before his son pursued a similar career. His riches, the credit and consideration which he enjoyed, flattered his natural uncontrollable character and his ambition. He wished to avenge his father, and to raise up for himself an imperishable fame. As soon as he was informed of the system of reform introduced into the administration of the turkish government under the denomination of "*Nizam-i-jédid*," (see page 227) he not only openly criticised the same; but also protested that he never would suffer such innovations in Viddin, or in its district. The secret understanding he kept up with the discontented *Yamaks* (or local militia) of Belgrad, in Servia; with the *Daghli* (a mountaineer banditti, infesting the fastnesses of the *Balkan*, or great chain of Mounts Haemus and Rhodope); and the strong party he had been able to attach to him in the fortress, and throughout a considerable extent of the circumjacent territory; all-together rendered him so preponderant and powerful, that the Porte did not deem it expedient to employ forcible means for carrying into effect its financial plans, but, on the contrary, sought rather to gain his co-operation by the forgiveness and oblivion of his prior resistance; which (as is usual in such cases) only served to embolden him still more. This was about the year 1793; between which and 1789 he raised the standard of rebellion no less than three times, and thrice was received into grace and favor, by a pardon in form: the last time was in 1796, owing to the interest of Prince MOURUSI, the governor of Valakia, (see page 204). At that period two powerful *pashas*, named MOUSTAFA and ALO, were in Roumelia, employed in reducing that division of the othman empire to order: whether PASVAND-OGHLOU entertained fears of the united forces under those two generals, or whether from other motives, he kept himself peaceably in Viddin, testified the utmost deference for both the commanders in chief, and entire submission to the Porte; offering

been decapitated since my arrival, for appearing, in conversation, to take too warm an interest in the issue. We are here between two fires.—You ask me what are the principles of PASVAND-OGHLOU. He breathes moderation—but it is only a cover to ambition. He pretends to be fundamentally attached to the Sultan; and says that his only object is to destroy some innovations which have been lately made in the government—and which militate against the severe spirit of primitive Islamism. You say is he a KOSCIUSKO? I do not know what idea you attach to that name; I apprehend the character of KOSCIUSKO to be very much misunderstood in England—together with the whole of the polish revolution. KOSCIUSKO is, I believe an honest man—but as for talents or great views, he is without either. He is a man of moderate abilities, called by accident to play a great part, where genius

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even his co-operation towards the reduction of the mountaineers. But all these demonstrations were mere stratagems to deceive the good faith of the Porte; while he made use of the interval to reinforce himself with othman deserters, with those very mountaineers he was offering to crush, and in general with all the numerous malecontents created by the *Nezam-i-jédid* system throughout Roumelia, also to repair in silence the castles and other strong places which he held, and to surround the fortress of Viddin by a wide canal full of water, communicating at each extremity with the Danube. In November 1797, he gave fresh *éclat* to his revolt, by suddenly and unexpectedly attacking the city of Nicopoli, occupying all the good military positions in the vicinity, menacing Roustchouk, and pushing his advanced posts even to Varna [the ancient *Odessus*], the whole under the same pretences of injustice, of surcharges, and of abuses, employed by most rebels. It was this movement that at length opened the eyes of the Divan to the reality of the danger, and convinced that council of the urgent necessity of employing the most prompt remedy. Accordingly, PASVAND-OGHLOU was excommunicated as refractory and a rebel, by the Mufti; so declared by the commanders of the Janizaries, and proclaimed by the Sultan SELIM III. himself; and it was decided to destroy him, cost what it might. A very numerous army was forthwith placed on foot; and HUSSEIN *Pasha*, the Lord-High-Admiral, and principal personal favorite of the Sultan, was appointed to the command. This personage arrivedat Adrianople in April, 1798, at the head of an hundred-thousand troops, after the othman generals who led his van-guard had successively reduced Sistov, Roustchouk, Nicopoli, and the dexterity of HANDJERLI (a creature of HUSSEIN's) who had succeeded MORUSI in the

itself could not have succeeded. He is a brave man—with a warm head and little resource. As for the Poles, they are a people incapable of firm and vigorous conduct, long sustained. They have much quickness and no judgment—generally unprincipled—and basely kissing the rod of power, after a momentary effort to break it. The polish peasant would not have profited by the revolution. His condition is better under Russia, in the midst of all its despotism. The rich and the great of Poland would alone have profited by the revolution that was attempted: as for the great mass of the people, they have lost nothing, for they had nothing to lose.

I will mention to you a circumstance not generally known here, and which was privately communicated to me. It will give you a just idea of the state of preparation and of the energy of the turkish government. It has lately demanded succours of Austria in order to quell the rebellion. The Emperor accordingly sent officers and engineers to the camp before Widdin, concluding that that species of assistance was most wanted by the Turks, who are extremely deficient in the tactics of siege; they counted upon

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principality of Valakia, had deprived PASVAND-OGHLOU of the important insular citadel of Orsova. These preliminary successes determined the insurgent chief to concentrate all his means in Viddin, where he made every demonstration of the most obstinate resistance; counting, no doubt, principally upon some french engineers, who it was generally understood had the direction of the defense of the place, and to whom the public attributed all the advantages, which in fact the garrison gained over the assailants by sallies, and by the cannon of the fortress, from the commencement of the siege down to the end of May: but still the indisputable superiority of the besieging army led to the belief that the arch rebel was reduced to the situation of a stag at bay, and must eventually fall; which was the state of things about the time of Mr. TWEDDELL's arrival in Turkey, and to which he alludes in his Correspondence. The english reader unused to oriental idioms may be glad of the explanation that the root of the turkish word *oghlou* is *oghl*; *ongl*, a child, which, affixed to a proper name, has the same value as the english "son" or "inz;" the termination *ou* being merely a possessive particle. (ED.)

finding in the camp bombs and mortars requisite for the reduction of the place—will you believe that this expectation was totally disappointed, and that the camp contained nothing of the kind? *Ab uno disce omnes.* In like manner, when the news of the arrival of the French in Alexandria reached the Porte, then, and not before, cannons were sent to the Dardanelles.* There is nothing here to prevent an enemy from arriving to-morrow—I hope the French are not equally convinced of this truth. This government is visibly on the decline—weak, divided, and ignorant in the excess of ignorance. Good God, what a state of the world! Except during the period which elapsed from the death of THEODOSIUS the Great, to the establishment of the Lombards in Italy, human misery never had so many faces—the condition of the human race has, at no other time, been so calamitous and afflicted.

Believe me to be, ever, &c.

J. T.

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* The castle of Asia, which is one of the fortresses at the entrance of the Dardanelles, contains that enormous piece of ordnance which has been so much spoken of. It was cast in brass in the reign of MURAT, and composed of two parts, joined together by a screw, after the manner of an english pistol. It is capable of carrying a marble ball of 11 *cwt.* and requires 330 lbs. weight of gunpowder to discharge it. The Baron DE TOTT, who superintended the firing of this monstrous engine, which had never before been discharged within memory, and took his station on the stone-work behind it, declares that he felt a shock like that of an earthquake. The terror of the Turks was such, that they all disappeared previous to the operation (excepting the engineer, whom it required some persuasion to keep at his post), being possessed with a belief that the consequence would be the overthrow not only of the castle, but of the city of Constantinople. The real and visible effect was, however, prodigious. At the distance of about 300 fathoms the huge ball separated into three pieces; and these fragments of a rock crossed the strait, which is about two miles in breadth, rebounded from the water to the opposite mountain, and left the surface of the sea in a state of foam through the whole breadth of the channel. [See a curious detail of particulars in DE TOTT'S *Memoirs*, pp. 66—68.] (ED.)

LII.

To THOMAS BIGGE, Esquire.

Boyouk-dérey, near Constantinople, 10th Sept. 1798.

You see, my dear friend, I am not an inch farther than when I wrote last to you. This country has, for some time past, been cursed with the same confusion which has preyed upon Europe so many years. The scene of interest has changed, or, at least, has become divided. Rebels on one hand, and the French on the other—a tottering government* and a discontented people—the strongest fortress of european Turkey invaded and almost conquered—add to all this the plague in every quarter, and in its worst form—and you will easily imagine why I have chosen to pause rather than to proceed.——Along the asiatic coast the people are worried by the pestilence, and they are so irritated against the enemy, and so little careful to distinguish between what is French and what is English, that it is more than probable, had I once set out, I should never have returned. Things, however, begin to wear a more favorable aspect. The first effect of so violent a shock as was the intelligence of a french army landed at Alexandria is now past; and the consequences which were here expected to be fatal to many Europeans, and to rekin-

* Nothing, perhaps, can give a more significant idea of the frequency of public tumults, disasters, and convulsions, to which the empire of the Turks is subject, than a fact which is mentioned by a writer before referred to; namely, that if, at Constantinople, any one is asked concerning his *age*, the answer will always refer the enquirer to the year of some great plague or famine, some rebellion or conflagration. (Ed.)

dle, perhaps, the fire which last year flamed at Smyrna, have not extended beyond insults to individuals and the threats of assassination. What has chiefly contributed to ensure security is, the news which we have just received of the victory gained by Admiral Nelson over the french fleet.——The papers which accompany this* cannot, I think, fail to have their interest with you.

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* I. An official detail of the english and french Forces at the battle of the Nile.

II. *Traduction du Hatt-Schérif du Grand Seigneur* (of which a copy is here subjoined.)

" Caïmékam Pacha,

" Depuis qu' Izzet-Mehmed Pacha étoit parvenu au suprême vésirat, je lui avois rigoreusement ordonné de veiller à la súreté et à la defense des villes de mon empire, et de ne pas se laisser surprendre par la perfidie de mes enemis. Mais, guidé par sa lâche avidité, occupé seulement de ses affaires particulières, il a ignoré, par sa négligence et son inertie, les intentions perverses des François, nation immonde, sans foi ni loi. Il n'en a pas prevenu les peuples de l'Egypte, et ce n'est qu'un mois après l'évènement que j'ai été informé de ce qui s'y est passé, et qui merite bien toute mon indignation. Ma douleur est égale à mon zèle, et l'une et l'autre rendent criminel pour moi tout plaisir, tout repos. J'ai aussitot déposé ce Grand-Vesir. Je l'ai remplacé par Iousuf *Pacha, gouverneur d'Arz-roum, et jusqu' à ce qu'il arrive à Constantinople, je vous ai nommé Caïmékam.*

" Il faut donc que tous les vrais croyans entrent en guerre avec les François: et je regarde comme un devoir sacré pour moi d'employer tous mes efforts à délivrer les saints lieux de leur hordes impies, et de me venger de leur perfidie et des torts qu'ils ont causés aux Musulmans. En consequence, sans perdre un moment de tems, et sans attendre l'arrivée du Grand-Vésir, faites les dispositions les plus vigoureuses par terre et par mer pour marcher contre eux: et plein de confiance en Dieu et en son prophète, vous confererez avec les gens de loi, les grands de mon empire, et les principaux chefs des corps militaires, des moyens à employer pour purifier la terre de l'Egypt de l'inondation de ces êtres impurs. Vous ferez savoir partout aux Musulmans que j'ai la guerre avec les François, et jour et nuit vous employerez tous vos efforts pour tirer d'eux une vengeance eclatante. Vous tiendrez une conduite sage et mesurée en préservant les autres frontières et villes Musulmanes des hostilités et perfidies de l'ennemi, en y envoyant les troupes et les munitions nécessaires.

" Mettez la plus grande attention et le plus grand zèle à pourvoir aux besoins journaliers

The Sultan's letter to the Caïmakam, or lieutenant of the Vezir during his absence, is in many respects singular—and some expressions have the oriental touch. The naval victory, which is certainly a very grand event, spread great satisfaction throughout the East. Few persons, perhaps, are more sincerely rejoiced than myself, whose disgust and abomination of french proceedings is supreme. Their diabolical despotism in the interior of France, and their infamous system of piracy and plunder in every part of the world, have made me from being one of the early well-wishers of the revolution, one of the most determined foes of this execrable republic. I am convinced that there is no part of the world, Russia hardly excepted, where there is less real and effective liberty than in France. The whole of its conduct announces its real views, the emptiness of its pompous appeals to liberty, and its sincere enmity to patriotism and to virtue. The friends of France can never be mine. I look upon that detestable people to have worked out more real injury to the cause of freedom than all the tyrants of this afflicted globe. I shall never forgive the opportunity so grievously abused, of befriending mankind, and the succours which have been afforded to despotism under the color of reform. I am thoroughly persuaded, from every event which has lately come to my knowledge (and my means of information have not been few), that the immorality of all other governments is weak and feeble, in comparison of the barefaced vices of the quintuple

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de ma capitale, et à veiller aux interests des vrais croyans, jusqu'à l'arrivée du Grand-Vésir.

"Faites vous honneur, et que le Dieu tout-puissant vous comble de ses faveurs les plus distinguées, et vous accorde la grace de me venger de l'ennemi."

"ce 1er. 7bre. 1798.

monarchy. Do not imagine that my principles are changed; it is from my increased zeal for the happiness of mankind, from my heightened attachment to liberty and to virtue, that I curse, from the bottom of my soul, the monstrous wickedness of those men, who have destroyed the fairest hopes of an honest and liberal enthusiasm, and the best inheritance of succeeding generations.

There have been public celebrations of the victory, at Rhodes, during the three days that NELSON staid there; and the Sultan when he heard of it, took an *aigrette** of diamonds out of his turban (worth at least £1200 sterling) and sent it with a letter signed by himself, to Mr. SMYTHE, as a present to the Admiral. This is the greatest honor he can confer upon any subject: he knows no higher distinction. In addition to this he sent the Admiral a robe trimmed with sable fur of £350 value, and 2000 ducats to be divided among the sailors of his ship. Mr. SMYTHE also has received a very magnificent snuff-box for himself on the occasion. This is the age of miracles. A russian squadron actually sailed into the Bosporus the other day, and is now quietly moored before Boyoukdéré, to the entire contentment of the Turks.——Expect great events in this quarter: this naval victory will have results of the last magnitude. But I am hurried

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* AIGRETTE.—This ornament is called in turkish, *chelengk*; and its use is to support a plume of heron's feathers, peculiar to the imperial turban. Among the Turks every gradation of rank is distinguished by a different form of the turban; and that of the Grand Signor (the custody of which constitutes the duty of a special officer of the court) is an object of great veneration to a Musulman. In public processions two of these magnificent head-dresses are carried by men on horseback, elevated on a kind of tripods of a scarlet color; and the Janissaries, by seven or eight at a time, make a profound reverence, to salute the imperial plumes. Hence some idea may be formed of the honor which was conferred on Admiral NELSON. The word "turban" is a corruption of the turkish, *tulbend*, literally meaning muslin. (ED.)

—and cannot say all that I would wish to say. Mr. SMYTHE has been lately promoted Minister-Plenipotentiary.

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My collection of drawings augments rapidly, and is becoming very extensive—I hope to shew you such an assemblage of views of this country as has not yet been carried out of it—especially when I shall have caused a part of my own performances to be recopied by an able master in Italy. I have myself copied the greater part of a port-folio, which the Envoy of Naples* has been collecting for many years, and which is very interesting—*and I have eight or nine views of the greatest beauty, drawn by Mr.* PRÉAUX, *an artist formerly employed by the Comte* DE CHOISEUL. *I shall have ten or twelve, or perhaps fourteen, views of the single city of Constantinople, exclusively of the environs.* I have not been idle myself.——I have found the secret of being admitted into the gardens of the Seraglio—and to-morrow morning the gardener will conduct me through paths little frequented, between four and

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* CONSTANTINE, Count DE LUDOLF, Envoy Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary from the King of the Two Sicilies to the Othman Emperor; an exception to the author's rule for estimating diplomatic morality and talent—(*vide* Letter XVII). He possessed a good library and allowed not only the resident society, but even travellers, to use it like a circulating one. He was equally master of the German, French, and Italian languages; could transact business in Turkish or Romaïc, and *taught himself* English at Constantinople, so as perfectly to understand any thing written legibly, or spoken with careful articulation, and could make himself intelligible in the same language when occasion required it. His character was not less amiable than his acquirements were great and various. Mr. [illegible] enjoyed the intimate society of Count LUDOLF during his residence in Constantinople, and appears to have had a high place in his esteem—he thus concludes a letter which the Editor had the honor to receive from him:—"I will be very glad of any other opportunity to be of any service to you, and to shew you all my regard as a proof of the sincere friendship which united me to your ever lamented brother, which I remember always with the greatest satisfaction and sensible regret." (ED.)

five o'clock in the morning. It is true what you have heard: I no longer feed upon the flesh of animals.—Wine I have not quite abandoned: I began both reforms together—but my health suffered; and a little wine I have found to be necessary. At present I am remarkably well, after having lived nine months upon eggs, fruits, vegetables, milk and honey. I am convinced my diet has contributed to make me bear with so little a degree of illness, the effects of one of the most violently hot summers ever remembered here.——— I have seen DALLAWAY's book:* perhaps you think better of it than I do upon the spot. In my opinion the language is not good, and the matter is old. My best regards ever attend you, and all that belong to you.

Your's ever,

J. J.

LIII.

TO THE HON. STEPHEN DIGBY.

BOYOUK-DÉREY, 10th Oct. 1798.

I RECEIVED by the last post, my dear Mr. DIGBY, your letter of March 22d. It has been little more than half a year upon the road—a circumstance which seems to increase the distance that really exists between us. And are we then really so

* "*Constantinople, Antient and Modern*," by the Rev. JAMES DALLAWAY.

far asunder? Yes truly; I cannot dissemble with myself so far as to imagine that we are near neighbours—The field of imagination has its limits, and mine is every day curtailed by reason, or encroached upon by experience. I formerly lived only in regions adapted to my taste and embellished by my fancy. I passed this day here, and to-morrow at the distance of an hundred leagues, without the pain of effort or the fatigue of motion.—But time and sadness have clipped the wings which then transported me. I feel the weight, and view the forms, of what is material and real—I exist where I am, and seldom where I would be, insensible to the cheat of hope, and to the suggestions of youthful rapture. But what is lost by imagination, is gained by memory—and past images are there graven in eternal characters—would that some of these were blotted out for ever! But others there are which I love to cherish, and to meditate upon; this is one of the chief pleasures that my life knows. Among these is the recollection of the days spent at Richmond-Lodge, especially the former part of them: I then had known no care, and felt no sorrow—such hours are past—yet I would willingly believe that we shall again meet, and converse together upon subjects of other interest. I assure you, my dear Mr. D., this idea is one of the very few which recall my attachment to England. If our lives are protracted until that meeting, I shall endeavour to shew you the sense which I retain of those kindnesses which you heaped upon me at a moment, when, occupied with one only thought, I was scarcely sensible of any other impression. How distinctly I retrace every incident of that time, notwithstanding its remoteness! I see every chair in the long room, the harpsichord in the centre of the farther end, the couch on the left of the fireside, and the large log of wood which each day saw consumed and replaced on the fire by its fellow. I could lay my hand upon every book in the library, and point out from hence those shelves which are only half filled. The ideas of

things so removed and yet so distinctly seen, are like the scenes now viewed by me on the other side of the Bosporus*—I count every tree and every shrub across the wide extent of the current, and remark without difficulty the contour of the greater and the lesser hills, the mixture of the rock and the green sward. Time and space undergo the same laws. We distinguish with precision what we contemplate with pleasure. The moral world is analagous to the physical; here, disposition corresponds to climate, the fineness of sensation to the transparency of the air.

I am at last on the eve of my departure from hence. The plague is sufficiently abated to permit me to pursue my journey with reasonable safety. Indeed, for some time past I have been able to continue my excursions and researches in Constantinople and the neighbourhood. The field is ample—

Il n'est plaine en ces lieux si seche & si sterile,
Qui ne soit en beaux noms partout riche & fertile.

I propose in ten days to depart by land from Scutari, which may in some measure be considered as the asiatic suburb of Constantinople; and to pursue all the windings of the coast of Gebiseh,

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* The extraordinary beauty of the scene to which the allusion is here, is thus descriptively painted by a female pen, whose sketches have all the animation of life:—"For twenty miles together down the Bosporus, the most beautiful variety of prospects present themselves; the Asia side is covered with fruit-trees, villages, and the most delightful landscapes in nature; on the European stands Constantinople, situated on seven hills. The unequal heights make it seem as large again as it is (though one of the largest cities in the world), showing an agreeable mixture of gardens, pine and cypress trees, palaces, mosques, and public buildings, raised one above another, with as much beauty and appearance of symmetry as your ladyship ever saw in a cabinet adorned by the most skilful hands." [*Letters of Lady* M. Wortley-Montagu.] (Ed.)

where is the tomb of Hannibal, to Nicomedia, Nicea* (where the council was held), the lake of Apollonia, Brusa, Cyzicus (where are several ruins very little known,) Sestos and Abydos, the plain of Troy, Magnesia, Smyrna, Ephesus, Halicarnassus, &c. I shall then visit the islands, and afterwards Athens and the Morea. After visiting Italy, I shall probably embark for Gibraltar—from thence to Lisbon, and so home—where perhaps I shall spend the Christmas after next: at least this seems probable. This is the most correct idea that I am at present able to give you of my plans and projects. This country has become the theatre of great events. Admiral NELSON has greatly distinguished himself—and the name of Englishman is here in sweet savor. He has saved the Ottoman empire, and Europe, if Europe chose to be saved, and would distinguish her own interest, which is now clearly proved to be incompatible with the continued existence of that horde of assassins, which tyrannizes in France under the name of freedom. Utterly as I still disapprove of the commencement of the war, and of the absurd coalition of that time, I now see no mode of terminating it, but by positive success or positive disaster—and for that reason, were I in parliament, I would subscribe five-sixths of my fortune to defend the remaining fraction against that bloody banditti leagued against the lives and liberties of mankind.——— Malta is blocked—and the islands *ci-devant* Venetian must fall—in short the battle of the Nile has given a new face to Europe. We receive no news of BUONAPARTE, that is, nothing of detail.

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* NICEA.—Celebrated for the two councils held there in the years 325 and 787; is at present a wretched little town, with a population of about 5000 persons. The ancient palaces and temples, the churches of the Christians, and even the mosques of the Turks, have all disappeared. Nicea (or Isnik) is situated in a fertile plain, on the border of lake Ascanius, in lat. 40° 26′ N. and in long. 27° 30′ E. [See an account thereof in "*Voyage dans L'Empire Ottoman, &c. par* G. A. OLIVIER *Paris*, 1807."] (ED.)

We know that he is camped near Cairo, and that he cannot have more than 10000 men with him——it is not imagined that one man will return from that expedition—Ye gods, what havoc does ambition make!

I am ever,
My dear and worthy friend,
Affectionately your's,
J T.

LIV.

To FRANCIS TWEDDELL, Esq.

ENGLISH PALACE, PÉRA,* Oct. 25, 1798.

MY DEAR FATHER,

This is the last letter you will receive from me dated Constantinople. I set off from hence on Monday morning—the route

* PÉRA:—the suburb of Galata, together with its other suburb, Top-hanna, make the appearance of a very fine town, divided from Constantinople by an arm of the sea, and wholly inhabited by "Franks," *i. e.* european settlers, or by christian subjects of the empire. Here, it is well known the foreign ministers have their residences, which are called palaces. No foreigner, not even the minister of a friendly power, is allowed to reside in the city itself. These suburbs are supposed to contain about 40,000 inhabitants. There is no *preventive* police in Pera; and of what sort the *executive* is, may be judged of from the following fact, of which Mr. HOBHOUSE was an eye-witness:—"I was at a little distance from the watchman's station when a young woman made use of an abusive expression to a turkish sailor, who, without answering, drew his *yattaghan*, and stabbed her to the heart. The sailor walked deliberately away towards the port, without any attempt being made to apprehend him." (ED.)

which I propose to follow is this—[here follows an enumeration of places corresponding with that which is found in the preceding letter; the writer then proceeds:] ———about which season I hope to arrive at Athens. After thoroughly examining and rummaging that immortal ground, I must be directed by circumstances as to the course I shall afterwards follow.

You will easily see that it is impossible for me to fix with precision the time of our meeting. The situation of affairs baffles all calculation of a positive and determinate nature. Thus far, only, I may venture to decide, so far, at least, as it depends upon myself: that, if my health continues good, *as it now is in a remarkable degree*, and that my travels are successful, as they hitherto have been, I certainly shall have the pleasure of passing with you the Christmas of 1799. I look forward to that meeting with great delight—and I flatter myself, sometimes, with the hope that you will have reason to be content with the manner in which I have proceeded since we last parted. My absence will have been somewhat longer than we either of us foresaw at that moment; but the great events which have since taken place were also then incalculable; and I persuade myself that I have, at least, turned the circumstances of the times to the best profit. My time spent here, though it has been rather longer than could have been wished, has been far from useless. There are many things relating to the inhabitants of this country, which are little understood elsewhere, and on which I have found extraordinary means of informing myself. The variety of usages* and ceremonies, and the whole cast of character and

* Among the usages apparent in the city of Constantinople, and in the vicinity, that of painting the houses in such a way as to form a sort of national distinction, is not the least remarkable. The colors used for this purpose are not at the discretion of the individual's taste, but prescribed by the haughty caprice of the Turk. The houses of the Greeks and

morals is very striking, and highly interesting to him who reflects and enquires; and I have derived some very curious knowledge from a person intimately connected with the affairs of the seraglio. In another point of view, my drawings of the country are become very numerous: *I have collected representations of one hundred and twenty different dresses of the inhabitants*; and have either drawn myself, or procured from others, *views of almost every interesting spot in the neighbourhood, as well as of the capital itself.* In short, my portfolio is considered as one of the most perfect that has been made here, and will, I hope, soon be very much increased, as I shall stop to take views of every place that has either been famous in former times, or offers at present a romantic situation. The country is now extremely favorable for travelling; the great heats are past; there is no distemper; the alarm first occasioned by the French is over—and add to all this, that the name of an Englishman is in high estimation among the Turks since the battle of the Nile. I have an excellent general recommendation from the Reïs-Effendi to all the officers of the Porte in the different places through which I pass; and a very intelligent Janizary* accompanies me, to faci-

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Armenians are of a brown or dark red; those of the Jews are black; the true Mussulman alone has the privilege of using the light and lively colors, and thereby demonstrating his exalted superiority. A Greek physician, whose attendance on the Sultan had obtained a fortunate result, being requested to name the kind of recompence which would be most agreeable to him, only asked the liberty to paint his house according to the fashion of his own choice: which high privilege having been graciously allowed, the mansion of the happy Greek assumed a bright red. Who does not admire his truly *Athenian* taste? [See HOBHOUSE, p. 513.] (ED.)

* JANIZARY—in Turkish, yéni-chéri: *yeni* or *yenni*, signifies new—*chĕri* or *cherri*, soldiery. The military order of the Janizaries was instituted in the year 1362 of the christian æra. Their effective number is about 40,000. In time of peace they act in the capacity of police officers; and, on application, are assigned as guards for the protection of foreign ministers and travellers. DE TOTT, in his memoirs, makes mention of a circumstance in their history, which

litate my journey: my own servant is a very active and experienced traveller in these countries, and speaks the greek, turkish, and italian languages with perfect fluency. I have studied the modern greek myself since I came here; and have made sufficient proficiency to demand whatever is necessary in passing through the country. I will write to you again when I arrive at the Dardanelles: till then farewell.

I am ever, &c.

J. J.

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shews how whimsical, in some instances, is the point of honor. The preservation of their colors in battle, he informs us, is not an affair of such momentous concern with the Janizaries, as that of the two large copper kettles which are constantly placed in the front of each regiment, and which are accompanied by a skimmer, a ladle, and a kind of halberd. On a march their kettles are carried in front of each respective regiment; and the company who should suffer them to be taken by the enemy would be covered with infamy. "The Vezir of AMURATH [Mourad] reminded his sovereign, that, according to the mahometan [mohamedan] law, he was entitled to a fifth part of the spoil and captives; and that the duty might easily be levied, if vigilant officers were stationed at Gallipoli, to watch the passage, and to select for his use the stoutest and most beautiful of the christian youth. The advice was followed; the edict was proclaimed; many thousands of the european captives were educated in religion and arms; and the new militia was consecrated and named by a celebrated dervish [BEKTASH]. Standing in the front of their ranks, he stretched the sleeve of his gown over the head of the foremost soldier, and his blessing was delivered in these words:—Let them be called *yéni-chéri.*————May their countenance be ever bright! their hand victorious! their sword keen! may their spear always hang over the heads of their enemies! and wheresoever they go, may they return with a white face." (White and black are common and proverbial expressions of praise and reproach in the turkish language. *Hic niger est hunc tu Romane caveto,* was, likewise, a Latin sentence.) Such was the origin of these haughty troops [the janizaries], the terror of the nations, and sometimes of the sultans themselves. (GIBBON: *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* ch. lxiv.]—See also page 229. (ED.)

LV.

To the Rev. ROBERT TWEDDELL.*

Scutari, in Asia, 15th Nov. 1798.

MY DEAR ROBERT,

I received your letter some time ago, and have been in anxious expectation of hearing from you again.——I have already given you my advice with regard to the books which I wish you to take into the country. At the same time it would be presumption in me to imagine, that with my moderate knowledge upon this subject, I can have precluded the necessity of your taking farther advice from persons more conversant with theological studies as a regular system. I will tell you what you may do: write to Dr. Parr a plain, sensible, and well-written letter, saying, that your knowledge of his friendship for your elder brother, and of the advantages which I have derived from his instructive intercourse, have induced you to address yourself to him, to request his advice upon the prosecution of your future studies—hoping that a portion of that favor with which your brother had been honored, might in his behalf be extended to you. That, exclusively of this, you venture to rely upon the known benevolence of his temper, and the desire which he feels to communicate instruction to those who seek it, for your excuse in the present application. That an anxious wish to investigate in the most satisfactory way those truths

* The Editor feels sincere regret that the confidential nature of Mr. Tweddell's letters to himself and to other members of the family, has constrained him to withhold a large proportion of correspondence manifesting, in a high degree, the writer's amiable and exalted character, but involving details not calculated to meet the eye of the public. (Ed.)

which point to eternity, cannot fail to obtain indulgence, and to receive encouragement from an enlightened scholar and a zealous religionist. You request that he will employ one of the first moments which he can conveniently sacrifice without detriment to his private affairs or to his learned labors, in recommending to you a list of those books which are best calculated to give you a clear insight into the merits of the religion which you profess, and into the duties of the function which you are about to embrace.—— Add, that you have lately received a letter from your brother, who was then at Scutari in Asia, and intending shortly after to set sail from the plain of Troy to Athens, there to winter, in which he speaks of Dr. PARR with that regard which he ever felt, and which the doctor's valued friendship must always inspire; regretting, at the same time, that a correspondence which formerly afforded him so much pleasure, had been interrupted, either by the failure of the posts, or from other untoward circumstances—that your brother said, he had written to him repeatedly, but had never, since he left Berlin, received a word in reply.

You cannot do better than adopt this measure. The doctor will, probably, give you a voluminous collection; but, as it is not necessary that you should read them all in one or in two years, you may go through them by degrees. I have not time to write to you much at length at present. In less than a month I shall be at Athens, from whence I will immediately write to my father. You ask me whether I think it advisable that you should learn Hebrew. Certainly, every acquisition of every kind is valuable; and, if you have time, I see no objection to this, provided always that this study does not take away too much of your attention from information of more daily and absolute use. If, with the study of history sacred and profane, of divinity, of classical literature, of natural philosophy, and of the french language, you can carry for-

ward that of the Hebrew, well and good. In that case, I would advise you to learn it; if not, it seems to me that each of the foregoing studies is more deserving of your attention, if it must needs be that you sacrifice one or the other. There are some persons who possess a wonderful versatility, and with whom one pursuit never interferes with another, but, on the other hand, receives and gives mutual assistance: these persons can never undertake too much. The knowledge of the manner in which the meanest plant vegetates upon the surface of God's earth, is worthy to be possessed by him who for that object neglects no important duty, no instruction of a higher class. You must judge for yourself; at all events, labor to store your mind with every species of information—you can never have enough. Read every day of your life at least seven hours; in my opinion that is not even sufficient for a man who wishes to distinguish himself by the creditable employment of his time, and, perhaps, to owe some part of his fortune to his reputation. Depend upon it, if you acquire an ample stock of learning, it will stand you in good stead some day hence, as soon as your friends are convinced that they can recommend you with truth and with credit to persons who may have it in their power to be useful to you. But you must be your own friend, and employ, to the best of your faculties, the next two or three years of your life. Trial is necessary to certify merit—let your's not be tried in vain. God bless you, my dear R. you will easily believe me to be your faithful friend and affectionate brother,

J. T.

LVI.

To JAMES LOSH, Esquire.

Scutari, 15th November, 1798.

MY DEAR LOSH,

I will not make excuses to you for being, as I must appear to be, a bad correspondent. I am sure that you are convinced of my friendship, and that you always attribute my silence to the multiplicity of occupations which crowd upon me, and which I should do ill to neglect. I do not know how travellers contrive to leave this country; to me it teems with interest; and during near six months that I have been here I have seldom passed an idle hour. I lately wrote a very long letter to Grey;* I wish you were near him, that he might shew it to you; I have not now time to repeat the substance of it; but it contained many interesting particulars upon the present state of this country; upon some late revolutions in turkish policy; and upon the grievances held out by Pasvand Oghlou, and his pretensions at large. I meant to have repeated the same things to you, but I find that I must, generally, content myself with giving more scanty measure of ink and paper even to my best friends, if I mean to turn all that I see to the best profit. I have passed this last month like a slave—so much have I written and run about, for fear of forgetting any object which not to have

* Mr. Tweddell was honored with the friendship of this nobleman: the Editor regrets that he has no opportunity of presenting any of the correspondence which passed between them. (Ed.)

seen might afterwards occasion regret. At present I am in Asia, on my way to Smyrna by land, unless the weather, which for some days past has been most unfavourable, should oblige me to change my plans: Should it continue to rain, I shall then, instead of doubling the gulf of Nicomedia, proceed at once to the Dardanelles, and from thence immediately to Athens. In such case I shall visit the plain of Troy at a later period, in an excursion from Smyrna. At Athens I shall always find sufficient occupation; and if there are only a couple of hours of fine weather in the day, I shall turn them to account in the midst of the sumptuous monuments which will then surround me. I invite you to congratulate me upon a very precious acquisition lately made—I have here met with a celebrated painter,* who came into this country to be employed by the Comte De Choiseul: he has agreed to accompany me in my tour through Greece, and Asia, and the islands. This will induce me to visit subjects of both architecture and landscape with greater minuteness; and, perhaps, to extend and lengthen my travels. What should you say, were I to tell you that I sometimes think of taking him with me to Baalbek and Palmyra? This would not make more than the difference of four months, counting from the island of Cyprus; and, with the collection of drawings which I now have, and should then have in addition, few travellers, if any, would be able to produce so rich a port-folio. Do not take any notice of this hint—I rather think that I shall execute the project, but I do not care yet to mention it. You would be delighted with the drawings of this artist, if you could see them. *Some of his large views of architecture would bring more than twenty guineas a piece in London.* The water-colour is pushed to the perfection of oil. I only regret, at times, that my finances are a little too contracted; I lose many things which a little more money would procure me.

* Mons. Preaux—(for a further account of whom see Letters LII. and LVIII.)

I am willing to think, however, that what I have expended has not been quite thrown away. Of one thing, at least, I am sure, that, if that were necessary, I could indemnify myself upon my return, by communicating some part of my observations to the public. This, however, is an after consideration.

I am ever,

My dear friend, &c.

J. J.

LVII.

To JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, ESQUIRE.*

TENO,† 18th December, 1798.

DEAR SIR,

AFTER much foul weather and many mishaps, in spite of calms and contrary winds, and in the teeth of all the elements, I arrived

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* JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, Esq. commenced his diplomatic services as private secretary to Mr. LISTON,* whose appointment to the turkish Embassy took place in September 1793; having qualified himself for the situation by a previous residence at Constantinople, and by extensive travels both in european and asiatic Turkey. Mr. LISTON having returned home, on leave of absence, during the winter of 1795, left Mr. SMYTHE as his *locum-tenens*, in the double capacity of his Majesty's *Chargé-d'Affaires*, and of the

† TENO.—This island is, next after Chio, the most flourishing in the Archipelago. It is blest with the privilege of not having a single Turk on its territory, and it owes this peculiarity

* The Right Honourable ROBERT LISTON is H.M.'s present Ambassador at the Ottoman Porte.

here yesterday evening. My vexations began at Tophana: where, on arriving at the hour appointed by the captain, I saw the ship under sail, which I endeavoured to overtake in vain, before it arrived near the Seven-Towers. I found, afterwards, that my baggage, which was all on board, would have operated on my illustrious Greeks as a sufficient reason for not anchoring there, had not an high-priest of their nation been also in the same case with myself, who, contrary to their expectation, did not arrive till some time after me—thus, the fear of the Lord had little availed me, if it had not been fortified by the fear of his servants. We arrived

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the Levant Company's Agent-General. On Mr. LISTON being removed to America, Mr. SMYTHE was appointed Secretary of Legation, and soon afterwards received the farther step of Minister Plenipotentiary (4th May, 1798). On the 5th of January, 1799, he concluded the treaty of defensive alliance with the Porte, being the first transaction of that nature between the two countries, since the year 1675.—On the 30th of October, 1799, Mr. SMYTHE obtained the freedom of the Black Sea for the english flag, [See CLARKE's *Travels*, vol. i.] and it was for the purpose of exchanging the ratifications of that treaty above-mentioned, that Lord ELGIN was sent out as *ambassador extraordinary!* and arrived at Constantinople about the 23d of November of the same year—Mr. SMYTHE retaining his rank, and also his pay from the Levant-Company, together with the appointment of Secretary to the Embassy Extraordinary, as a mark of favor and approbation, but without emolument. [See *Appendix*.] (ED.)

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liarity in its lot to the superior spirit and virtue of its inhabitants, which, by presenting a long course of courageous resistance to the arms of the ottoman government, taught them an unwilling respect, which has procured for the island a degree of comparative independence. It has its own magistrates, who are annually elected by the people; and the offices of authority are conferred on those alone who are distinguished for their probity and public spirit. The industry of the men is employed in the cultivation of the soil chiefly; and the women, who also partake of that labor, are assiduously engaged in the rearing of silk worms, and the manufacture of stockings of that production. Silk is the principal object of exportation, and the manufactured produce is much esteemed for its durability and excellence. The domestic servants obtained from Teno are in great repute at Smyrna, Constantinople, and elsewhere, especially the women, who have a character for honesty, cleverness, and neatness in their persons, superior to those of any other of the Ægean isles. (ED.)

at Gallipoli the morning of the next day; where storms and clouds detained us two days more. I went on shore to see the shape and figure of consular dignity. Our consul* is not a warm man, and consequently, his house was a cold one. I preferred, however, sleeping under his roof to remaining on board, and found wherewithal to be merry in the character of mine host. His appetite is five-fold stronger than his faith. He digests bacon better than the notion of a Messiah. He says that he is tired of waiting for him: He once had some small hopes of seeing him—but he is now near eighty, and expects him no more. I examined him touching another world. He maintains that the soul of man is like a farthing candle, which has borrowed a feeble and contingent light from the sovereign flame of the eternal taper. He believes this taper to be protected against every chance of extinction, by the nature and the conspiracy of permanent causes; but that "the little farthing rush-light" is subject to the caprice of every wind, and when once extinguished is lighted not again. Such are the ethics of Gallipoli. When I have already met with one school of philosophy in an obscure corner of the thracian Chersonesus; may you not expect to hear that at Athens the voice of PLATO still animates the groves of the Academy, and that the Lyceum† is still pressed

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* CONSUL—GALLIPOLI.—The consular personage at this place must not be confounded with Mr. ISRAËL TARRAGANO, in whose family the english consulship of the Dardanelles, has been hereditary for nearly a century. Mr. TWEDDELL (so the Editor has been informed) appears to have taken a relative of his, Mr. TARRAGANO, his deputy or *drogoman*, for the consul himself, who was at this period a very youthful person, and appointed to the office as representative of the elder branch of the family; his uncle, Mr. KHAÏM TARRAGANO foregoing his own pretensions to the office out of respect to the order of primogeniture. [See some account of this family in HOBHOUSE, p. 803.] (ED.)

† LYCAEUM.—Touching on this topic, Mr. HAYGARTH's muse makes the following eloquent apostrophe:—

"Masters of ancient wisdom! who of old
Linger'd amidst these groves, or wand'ring hence,

by the foot of the severer ARISTOTLE? I will not promise you this, because I am little skilled in fable; but, at least, I will promise to write to you from thence as soon as I arrive.——I was only one night at the Dardanelles, so that PRÉAUX had not time to take a sketch of the *castles*, as you desired.———I shall not visit the interior of this island at present. I mean to return hither when I make the tour of the islands in the spring. If I can be of any service to you in any part of the countries through which I pass—for instance, in procuring you medals, &c. you have only to explain to me your wishes. I shall profit with pleasure of this and of every other manner of expressing my thanks for your hospitality and attentions. With regard to medals, I repeat—that although you will

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Roam'd in Lyceum's spacious walks, and shades
Of Cynosarges, I behold with awe
These scenes, as if your venerable forms
Themselves appear'd slow-moving through the vale.
Much do we owe you, teachers profound
Of moral law, though in our pride of heart
We oft forget our masters, and, the heights
Once vanquish'd, scorn the friendly arm which propp'd
Our upward steps: To search the hidden pow'rs
Of thought; to trace each secret spring that gives
An impulse to its energies; to tear
The mask from vice, and shew its hideous form
Contrasted with the native loveliness
Of virtue; to unfold the varied chain
Of social order, and observe the links
Whose strong dependencies bind man to man,
Was your exalted task; and though ye droop'd
Ofttimes and loiter'd in dim Error's maze,
Yet still ye labor'd in the paths of truth,
And saw the twilight of that day, whose light
Beams with a dear effulgence upon us."

Greece, p. 64. (ED.)

easily imagine I shall occasionally purchase for myself, yet I have not so much zeal in that pursuit, as not very willingly to undertake to procure you any which you shall expressly point out to me as wanting either to your own or to a friend's collection, or even to cede them to you, if they are already in my possession.

Believe me to be, dear Sir, &c.

J. T.

LVIII.*

To FRANCIS TWEDDELL, Esquire.

St. Nicolo, in the Isle of Teno,
18th Dec. 1798.

MY DEAR FATHER,

When I last wrote to my brother Robert, I had just left Constantinople, with the intention of going by land a part of the way to Smyrna, but the bad condition of the weather changed in some respects my immediate projects, and I landed here a few days ago. To-morrow I hope to set sail for Athens. There I shall

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* The original of this letter presents the following *memorandum*, written on the folded end of the sheet:—

"Note. Mr. J. S. S. received this letter in Constantinople, the 10th of March, after its having been in the water many hours, from the floods on the roads, and consequently in such an illegible state, that it was not until after having broken open, and dried every thing in the packet, that he could decypher the address; which after having restored as well as he could, he forwards as it is—as enough of the contents may perhaps be made out by those well-acquainted with the writer's hand to render it still interesting." (Ed.)

spend the two rainy months which generally befal at this season. On that celebrated ground, still rich in monuments of grecian genius, I shall find abundant resources, as well in the study of ancient architecture, from which that of Italy was borrowed and copied in a fuller style, as in collecting materials *which, I hope, will not be without their effect on my return to England.* With this view you may felicitate me on a considerable acquisition which I have made. I found at Constantinople some time before my departure, a very celebrated painter, who had been invited thither by the Comte De Choiseul, in order to assist him in the completion of that magnificent work,* of which he has given the first part to the public. The Revolution, however, put an end to these projects, and this man had remained there ever since, meeting with that scanty encouragement which might be expected in such a country, and unable to return into his own from the unhappy state of affairs which has long prevailed there. I found him eagerly disposed, from this concurrence of circumstances to embrace my proposal of making the tour of Greece with me upon very moderate conditions, when compared with the extraordinary talent which he possesses. He had studied eight years at Paris, under Robért, at the Royal Academy, and ten years at Rome, at the expense of the late king, under the most celebrated masters; and had not the revolution taken place, he was about to have been appointed the king's painter for the department of architecture. I could not possibly have been more fortunate—in short, I

* Mr. De Peyssonnell, formerly French Consul General at Smyrna, in his "*Strictures on the Memoirs of Baron* De Tott," speaking of this publication, thus characterises it—"a work (says he) equally valuable for its interesting matter, the beauty of its style, the profundity of its erudition, the truth of the designs, the perfection of the engravings; a work which is at once an honor to the french nation, and to the present age, and affords an useful lesson to the great, of the manner in which they should employ their riches and their talents." (Ed.)

look upon this circumstance as one of the most pleasing that I have met with in the course of my travels. I shall profit myself by his instructions, and take views of every object that conveys the slightest interest either from its picturesque merits or its connection with antient history. *My collection of Levantine Dresses* (I mean drawings of them) *is already very considerable, amounting to nearly two hundred*—and will soon be greatly augmented—so that I hope one day to shew the richest port-folio perhaps that was ever carried out of Greece, Asia, and Turkey. But Athens especially, is my great object. I promise you that those who come after me shall have nothing to glean. Not only every temple, and every archway, but every stone, and every inscription, shall be copied with the most scrupulous fidelity. I do not know whether you are acquainted with STUART's* "*Description of Athens.*" It is a superb work—but he has left many things to do—and there are many parts that may be still better represented: should you be at Benton-House soon, you will find this work in Mr. BIGGE's library—and you will perhaps not be sorry to contemplate upon

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* STUART—commonly called *Athenian* STUART, was born in 1713, of very humble parents, and without the advantage of patron, guide, or fortune, raised himself to eminence by the natural energy of a curious and philosophical mind. The earliest efforts of his genius were devoted to the support of his mother and family, in designing and painting fans for a shop in the Strand, at London. Having made a pedestrian tour to Rome, the expenses of which were supplied by the fruits of his talent, exercised at places where he stopped on his route; he formed, on his arrival in that city, an intimacy with Mr. RAVETT, a skilful architect. Having studied together several years, they agreed, at length, to make a visit to Athens; where they arrived in 1751, and employed themselves for two years in delineating the monuments and remains of art. The first volume of "*Antiquities of Athens*" was published in 1762—two more appeared after the death of Mr. S.: the second in 1790, the third in 1794. On his return to this country Mr. STUART was appointed surveyor of Greenwich Hospital: the repairs and additions of that noble edifice, after the fire which happened there, were executed under his able superintendance. He died in 1788. [See AIKIN's *Biog.* vol. ix.] (ED.)

paper those illustrious monuments which I shall then be gazing upon in real existence.———Your letters will regularly reach me by putting them under cover *à Monsieur* THORNTON, &c.

For your sentiments upon the subject on which I consulted you*, I sincerely thank you. I can only say in answer to the option which you leave me, of deciding thereupon myself according to circumstances, that I shall never take a final part in such a question, without again demanding your approbation, whenever (if ever) such a case may present itself.

Though ROBERT has not been successful, I am persuaded he has done every thing in his power requisite to ensure success. If he continues to apply himself, and to lay-in a fund of general knowledge, and to acquit himself creditably in the profession he has embraced, I have no doubt that on some future day he will reap the honest fruit of a laudable conduct. But he must be diligent, if he means to thrive—and above all, he must carefully shun all trifling occupations and unmeaning pursuits.

Let me often hear from you—and tell me that you are well and happy—that will be enough to render me so. Thank God, my own health is excellent. Since I left off the use of flesh-meat, I feel myself both stronger and more active, though I had no reason to complain before.

I am, ever, &c.

J. T.

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* See Letter XXXIX.

LIX.

To the Hon. STEPHEN DIGBY.

San Nicolo, in the isle of Teno, Dec. 21, 1798.

I have had no tidings of you, my dear Mr. D., for an age—and live therefore, with regard to every thing respecting you, upon the thin diet of hope and imagination.——I should be very unwilling indeed to imagine that my last letter did not reach you—though the loss of it would save you no small trouble—It was crowded with commissions—all of which I have not patience to recapitulate, so voluminous were they.——One or two of those commissions are, however, so important to me, that I must repeat them, in order to give myself every chance of procuring what is so essential to the advantageous prosecution of my schemes. I am particularly in want of Wood's* "*Description of the Ruins of*

* Robert Wood, Esq. was born at the castle of Riverstown, near Trim, in the county of Meath, in Ireland, and died Sept. 9, 1771, aged 55. He was buried at Putney, in Surrey, where a superb monument is erected to his memory. Besides his "*Description of the Ruins of Palmyra and Balbec*," he wrote "*A Comparative View of the Ancient and Present State of the Troad.*" The "*Monthly Review*," speaking of the former work, says, "Of all the antiquities that have been communicated to the world; of all the remains of antient monuments brought from the east, none can be compared with the ruins of Palmyra and Baalbek; not only on account of their stupendous magnificence, but for the extraordinary diligence of those gentlemen who have favored the public with this view of them, and the accuracy and elegance of the designs. Mr. Wood had many acquired advantages; he had, moreover, taste, sensibility, and enthusiasm—his memory will be dear to those whom Nature has favored with the happiness of loving and enjoying the fine arts." [See "*Monthly Review*," vol. xviii. p. 59, and vol. liii. p. 369.] (Ed.)

Palmyra and Balbec," a work very valuable and very scarce, in two volumes in folio. I am aware that the book will cost me a good deal of money—but I cannot do without it. There is also a book published lately by ROBINSON, in two volumes octavo—"*View of the Ruins of Palmyra in the Desert of Syria.*" If this work should be new, and not extracted or abridged from the former, I should like to have it also. Add to this, ANSELM BANDURI's* "*Imperium*

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* ANSELMO BANDURI— a celebrated antiquary, was born at Ragusa, a small republic situated in Dalmatia, on the coast of the Adriatic, and entered when young into the Benedictin order, in Meleda, or Melita, an island not far from that coast. [Perhaps the *Melita* of ST. PAUL, *vide* "Naval Chronicle," vols. xxv. and xxvi.] After making the vows at Naples, he travelled over part of Italy, and intended to have settled at Florence, a place favorable for literary pursuits. During this journey, his musical skill, particularly on the organ, procured him a favourable reception at the different convents in his way, and enabled him to travel agreeably and without expense. On his arrival at Florence, although still a very young man, he was found so able a linguist, that he was appointed to teach the learned languages in various religious houses of his order. MONTFAUCON happening to visit Florence in 1700, employed BANDURI to examine the manuscripts which he wished to consult for a new edition of the works of Saint CHRYSOSTOM, and conceived such an opinion of him as to recommend him to COSMO II. Grand-Duke of Tuscany, who then had a design of restoring the fame of the university of Pisa. But representing, at the same time, that it would be advantageous for so young a man to pass some years at Paris, in the Abbey of St. Germain, for farther improvement, the Grand-Duke consented, and BANDURI arrived at Paris about the end of 1702, and was lodged in the Abbey; where his patron COSMO supplied him with every thing necessary and useful. His first studies here, agreeably to his original design, were turned to divinity and ecclesiastical history; and in May 1705, he published a "*Prospectus*" of an edition of the works of NICEPHORUS, patriarch of Constantinople, with prefaces, dissertations, and notes. This he intended to be followed by an edition of THEODORUS of Mopsuesta's "*Commentary on the Minor Prophets, and on other Antient Commentators.*" Happening, however, in the course of his researches, to meet with several documents relative to the antiquities of Constantinople, he was advised to publish them along with others already published, and this gave rise to his most celebrated work, "*Imperium Orientale, sive Antiquitates Constantinopolitanæ,*" &c. (Paris 1711). This work, which forms a valuable, and indeed necessary, supplement to DU CANGE's works on the same subject, is divided into four parts, and illustrated with commentaries, geographical

Orientale," DU-CANGE'S* *"Constantinopolis Christiana,"* BRYANT'S *"Attack upon Homer's Topography,"* &c. &c.

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and topographical, tables, medals, &c. CASIMIR OUDIN made a feeble attack on the merit of this work, but without acquiring any credit. In preparing this work, BANDURI discovered DU CANGE's defects in the medallic history, and therefore began to collect all the medals of the Roman Emperors to the last PALÆOLOGUS, or the taking of Constantinople, which he published at Paris, under the title *"Numismata Imperatorum Romanorum, cum Bibliotheca nummariâ, sive auctorum qui de re nummariâ scripserunt,"* (1718) reprinted by JOHN ALBERT FABRICIUS, at Hamburg (1719). In both these works BANDURI was assisted by the Abbé LAMA, of Naples, and yet more by Mr. DE LA BARRE, who was his associate in the Academy of the *Belles-lettres.* In 1715, he was elected an honorary academician; and was very assiduous in his attendance on that learned body. In 1723, he announced his new edition of NICEPHORUS and THEODORUS of Mopsuesta, as being ready for publication; but it never appeared. In 1724, he was appointed librarian to the Duke of ORLEANS, with apartments in the palace, and there he died of the gout, January 14th, 1743, aged about 72 or 73 years. His *éloge*, by Mr. FRERET, is inserted in the *"Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres,"* vol. xvi. (ED.)

* CHARLS DU-FRESNE DU-CANGE—one of the most learned writers of the 17th century, was born at Amiens in 1610, and descended of an antient and noble family there. His *"History of the Empire of Constantinople,"* under the French Emperors, is divided into two parts; the former part contains the history of the taking of Constantinople by the French and Venetians, in 1204, with a continuation from 1220 to 1240; the second part contains a general history of the most remarkable transactions of the French and Latins in that empire, from the time that they made themselves masters of it.

The Sieur DU-CANGE was the author of many works, some of which obtained great celebrity, especially one entituled *"Glossarium ad Scriptores mediæ et infimæ latinitatis,"* &c. Paris, 1678, 3 vols. folio, in which he explains Latin terms that had assumed a novel signification, and gives an exposition of many of the ecclesiastical rites, the customs, and municipal laws of the middle ages. This work passed through three editions. He was the author of a curious treatise *"Concerning the head of John the Baptist,"* and used to say with regard to this book, that he had proved that if the head of ST. JOHN the Baptist was any where, it was at Amiens. DU CANGE was a man of great humanity, affable in his manners and lively in conversation, and of such unaffected humility, that it was a common

These are the principal books which I requested you to send me.—But in addition to the books, I desired that you would enquire for the shop in London, where the *best* vellum paper for drawing is sold, and that you would purchase for me ten or twelve sheets of about four feet long, and high in proportion, and about twenty more of different sizes—some two feet long, and others one and a half—all of the finest grain and free from blemish. If you could consult a drawing-master upon this subject, it would be advisable—as the large paper, especially, is difficult to find of the finest quality, and equally free from defects as the small size.—It is particularly important that the grain should be fine.—When you hold the sheets to the light, there must not appear any white spots in them. With this paper, I farther desired that you would add about fifty sheets of a *very fine* light blue paper—such as painters sometimes use for drawing upon with black and white chalk, and which they also use to make borders for their drawings. The grain of this also should be very fine, and of a *light* sky blue. Also a quantity of thin transparent white paper, such as engravers use for copying previously the *contours*—by applying it to the drawings which they propose to engrave. It is a sort of silk or gauze paper, but it is of the very *finest and thinnest*. You will add thirty or fifty pencils of the best manufacture, and a box of the best water colours, taking care that there are two or three pieces of blue and bistre, and one of every other colour. I do not know whether it is possible to find at London some engravings of the marine by LAUSANNE, or LOSANNE, a french artist—in which ships of war and others are represented in every possible

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saying with him amongst his friends, "there is nothing but eyes and fingers necessary to compose such works as mine." He was, in fact, like most men of distinguished merit, in nothing more distinguished than for his modesty. He died in 1688, in the 78th year of his age. [See BAYLE's "*Dictionary*," vol. iv. folio, London, 1736. p. 91.] (ED.)

direction, and with every kind of sail. These would be useful to me for sea views; and if you cannot find them, something of the same kind is perhaps published at London.———I am ashamed to give you so much trouble: but I persuade myself you will forgive me, when you consider that all these things are very important to facilitate the collection of drawings which I am making of these parts. You owe me no thanks for this letter—I have wearied myself with the tedious recapitulation.

I am ever, &c.

J. T.

LX.

To FRANCIS TWEDDELL, Esquire.

Athens,* Dec. 29th, 1798.

MY DEAR FATHER,

Accept my wishes for much happiness, and many years to enjoy it—you and my mother are comprised in this prayer. I

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* Athens.—Mr. Haygarth, in his "*Greece*," expatiates, with fine poetic feeling, on a view of this ancient city from the hill of Musæus. The following is one of the many passages which might be selected for the force and beauty of the reflections which they offer:

"With what a troubled and tumultuous tide
Of pleasure and of pain do ages past
Rush on the mind, amid such scenes as these!
Like light and shadow in a cloudy gale

Reduced from a survey presented to the Editor by John Spencer Smythe Esq. F.R.S. F.S.A. &c. &c. &c.

Published by [illegible] Museum, 39 Endgate Street, London.

arrived here this morning, after a sail of twenty hours with a brisk wind from the isle of Teno.———I have not yet had time, as you will easily imagine, to examine what is to be seen—yet my impatience to visit some of the principal monuments of this illustrious spot, would not permit me either to eat or to sit down, till I had made the circuit of the Acropolis, and had venerated the successful labours of attic genius. I have seen these stupendous remains only with a glance, and cannot collect words to express my admiration. I feel as if hitherto I had seen nothing—since no comparison can be instituted between all the efforts of human talent which I have hitherto witnessed, and the objects which have this day struck my astonished senses. When I shall have been here a fortnight more, I shall be able to give you a better account of all that surrounds me. I am comfortably lodged in the house of an Athenian, for whom I had letters. My host*

Coursing alternate o'er the furrow'd wave.
Joy for a moment plays upon the lips,
But the deep throb of melancholy shoots
A sterner feeling to the heart, and dulls
The transient smile. Here, as I stand and view
Thy solitary and dejected state,
Queen of cities, and muse on what thou wert,
And what art now, I feel a secret pang
To think that thou, my country, though thy throne
Seems fixed and rooted in th' eternal deep,
Must fall, and all thy glories, all thy pow'r
Pass like the mem'ry of a dream away.

Part ii. p. 47.

The Editor seizes with pleasure an opportunity of here acknowledging the personal obligations he is under to Mr. HAYGARTH, independently of those for which, in common with the british public, he is indebted to him in return for the various gratifications presented in his elegant volume. (ED.)

* Mr. SPIRIDION LOGOTHETI, the person here referred to, was a supernumerary or sinecure dragoman, attached to the consulship at Athens. (ED.)

understands French, German, Italian, modern Greek, that is, the language of the day. In the latter I am not yet strong, but in a few months I shall have made some progress.

The wind is north, and consequently the weather not warm—yet you will judge it is not very severe, when I tell you that against the windows of both sides of my chamber, ripe oranges are hanging in clusters, which every day's dinner will contribute to reduce. This day I have also eat cauliflower and melon, and some most delicious honey from the Mount Hymettus.* The antients were not ill-founded in the encomiums which they bestowed on the bees and the flowers of that renowned hill. Their poets were less true where they speak of the powerful streams of

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* Mount Hymettus is at the distance of about five miles from the city of Athens. On the lower part of the mountain, in an olive-grove, is situated the monastery of Syriani, where an extensive apiary is kept by the monks, who derive from that source considerable emolument. The honey of Hymettus maintains its antient reputation; it is chiefly sent to Constantinople, where it is in much esteem, and the consumption of it very great. As an article of food it is reckoned heating, and persons eating largely of it are subject to feverish indisposition. The wild thyme, and a large variety of flowering plants, which send forth a powerful aromatic exhalation, furnish an ample store of the most grateful food to the industrious insect, whose labours here have been so highly famed. The bee of Hymettus much resembles that of this country; it has the appearance of being rather smaller, and of a more golden colour. [See "*Voyage dans L'Empire Ottoman*," vol. vi. pp. 447—449.] The historian of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, also says, "The honey of Mount Hymettus has not lost any part of its exquisite flavor. The antients, or, at least, the Athenians, believed that all the bees in the world had been propagated from Mount Hymettus. They taught that health might be preserved, and life prolonged, by the external use of oil and internal use of honey. (*Geoponica*, l. xv, c. 7, p. 1089—1094, edit. Niclas.) See SPON (*Voyage en Grece*, tom. ii, p. 70—199); and WHEELER (*Travels into Greece*, p. 337—414); STUART (*Antiquities of Athens, passim*); and CHANDLER (*Travels into Greece*, p. 23—172). The first of these travellers visited Greece in the year 1676, the last 1765; and 90 years had not produced much difference in the tranquil scene." [GIBBON: c. lxii.] (ED.)

the adjacent rivers. The Ilissus* is nearly dry, and the Cephisus† trickles in a scanty bed.

* * * * [*Here a chasm ensues*‡] * * * *

I have, exclusively of my *ferman*, or order of the Grand-Signor, private letters for the Vaïvoda, so that I hope he will afford me every facility for seeing and examining the ruins and the country. An opportunity offering for Thebes, through which place Tartars often pass to Constantinople, I am desirous to give you assurance at least, that I am in safety and perfect health.

I am, &c.

J. J.

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* Ilissus.—"Ilissus flows no more—it's stream has pass'd
Like Greece's glory; it has pour'd its tide
And mingled with the ocean. Seek not now
The fame of Ceres, or the huntress Queen
That glitter'd on its banks; hope not to roam
'Midst platane trees, waving their arms above
Its limpid waters, nor expecting stand
In glory's school." (Haygarth's "*Greece*," p. 65.)

See Dr. Clarke, part iii. pp. 558—9; also Hobhouse, p. 318.

† Cephisus.—See Strabo, 9. Plin. iv. 7. Pausanias, ix, 24. Homer *Il.* ii, 29. Lucan, iii, 175. Ovid *Metam.* i. 369; iii, 19.

‡ Much of this letter is obliterated.

LXI.

To JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, Esq.*

ATHENS, 4th Jan. 1799.

DEAR SIR,

A few days after I wrote to you from Teno, I took a boat for the Piræus, and arrived there speedily with a brisk wind.——— I have seen FAUVEL,† who is in daily expectation of a letter from you.....he has fortunately been able to save the greater part of his papers, drawings, &c.....you will be glad to learn that they have escaped the [hands] of the barbarians. Had those who sought for them become [possessed] of them, the loss had been great to the arts and to FAUVEL himself, without benefiting any one human being. They consist entirely of sketches, many of them only half painted, and none of them capable of being divined even by another artist. They are a precious collection of materials, but presenting to the eye of the uninstructed the sterile form of egyptian characters. He tells me that the only drawing which was nearly finished, was the temple of THESEUS, and to that were still wanting the bas-reliefs, and other important details. Mr. HAWKINS‡ took every thing of a finished nature

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* This letter had been immersed in water, on its passage between Athens and Constantinople, and the writing so much defaced, that had not the Editor been favored with the friendly and ingenious assistance of Dr. HENRY of Manchester, whose science is too well known to ask for any encomium here, no intelligible connection could probably have been discovered. (ED.)

† Mr. FAUVEL—"A Frenchman equally renowned for his talents as an artist, his researches as an antiquary, and his disinterested attention to all travellers, whether of his own or any other nation," (Dr. CLARKE's "*Travels*," part iii. p. 567 (note) and well known to the public as the coadjutor of Mr. FOUCHEROT. (HOBHOUSE, p. 291.)

‡ JOHN HAWKINS, of Bignor Park, Sussex, Esq. F.R.S., brother of Sir CHRISTO-

which his port-folio contained. His health is visibly impaired by anxiety and confinement. He had undergone a very dangerous operation some little time previous to his being arrested—and unless he should soon be set at liberty, I fear he is drawing near to the end of his earthly labours If you would exert your influence to procure his enlargement, you would render an important service to every lover of the arts, since the long and diligent researches which FAUVEL has made into attic antiquities; the assu ordinary advantages which he possesses, and the many facilities which he has had of seeing and examining the minutest particulars, furnish abundant hope that the world may be at once enlightened and amused by the fruits of his ingenious labors. One part, and that a very important part, of these labors, is already lost. His first act upon being arrested, was, to order his servant to destroy the model of the Acropolis, which with much care and fidelity he had executed. It contained every detail of that once magnificent citadel—and the total destruction of it is to be seriously regretted, as neither he nor any other person will in future have an equally free access to every part of the modern fortress. ———He says that he had engaged to furnish half a dozen large views for you, and a topographical sketch of the country. But neither his mind nor his body are sufficiently at liberty to proceed with these at present, were the sketches even before him.——— He has drawn for me a few costumes of the country—views of architecture I do not want so long as PRÉAUX is with me.

PHER HAWKINS, Bart. The observations of no traveller in Greece are more correct and detailed than those of Mr. HAWKINS. During the space of five years' peregrination, there were few objects in the wide field of enquiry which that country presents, unattended to by him: in particular, his acquaintance with the natural history and geography of Greece is very perfect and extensive. It is exceedingly to be regretted that the excessive modesty of this gentleman has hitherto prevented the public from deriving due advantage from his various and correct information. (ED.)

Under every point of view, the liberty of this man is extremely desirable. His talents may be useful to you and to the world; whereas if he remains much longer in his present confinement, deprived of the exercise to which he was habituated, tormented in mind, and languishing under the consequences of a painful operation, every thing is lost.....I confess I feel much interested in his behalf.

* * * [*Hiatus.*] * * *

———The *ferman* should contain an express permission to visit the fortress, or something tantamount in general terms—and I am informed that, in these times, I shall be subject to the same objections in Candia, Rhodes, and on the coast of Caramania, unless you take upon you to obviate them, by sending me another *ferman*, by the first opportunity, in terms more detailed and more extensive, recommending me to the governors of fortresses and of all other places, and licensing me to examine with attention every thing wherever I go, and if possible to dig, &c. The Vaïvoda told me that in consequence of the private letters which I had for him, he would endeavour to procure me these facilities, which otherwise my *ferman* would hardly entitle me to in these times—as it was not sufficiently ample and authoritative.———I will, therefore, be obliged to you to take this into consideration, and to forward to me another *ferman* not liable to the same objection, and which may defy the caprice of those to whom I may be ordered to shew it.———The entrance into the Acropolis is not absolutely refused to me, but I find now and then obstacles to my researches.

I beg pardon for giving you so much trouble, but you will feel it natural that I should wish to remove those obstacles which thwart the pleasurable or profitable prosecution of my travels.

I am, dear Sir, &c.

J. T.

LXII.

To Mrs. TWEDDELL.

ATHENS, 1st February, 1795.

MY DEAR MOTHER,

————————I find here every day something new to see and to admire. The antiquities of Athens give the highest ideas of the perfection to which human talent is capable of attaining. My companion* is diligently employed in copying them, and I have already some very fine drawings of them in my portfolio. I have taken three chambers, and a kitchen annexed to them, in the house of a *protégé* of the english nation.† My servant dresses dinner, and in a very excellent way. As for me, I continue to adhere to a diet which I have hitherto found so salutary—cabbages, potatos, cauliflowers, milk, eggs, and fruit, are my daily food; and, since the day that I abandoned flesh-meat, I have hardly had to complain of even so slight an indisposition as a head-ache. I am much cooler; I require less sleep; and support fatigue and heat without the slightest inconvenience—which has not been the case of any other of my countrymen in this climate. To my dinner my servant has only to make a small addition of a more substantial nature for Mons. Préaux; and so we live, very economically, and very philosophically; solely intent upon the great objects which surround us. We rise early, and dine at five o'clock—the whole interval is employed in drawing, on one hand, and on the other, in considering the scenes of ancient renown, the changes which

* Mons. Préaux, (see Letters LVII, LVIII.) † Mr. Spiridion Logotheti.

they have undergone, and the marks which yet distinguish them. I shall certainly have the most valuable collection of drawings of this country which was ever carried out of it. Not only they will be valuable, as bringing to my own recollection the scenes which I have visited, and as conveying an exact and excellent idea of them to my friends in England; but, exclusively of that great consideration, they will be an object of solid and intrinsic price. My principal collection will be uniform, of drawings about 30 inches long. I shall have *ten* large ones, of the main temples and other most interesting objects of Greece, which will be about four feet and a half, or near five feet: one of these large ones is already finished, and a great part of the smaller size. Those of the large dimension *are richly worth thirty guineas a piece*—so that you will easily imagine nothing but the reunion of many extraordinary circumstances could have enabled me to be attended by a person capable in other times of turning his talent to such account. But, at Constantinople, Mons. PRÉAUX had not employment; both Italy and France are too much convulsed to suffer him to return into either country. I assure you a great part of the pleasure which I receive from this part of my travels, results from the idea of *that* which I shall be able to convey to you and to my father on my return. We shall thus, I hope, all travel over the same ground together. Believe me, I begin to feel the interval very long which separates us. It is now more than three years since I took leave of Threepwood, and of so many objects which that place contains that are most dear to me. On leaving England I hoped that in about that time I should be returned, or nearly so; but the times have been most unfavorable—and events impossible to foresee. What consoles me is, that you will be convinced I have neglected nothing to draw profit out of every circumstance during the period that has separated us. I am still in hope that a year more will see me in England; and I am persuaded that you will then agree,

that since a series of different events has contributed to give a more wide extension to my tour, I should have done ill to pass hastily and without sufficient attention through the different countries, solely to make the time of my return minutely square with that which I originally proposed to myself.

I have been now here near five weeks; I shall stay two months more—*it is impossible to exhaust Athens in less time*: and, should I ever give any thing to the public upon this country, it is important that this city especially should be examined with the most rigorous detail; and that every object of interest should be illustrated by engravings, from drawings made upon the spot. I then propose to visit the most remarkable places of the Peloponnesus and of Bœotia, and the islands of the Archipelago; from whence I shall go to Smyrna, which is the only port of the east where good shipping is to be found for the different countries of Europe. When at Smyrna you will imagine that I shall not neglect Ephesus, Miletus, and other places in that neighbourhood. Then, if Naples should be tranquil at that time, I will embark for Naples; and, seeing those other parts of Italy which may be visited with safety, straightway bend homewards by the way which shall, under existing circumstances, appear most advisable. If, however, you or my father should wish me at any one moment to return to England, and to abandon the plan which I propose, and the object of my enquiry, I shall certainly not scruple to sacrifice my own wishes to yours. The fame of authorship is no longer of the same value in my eyes that it was formerly—it is added, in my estimation, to the long list of other worldly vanities, the sense of which is augmented by every day and almost every hour that passes over me. I would never consent to publish any thing that I myself felt to be very imperfect—but on the other hand, I would readily agree to abandon any prospect of literary success for the remotest hope of con-

tributing to your and to my father's satisfaction. There are few things to which I now attach any extraordinary value; and, when I recollect the ardor with which I once meditated upon different little projects of vanity and ambition, all of which now are dead within me, I sometimes think that you will find me changed in more than one respect from what you knew me. But, provided that you and my father are content with the plan which I have given you; such, I think, it is likely to remain, for the greater part—and I flatter myself that when once again we are reunited, we shall long remain so, at least, with few intervals of separation. You tell me that your health is good upon the whole—my father's is not likely to undergo any variation; for all which I am thankful to God, who will, I hope, permit us to converse together many ensuing years, upon the different objects which have, severally, most interested us during our separation—and then, perhaps, we shall none of us regret that a few months more were added to an absence which, however sometimes painful, will in the end I trust, prove to have been salutary and useful. Adieu, my very dear mother.

Believe me to be, ever,
Your tenderly affectionate Son,
J. J.

Tell JANE, and JANE DUNN* that I enquired after their health. ——I will write to you by every opportunity; in the mean time, be assured that I take every care of my health; which is, thank God, as uniformly vigorous as when I first left you to go to school. I hope my friend ROBERT reads diligently: tell him that I shall assail him with questions when I return, and I advise him to put himself in a condition to reply to them.

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* These were two old and faithful servants of the family; the latter of whom is still alive, and adorning her station in life with many exemplary virtues. (ED.)

LXIII.

To JAMES LOSH, Esquire.

Athens, 1st February, 1799.

The uncertainty of our correspondence, my dear Losh, is a great check to it. I have now been here five weeks, which has appeared a much less time to me—the remains of the ancient temples are so magnificent, and every foot of earth here has been so renowned, as being the scene of some classic exploit, that you will easily conceive this. But what vexes me is, that I receive no intelligence of you and other friends. Since I left Constantinople I hear of nobody—and that is the fault of nobody. In this barbarous country there is no established communication between one part and another; I expect, however, letters from Constantinople every moment—and I hope there will be one from you. The same difficulty attends those despatches which I would wish to send to England. I merely risk this letter at a venture, to tell you that I am well, and that I often think of you. No day ever passes that I do not reflect upon the pleasure which I shall have in conversing with you upon what I have seen and felt since we parted.—— I have already collected a great variety of inscriptions here; and persuade myself that I have ascertained with tolerable exactness many situations which have been mis-calculated by the Abbé Barthelemy,* in his map of ancient Athens. My collection of

* J. J. Barthelemy—was born in 1716, at Cassis, near Aubagne, a small town between Marseille and Toulon. He received his education principally in the College of the

drawings augments from day to day. Mr. PRÉAUX has just finished a general view of the Acropolis, and of the Pantheon of

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Oratory at Marseille, under the immediate tuition of father RAYNAUD, a man of distinguished attainments, and afterwards attended the lectures on philosophy and divinity in the College of the Jesuits in that city. His juvenile exercises gave early indications of his talents and future celebrity, and an extraordinary diffidence and bashfulness marked the character of his youth. In 1753, he was appointed to the office of keeper of the medals in the cabinet of the king—a place that he filled with eminent advantage to that institution, which was extensively enriched by his science and great exertions. Through the interest of the Duke of CHOISEUL (in whose retinue he had visited Italy, and made large acquaintance with the antiquities, works of art, and learned characters in that country) he was, in 1765, made treasurer of the Abbey of St. Martin de Tours, and in 1768 received the appointment of secretary-general of the swiss regiments. M. BARTHELEMY had twice offered to him, and twice declined, the honorable and profitable office of perpetual secretary to the Academy of *Belles-lettres*; and in 1789 he was elected a member of the French Academy, under circumstances highly flattering to him, and after having, with his accustomed modesty, studiously endeavoured to evade the acceptance of that public distinction. The indiscriminate rage of the Revolution involved in its vortex the fortunes of this amiable and accomplished scholar, and on 2nd of September, 1793, at the age of 77 years, he was arrested, and committed a prisoner to the Madelonettes. His confinement, however, was not of long duration, as he appears to have been released in the following year, in a manner which is certainly honorable to Mons. PARÉ, at that time Minister of the Interior: but the shock which his feelings, and probably his health, sustained by his participation in the suffering of that dreadful crisis, seems to have hastened his death. Not many days after he had regained his liberty, being engaged in reading HORACE, he seemed to fall into a slumber, which proved to be the prelude of approaching death: he died in the month of April, 1794. The terms in which he alludes (see *Memoirs* of himself) to the calamities of his latter days are very affecting—"Since that time (says he) beaten almost incessantly by the revolutionary tempest; oppressed by the weight of years and infirmities; stripped of all that I possessed, deprived every day of some one of the dearest of my friends, trembling continually for the small number of those which remained, my life has been only a series of ills. If fortune had till then treated me with too much kindness, she has since taken sufficient revenge. But it is not my intention to complain: when we suffer in the general oppression, we may groan, but must not complain." The "*Anacharsis*" of BARTHELEMY cost him the labor of above 30 years. Its literary merits are thus sketched by the Baron DE GRIMM—*Ce grand ouvrage vient enfin d'être publié, et ne paroit pas indigne de la haute attente qu'on en avoit conçue. Ce n'est ni un pöeme ni un roman: l'erudition semble*

Hadrian, near five feet long; it is richly worth thirty guineas, for the beauty of the coloring and the perfection of detail in the architecture. By the greatest hazard in the world I met with ten sheets of vellum paper of this large size at Constantinople; my other paper is of smaller dimensions: the usual length of my drawings (exclusively of general views) is thirty inches—a size which, with a view to the uniformity of a large collection, has many advantages.

I am, ever,

Your sincere friend,

J. T.

LXIV.

To FRANCIS TWEDDELL, Esquire.

Athens, 16th February, 1799.

MY DEAR FATHER,

———The winter here has been various.—We have had weather unusually cold for the climate of Athens, though not approaching the rigor of a Northumbrian sky; this only lasted about fifteen days; since which time we have had most delightful spring weather, and some days even sultry. I continue my occupations—

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y tenir l'imagination par la lisière; mais il étoit difficile de rassembler dans un cadre plus interessant tout ce que l'on sait, et tout ce que l'on a pu deviner sur l'histoire, les mœurs; les usages et les arts de la Greece." (Ed.)

there is an abundant crop, and the promise of a rich harvest—at least, I can answer for the diligence of the reapers. From sun-rise till eleven o'clock at night we labour uniformly: Mr. PRÉAUX in copying every thing which is to be copied, and I in determining the locality of ancient buildings, and in describing and comparing what is with what was. I am highly satisfied with our several progress. Notwithstanding the four years' residence of Mr. STUART, and the laborious investigations of Mons. LE ROY,* I persuade myself that my drawings will represent many objects in a new and much better light, than those of either one or the other, and that there will be a wide difference in the taste with which the points of view, especially the general ones, are chosen, and in the accuracy of perspective. I also flatter myself with being able, before I leave Athens, to correct many imperfections in the map* of these environs, which the Abbé BARTHELEMY has published in the *Travels of the Younger Anacharsis.* Exclusively of much curious exhibition of antient architecture in its highest perfection,

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* JULIEN DAVID LE ROY—was the son of a celebrated watchmaker, and raised himself by his superior merit to be a member of the National Institute of Paris. He devoted his talents to the study of architecture, and professed the principles of it with distinction. He travelled much, and published the fruits of his researches in various works; one of his principal productions is entituled "*Ruines des plus beaux Monumens de la Greece,*" 1758, folio. A second edition was published in 1769. This work was the occasion of his being elected a member of the Academy of Inscriptions. He was a man of great modesty and active benevolence. He died at Paris, January 1803, aged 75. (See "*Nouv. Dict. Historiq.*" vol. x. p. 623.)

* The disappearance of this part of Mr. TWEDDELL's collection has been made good, and his original project, so far as relates to athenian topography (alluded to in this and the preceding letter) has been realized by the kindness of Mr. SMYTHE; who, as a tribute to the memory of his deceased friend, has accompanied the contribution of the originals of those letters in this series addressed to himself, by the presentation of the plan of Athens, antient and modern; an engraving of which is annexed to this correspondence. (ED.)

TOPOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF

MODERN ATTICA

J. Smith, sculp. 65 High Holb

I make a point of collecting a variety of small scenes, representing the manners, usages, dresses, and attitudes of the inhabitants—their ceremonies of marriage and interment, &c. The dress of the Albanians domiciliated at Athens,* is particularly *piquant*, and gives the most exact notion of the antique. I contemplate all this with much pleasure, because I count beforehand upon that which it will one day give you. There is one question upon this subject, to which I must beg of you to reply immediately—that is, whether our custom-house laws make any difference in the price fixed upon drawings when they enter England, accordingly as they happen to be upon detached sheets rolled up, or carefully pasted and bordered, ready for framing, &c. &c.?

In five weeks more, or thereabout, I hope to have finished the material part of my present occupations. After that I shall make a tour in the Peloponnesus—but I have spoken at length upon my plans in my last letter to my mother.——In a year's time I hope and trust we shall all meet happily. I look to that period with the fondest anxiety—no day passes without my thinking of it.

Adieu, my dear father, &c. &c.

J. T.

Athens (saith Gibbon) though no more than the shadow of her former self, still contains about eight or ten thousand inhabitants: of these, three-fourths are Greeks in religion and language; and the Turks, who compose the remainder, have relaxed in their intercourse with the citizens, somewhat of the pride and gravity of their national character. The olive-tree, the gift of Minerva, flourishes in Attica:——* but agriculture is abandoned to vagrant strangers *————*. Yet we must not accuse them [the modern Athenians] of corrupting the name of Athens, which they still call *Atheni*. From εις την Αθηναν we have formed our own barbarism of *Setines*;" [which disfigures certain modern maps.] (Ed.)

LXV.

To JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, Esquire.

Athens, February 16, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR,

I hope you have received the letters which I wrote to you from the isle of Teno, and on my arrival here. I would willingly hope still more, that letters from you to me are on their road hither. Impatiently as I gather intelligence wherever it is to be found, I measure with anxiety the time which passes without conveying any. Since I left Constantinople I have not received a line from any soul there; and, what is still more vexing, my communication with England seems entirely cut-off. Patience, they say, is a sovereign good—but the necessity of having recourse to patience proves already the existence of evil. The best means of conveying any thing to me may be learnt either through Zaïbenti, or a person named John Xanthi, nephew of my host here (Logotheti). Both one and the other are known to P*****, perhaps to you. I am told that an english convoy has been lately seen in these seas, in the direction of Smyrna or Constantinople. But, as this information is extremely detailed, very circumstantial, and above all, very positive, I conclude it to be false. I have no other criterion for judging of eastern intelligence. I would willingly apply this way of calculation to reports circulated about Naples; which, if true, are of disastrous omen. I can give you no idea of the time of my departure from hence; because that in some measure depends upon the time of my receiving your answer to my last letter; for

which I anxiously wait. I find it still more and more necessary to be provided with the recommendations which I therein mentioned to you. I hope they will arrive in a month's time, at farthest; as I should be sorry to be confined here much beyond that period. As I shall return hither after making the tour of the Morea, I will thank you to continue the same address till I advise you of the progress of my travels. PRÉAUX has taken drawings of almost every building and monument of interest without-side the citadel.

Your's, faithfully,

J. J.

P. S.—PRÉAUX presents his respects to you, and begs that you will not forget a poor *protégé*. Since I wrote on the 4th of last month, the new Vaïvoda is arrived: he appears to be of a captious and imperious temper. I continue to experience difficulties with regard to the fortress; I mean the Acropolis. The entrance is not absolutely refused me, but, notwithstanding the presents which I have made, I find now and then obstacles to my researches. The new Vaïvoda has given LOGOTHETI to understand that, if the english minister would procure for me an official letter to him from MEHMED-CHELÉBI *Effendi*, I should then find every facility on his part; and he should feel authorised to give me all kinds of assistance. I repeat, therefore, that I must beg of you to procure me some recommendation of this nature, since without that I shall lose a material part of the pleasure and profit of this excursion; and with it, under the circumstances of the moment so favourable to Englishmen, I might easily enjoy more than common attention accorded by the Turks to travellers in general. Do not imagine I shall have left Athens before your answer can arrive: if you reply to me in a few days after the receipt of this letter, you will be still in time. I am too much interested in the above subject not to

wait a couple of months more at Athens, solely on that account. Mr. LOGOTHETI's nephew, XANTHI, is always *au fait* of the best means of conveyance; and to him you may safely confide letters for me: his residence is opposite the house of the Vaïvoda of Galata. Do me the favour of sending the enclosed letters to England and to Vienna, by the first post.

LXVI.

To JAMES LOSH, ESQUIRE.

18th Mars, 1799.

ME voici toujours à Athènes, mon cher ami. Près de trois mois que j'ai passés ici sont loin d'avoir épuisé l'intérêt d'un local si fécond en grand souvenirs. Pour partir cependant je n'attends que l'arrivée d'un Tartare de Constantinople, qui doit être en chemin, et qui doit, j'espére, m' apporter de vos nouvelles.

Je suis très-content, cher ami, de mon séjour ici, et du profit que j'en ai tiré. *J'ai une superbe collection de dessins de chaque monument qui existe, et de tous les points de vue les plus intéressans.* J'ai de plus *cinquante* petites scènes qui représentent les Turcs, les Grecs, les Albanois au milieu de leurs occupations, et qui donnent la plus juste idée des coutumes, des mœurs, des usages, des cérémonies des différentes classes d'habitans, avec le train habituel de leur vie journaliere. Je jouis d'avance du plaisir que nous aurons à parcourir ensemble mon porte-feuille. Je ne sais pas si j'aurai

ramassé plus de matériaux que la plupart des voyageurs, mais du moins vous pourrez compter sur la stricte fidélité de tout ce que je vous montrerai. L'esprit de fiction ne m'a pas gagné—je me contente des choses que je trouve sans les changer et sans les embellir.* Je commence à sentir le poids du temps et de la distance qui nous sépare.—Rien que le reproche qu'on pourroit me faire à juste titre d'abandonner des objets d'un si grand intérêt sans un examen assez scrupuleux, ne mettroit plus de retard à mon retour. Mais puisque j'ai tant fait que de venir ici, il faut bien que j'épuise jusqu' au fond tout l'intérêt d'un pays peu visité et le moins connu. ——Je voudrois que le sort nous plaçât près l'un de l'autre—votre

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* In illustration of Mr. TWEDDELL'S qualifications as a traveller, the Editor takes the liberty of introducing here an extract from a letter which he had the honor of receiving very recently from the Rev. Dr. PARR; whose intimate friendship with the person he describes, added to his own consummate knowledge, qualify him in the first degree to speak with precision on the subject :—" I know, and I have often said, that in good taste and good learning JOHN TWEDDELL was more qualified to discover and to communicate what scholars would value than any other traveller with whom it was my fortune to be acquainted. Mr. WOOD had taste and general knowledge; Mr. STUART had good skill in architecture; CHANDLER was a good classical scholar; but your brother had a mass of attainments, and an order of talents which must have raised him far above the three persons just now mentioned. He had the finest ear both for the prose and the poetry of Greek and Latin writers: and here he leaves WOOD, CHANDLER, and STUART, many parasangs behind him. He had a gaiety of fancy which must have been of the highest use to him in surveying the works both of nature and of art. He had a clearness of judgment which must have preserved him from the impositions to which ordinary travellers are exposed. His mind was impregnated with the poetical imagery of the ancients. He read the Greek historians and PAUSANIAS with a thorough knowledge of their diction. In truth, Mr. TWEDDELL! he was eminently, pre-eminently formed to be a learned traveller; and then, dear sir! to ardent curiosity, and to a right imagination, he added that love of truth, which must have protected him from the glittering ornaments and the false statements which often disgust me in VOLNEY and other french travellers. The lofty independence of his spirit, and the spotless integrity of his heart, qualified him for the best kind of information upon governments, religions, morals, manners, and customs.— ———" (ED.)

commerce et votre amitié seront toujours pour moi une des plus grandes jouissances de la vie. Dieu sait si j'en aurai jamais bien d'autres. Ce qui est heureux du moins pour moi, est que je deviens de jour en jour plus indifférent, et que je me détache continuellement des choses qui m'ont paru autrefois nécessaires. Il y a tant de vanité dans tout ce que nous imaginons, et dans tout ce que nous desirons! La vie elle-même est si peu de chose! Ce n'est pas la peine de former des souhaits, ou de s'inquiéter des évènemens. En effet, mon cher Losh, dites-moi, vous qui avez pensé à tout, pourquoi les hommes sont-ils tant dupes dans leur recherches du bonheur? Il me paroît que, la nature des choses àpart, une raison pourquoi ils réussissent si rarement à s'en procurer cette portion qui est à leur portée, c'est qu'ils sont trop esclaves des systêmes, qu'ils les veulent toujours uniformes et liés dans toutes leurs parties, qu'ils affectionnent des maximes trop universelles et trop absolues. Moi-même j'ai terriblement donné dans cette duperie; j'en ai payé le salaire. Car d'abord il n'y a rien de positif et sans mélange, rien encore qui ne change de nature suivant ses rapports avec des circonstances qui varient à tout instant. La vrai sagesse me semble dicter à l'homme, foible comme il est et en jeu à tous les évènemens, de ne chercher à rien avoir de fixe que des principes, d'enchainer sa vie le moins possible par les décrets de son choix, et d'écarter avec soin de son esprit une suite d'idées trop favorites, un systême de vie trop tendrement chéri de son imagination, trop réfléchi, trop passionnément arrêté, pour que son bonheur puisse se trouver hors de ses limites. Il faut éviter cela. Je permets qu'on ait une préférence—parceque deux choses très-différentes ne peuvent guères être également bonnes. Mais si cette préférence se trouve trop rudement heurtée par la nature des choses ou par le cours des évènemens, eh! ne luttons pas contre une force majeure. Cédons notre place à la fortune. Emportons ailleurs les mêmes principes, car ceux-là ne doivent jamais s'éloig-

ner de nos pas, et servons-nous-en selon les besoins et les occasions de notre nouvelle carriere. Que savons-nous? Il y'a tant à dire pour et contre chaque chose; le dernier sort est peut-être le meilleur. Par exemple, j'aime la retraite; et, si Dieu le veut, je m'y livrerai entièrement. Une fois de retour chez moi, je voudrois quitter la multitude, je voudrois abandonner le monde et ses tristes vanités à ceux qui suivent les cours et qui peuplent les villes. J'aimerois, au milieu des champs, au sein de la retraite, me borner aux douces jouissances de la nature, aux plaisirs innocens de l'étude, à l'exercice tranquille des vertus domestiques: C'est aussi tout ce que je désire: mais si le sort dispose autrement de moi, si je dois prendre un parti actif dans les affaires de l'état, je tâcherai d'être utile sur un champ plus vaste, et de retirer du sentiment de mon utilité, et de l'intégrité de toutes mes actions, des jouissances moins douces, moins tranquilles, moins analogues à ma complexion; mais, que sait-on? qui compenseront peut-être un jour la perte de mon repos. —Si l'on parvenoit, mon cher ami, à raisonner sur tous les objets de la même manière, on auroit déja fait un grand pas vers l'indifférence, le plus grand des biens, puisqu' elle en fait trouver partout dans le même dégré, et qu' également prête à tous les accidens, elle dispense de la prévoyance, et nous délivre à la fois de l'embarras du choix et des travaux du calcul.

Je profiterai de toutes les occasions pour vous écrire—quoique je craigne toujours que la plupart de mes lettres ne parviennent. On vient à l'instant de m' avertir d'un pareil contretemps. Le Vaïvod ou gouverneur de cette ville, de l'année passée, est parti il y a trois semaines pour Constantinople. Il s'étoit chargé de mes commissions, et de quatorze lettres assez bien remplies. En passant le golfe de Salonique le bâteau a fait eau—deux hommes se sont noyés, et toutes les effets ont été perdus—Cet accident me désole. Mais il faut mettre fin à cette lettre, qui m'entraine en

longeur par le plaisir que je ressens à causer avec vous. Adieu, mon cher Losh: J'ai oublié de vous dire que j'ai fait une petite collection des médailles d'Athènes.

Dieu vous conserve,

J. T.

LXVII.

To Miss TWEDDELL.

ATHENS, 18th March, 1799.

MY DEAR SISTER,

I NOW only wait the arrival of a Tahtar, who is upon his road from Constantinople, to quit Athens. Independently of a very fine collection of drawings, I have *two volumes full of ancient Greek inscriptions*, which I have copied, having turned over almost every stone in the environs. I much wish I could send you a small drawing, representing a marriage ceremony at which I was present lately.* I have desired Mons. PRÉAUX to sketch it for me; and his performance would convey to you a very just idea of a very curious scene—but this it is hardly possible to do from hence, unless I luckily met with an english vessel—since, were I to send it by the post, it would be pierced through and through, according to the general system of precautions with regard to all papers coming from this *plaguy* country.

* MARRIAGE CEREMONY.—Greek females, their attire, bridal dress, &c. See, HOLLAND, pp. 160—171.

From hence I am about to make an excursion to Megara, Eleusis, Corinth,* Argos, Mycenæ, Sparta, Olympia, and Patras. Then I propose to take a boat across the gulf of Lepanto, which is only the affair of a few hours, and so return hither by way of Delphi, Mount Parnassus, Thermopylæ,† Thebes, and the plain

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* CORINTH.—This once celebrated city, so identified with the history of early christianity, has shared the fate of Ephesus; not a vestige of its magnificence remains. Dr. CLARKE states it as his opinion that there are appearances to warrant a supposition, that this desolation has been wrought by earthquakes. "Such is now the condition," says that instructive writer, "of this celebrated seat of ancient art—this renowned city, once so vain of its high reputation and of the rank it held among the pagan states:"—and may we not add, once so pre-eminent for its luxurious refinements, its abandoned manners, and wanton abuse of the highest religious privilege. "The Corinthian isthmus," says Mr. HAYGARTH, "has been surveyed by a British engineer-officer, with the view of ascertaining the practicability of its defense."—The Historian of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* records that,—The Emperor MANUEL fortified the isthmus of Corinth with a stone-wall and 153 towers. The exact measure of the *Hexamilion* from sea to sea was 3800 *orgygiae*, or fathoms of 6 greek feet, according to PHRANZES (i, 38,). A calculation which would produce a greek mile still smaller than 600 french toises, which is assigned by D'ANVILLE as still used in Turkey. SPON, WHELER, and CHANDLER concur in 5 miles as the breadth of the isthmus. GIBBON, however, thinks that in this sort of estimate the greek mile, particularly of PHRANZES, and of the other byzantine writers, ought to be reduced to the smallest measure, which is preserved in the *verst* of Russia of 547 french *toises*, and of 104½ to a degree of the earth.

"*In mediis audit dua littora campis.*" [STAT. *Theb.* i, 335.] (ED.)

† THERMOPYLAE.—That collection of the smaller productions of the greek muse, long since distinguished by the title of *Anthology*, among other flowers of delightful variety, contains an epigram upon that feat of arms, for which this straightened pass is famed in story. The following is a translation presumed to be particularly faithful:—

ON XERXES.

Him, whom the elements in vain defied,
Who sail'd through mountains, march'd upon the tide,
Sparta's three hundred sons with scorn beheld,
And—blush, O seas! O mountains! blush——repell'd.

of Marathon. I shall then visit the islands of the Archipelago. All these places are familiar to you, as well as the great scenes formerly enacted in them—as I imagine that you have read and carefully studied that excellent work of the Abbé BARTHELEMY which I strongly recommended to you in a former letter. It is an admirable composition. The style is pure and classical, and the reflections just and enlightened. The author has given all the graces of fiction to truth and fact. I look upon this book as one of the best that have been published for a century. In accompanying ANACHARSIS during his residence at Athens, you may imagine that you are a witness of my rambles—for all the places of which he speaks, I frequent almost every day, and endeavour to represent to myself the illustrious ancients who formerly trod this consecrated earth, and to forget their degenerate progeny. ANACHARSIS tells you all that it is necessary for you to know of the opinions and lives of the ancient philosophers, and of all that assemblage of brilliant characters in every walk of life, who figured in the fourth century before CHRIST, the period in which ANACHARSIS is supposed to arrive in Greece—the most brilliant period of grecian genius, though not of grecian virtue. This was then upon the decline—though EPAMINONDAS, PHOCION, TIMOLEON, and some others were great and glorious exceptions to the corruption fast spreading over the continent of Greece. You will find the life and death of SOCRATES, the best and wisest of the heathens, treated in a very edifying manner in the 67th chapter of "*Anacharsis.*" The institutions of PYTHAGORAS make also an interesting picture in the 75th. I have seldom seen the arguments of atheism better refuted, and the pernicious consequences likely to result from the universal spreading of that abominable and unfeeling system more ably exposed, than in the 79th. But you have, no doubt, already made the same remarks, and if so, I shall only have had the satisfaction of shewing to you how much

we think alike, though at so great a distance. Whatever proves to me the resemblance between our sentiments and feelings, my very dear sister, will always be fondly cherished by a brother who most constantly thinks of you, and most tenderly loves you. Believe me I feel every day how long and heavy moves the time which divides dear friends. Nothing but the blame which I should too justly incur, of abandoning, without proper consideration, objects of so great interest as those which surround me, at a time when all the difficulties of approach were already overcome—difficulties which deter so many, could induce me to resist the desire which I feel of returning almost immediately to England. But when so much is done already, a few months more or less must not be considered. Our mutual absences will be fewer and less anxious, when we shall have met once more.—My love to ROBERT—Kiss ANN on the right cheek, and then on the left—and then on the right again—and say, JOHN sends you this. Should she ask, who is JOHN? give her a box on the right ear, and then on the left—and then on the right again. Good night, dear JANE—the attic muses all salute you—fiction is in their songs—but there is no fiction in the assurances of my love and esteem.

J. T.

LXVIII.

To JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, Esquire,

Athens, 18th March 1799.

Dear Sir,

I have written to you twice, at some length, since I left Péra; though I cannot possibly tell whether you have ever received my letters, as none have reached me from you. I more regret than wonder at this—being well aware that opportunities seldom occur of safe communication. But this once at least I venture to count upon the receipt of some intelligence—I mean when the Tahtar* shall return, who takes charge of this letter. I wait for that period with the utmost impatience, as I have already much exceeded the time which I originally meant to pass at Athens. Recollect that this same Tahtar will not probably remain more than a couple of days, or at most, I imagine, four, at Constantinople.—He is enjoined by the Vaïvoda of Athens to be here again, at latest, on the twenty-fifth day, counting from to-morrow.

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* Tahtar.—The writer of the oriental letters in the *Naval Chronicle*, signed Nearchvs, gives the following explanation of this term:—"The Tahtars, owing to their superior horsemanship, activity, and fidelity, became from early times so exclusively employed in the conveyance of correspondence throughout the wide extent of the othoman dominions, that they have given name to the profession of messenger; and although the employment be now no longer confined to persons of that nation, yet *tahtar* or *tâtar* is still as thoroughly the synonymous term for an express in Turkey as *Suisse* is for porter, or *Savoyard* for chimney-sweeper and errand-boy at Paris. Tartar is a corrupt spelling." Some significant allusions to the couriers and guides of that nation are to be found in Holland's *Travels*, p. 203. (Ed.)

Mr. THORNTON* having to send me different articles which I have requested him to procure for me, I have instructed the Tahtar to inform him of the day fixed for his return; and upon his acquainting you with it, you will be so good as to commit to him whatever you may have for me, and he will enclose every thing in the same parcel. If you can conveniently spare me a few english newspapers, it would be a very acceptable present.—— My last letter contained so much upon the subject of FAUVEL, with regard to the drawings you wished to procure of him, and with regard to the medals for which I offered to negotiate with him in your behalf, that I can add nothing thereto.† As for drawings, he has none that are finished, nor can he possibly employ himself in that way, situated as he is. If you wish to occupy him, his liberty is as essential to such a purpose, as it would be highly prized and gratefully acknowledged, if you succeed in procuring it for him. In such case, I have little doubt of being able to

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* THOMAS THORNTON, Esq.—author of "*the present state of Turkey.*" The obituary of a respectable Miscellany presents the following sketch of this gentleman's character:—Mr. T. had resided fourteen years in the british factory at Constantinople, and about fifteen months at Odessa, in Russia, on the coast of the Black-Sea. He made several excursions to the provinces of Anatolia, and to the islands of the Archipelago. He had particularly viewed the Troad with a critical eye; and had made some remarks on that subject in one of the periodical journals, which a profound scholar need not have blushed to own. Though he had been educated in mercantile habits, his mind was of a higher cast than those habits are usually found to supply.—A few months before his death, Mr. THORNTON had been appointed consul-general in Egypt by the Levant Company, and he was about to take his departure for Alexandria, when a pulmonary complaint, which had for some time previously to his decease assumed a menacing aspect, plunged him into an untimely grave. Whilst at Constantinople, he had married the daughter of an Armenian resident in that city, which lady accompanied him to this country, and by whom he has left a numerous family." [*New Monthly Magazine*, May, 1814.] (ED.)

† See Letter LX.—(to Mr. SMYTHE.)

make a tolerably good bargain for any medals which you may be desirous to purchase. On my arrival here, he gave me to understand that his portfolio contained next to nothing of a finished nature. This assurance, however, was only the effect of that fear which he entertained of his papers being taken by surprise. He had been given to understand that this was meditated. By degrees, however, he withdrew different drawings from their secret lurking places, till he assured me that he had not one more of any kind whatever remaining. By this means *between forty and fifty drawings of different kinds have stepped from his portfolio into mine*, which is mightily embellished by so rich an acquisition. I am partly indebted for this fortunate circumstance to his want of ready money—since, although they have cost me no inconsiderable sum, he assured me that at no other time would he have ceded to me so great a number, among which were several of which he has retained no copy. But I must take my leave of you.

I am, &c. &c.

J. T.

LXIX.

To THOMAS BIGGE, Esquire.

Athenes, ce 18th Mars, 1799.

Je me flatte que vous trouverez l'intervalle entre ma dernière lettre et celle-ci assez considérable—Je l'espère, parcequ'il est vrai, et j'aime mieux que vous m'accusiez de paresse, et même de négligence, que d'imaginer que vous mettez assez peu d'intérêt à

moi pour ne pas savoir si je suis bon ou mauvais correspondant. A-t'on jamais osé faire un tel aveu? Toutefois ne le croyez pas. Je ne suis pas paresseux, encore moins négligent à vôtre égard. Mais j'ai eu du travail par dessus les yeux. Depuis que je suis ici je n'ai pas eu un moment de repos. Depuis huit heures du matin jusqu'à onze heures du soir je m'occupe de la manière la plus assidue. Je ne sais si je tiré grand fruit de mes recherches; vous en jugerez à mon retour ——. Vous monterez avec moi dans l'Acropolis,* et vous admirerez dans les ruines du temple de MINERVE† le plus beau monument qui nous soit resté du plus beau temps de l'architecture. Vous descenderez au pied de la citadelle voir le temple de THESÉE,‡ moins grand mais plus entier. La cam-

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* ACROPOLIS.—At the end of this letter is subjoined a miniature plan of the citadel of Athens, copied from a *MS.* survey, presented to the Editor by JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, Esq. as an embellishment to the "*Remains*" of his deceased friend. (ED.)

† MINERVE.—According to Mr. LE-ROY, the length of this temple, denominated *Parthenon*, was 204 feet 10¼ inches; and its height 65 feet (french). Let us convert these measures into grecian feet, and we shall have about 227 feet for its length; and about 68 feet 7 inches for its height. As to its breadth, that seems to be indicated by the name *hécatonpedon* (100 feet), which the antients bestowed on this temple. Mr. LE-ROY found, in fact, that the frize of the front was 94 feet 10 inches, french [101 feet 1 inch, english], which corresponds with 100 grecian feet. For a correct idea of the topographical site of this sublime relic of the golden age of architecture, the reader is invited to turn to the tail-piece of this letter. (ED.)

‡ TEMPLE OF THESEUS.—

"Proud monument of old magnificence!
Still thou survivest, nor has envious time
Impair'd thy beauty, save that it has spread
A deeper tint, and dimm'd the polish'd glare
Of thy refulgent whiteness. Let mine eyes
Feast on thy form, and find at ev'ry glance
Themes for imagination and for thought."—

pagne vous plait-elle davantage? le Panthéon vous y offrira des débris non moins vénerables près la fontaine où SOCRATE enseignoit les plus saintes vérités, tandis que PLATON rêvoit aux illusions de la plus aimable philosophie qui ait encore embelli le séjour des hommes. Suivez-moi, mon cher ami—je vous y conduirai: c'est là que vous verrez encore des ruines où fut autrefois adoré BACCHUS* le chantre; c'est là que vous vous prosternerez devant l'autel

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"Thou art the chronicle of ages past,
The lasting testimony; let me call
The spirit that resides within thy stones,
And it will tell me an appalling tale
Of rapine, and convulsion, and dire war,
Which thou hast witness'd. Mighty monument!
He who first rear'd thy frame believ'd, perchance,
He rais'd thee for a few short years, a point
In the vast circle of eternity;
Nor did he dream that thou should'st be the pledge
Of Grecian genius to the numberless
Myriads unborn, and that beneath thy walls
Children of nations then unknown to fame,
The Gaul, the Briton, and the frozen son
Of polar regions, should together meet,
And on thy pure unsullied glories gaze."——*Greece*, pp. 56—7.)

* Theatre of BACCHUS.—A poetic writer already quoted, whose picturesque fancy embellishes even his prose descriptions, says—"I doubt whether the view of any ruin inspires such pleasing ideas, or awakens so powerfully those interesting associations, which Athens, more than any place, calls up to people her solitudes, as the remains of this theatre. Seated in its silent and deserted area, we recall to our imagination the various scenes which have passed within these walls; we recollect that here, Genius received its full reward from an admiring audience, when ELECTRA told the sad tale of her woes, or CASSANDRA chanted her prophetic raptures; that here patriotism triumphed, when, in the language of eloquence she exclaimed, at the approach of an enemy, ουκ ἐμπλησετε την θαλατταν, ω ανδρες Αθηναιοι, τειχων; ουκ αναστατες ηδη πορευσεσθε εις τον Πειραια; ω καθιλξετε τας ναυς; lastly, we remember that in the theatre was transacted that affecting ceremony, in which the children of those who had fallen in battle were presented in complete armour to the audience, by a herald,

des Muses Ilissiades. Que m'importe à moi toute cette vile racaille d'esclaves modernes, qui souillent de leur ignorance et de leur bassesse cet illustre terrein ; l'opprobre de leurs aïeux, dont ils foulent aux pieds les monumens sans même les connoître? Ils sont rasés du tableau—Je veux que mon imagination soit libre ; je veux jouir de cette espèce d'ivresse que cause la présence idéale des plus beaux

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who proclaimed—'These orphans having been educated at the expense of the state, are now, upon arriving at manhood, clothed in their panoply, and, with the good wishes of the spectators, sent to take their part in the public affairs of the nation.'" [HAYGARTH: *Notes and Illust.* p. 183.]

"The street of the tripods leads to the Theatre of BACCHUS. It was but fitting that the trophies should be erected near the field of battle: for it is at the theatre that the choruses of the respective tribes usually dispute the palm. (DEMOSTH. *in* MID. p. 606 *et* 612.) There also it is that the people sometimes assemble either to deliberate on affairs of state, or to be present at the representation of tragedies and comedies. At Marathon, at Salamis, and Plataea, the Athenians triumphed over all the nations now existing, perhaps over all that are yet to be born: and the names of ÆSCHYLUS, SOPHOCLES, and EURIPIDES, shall not be less celebrated in future ages, than those of MILTIADES, ARISTIDES, and THEMISTOCLES. On the south-west angle of the citadel, the ruins of a theatre still exist, which had always been taken for that of BACCHUS, in which tragedies and comedies were represented. Dr. CHANDLER, however (CHANDLER'S *Travels in Greece*, p. 64), has placed the theatre of BACCHUS at the south-east angle of the citadel; and I have followed his opinion for several reasons:—1st, From observation of the ground, Mr. CHANDLER is of opinion, that a theatre had formerly stood there, and M. FOUCHEROT has since verified this; 2d, PAUSANIAS (lib. 1, cap. 21, p. 49), relates, that above the theatre was to be seen, in his time, a tripod in a grotto, hewn out of the rock: now precisely above the spot where Mr. CHANDLER has supposed the theatre to have stood, is a grotto formed out of the rock, and since converted into a church, under the title of *Panagia Spiliotissa*, which may be rendered *Our Lady of the Grotto*. Let it be observed, too, that the word *spiliotissa* clearly designates the word σπηλαίων which PAUSANIAS employs to signify this cavern. The reader may here consult what travellers have said of this grotto. (WHELER, *A Journey, &c.* p. 368.—SPON. ii, p. 97.—CHANDLER, *Travels in Greece*, p. 62.)

génies que la terre ait encore portés sur sa surface, ou dans son sein. Hélas! je ne sais que trop que la voix de PLATON ne se fait plus entendre aux jardins de l'Académie, que le Lycée n'est plus pressé du pied d'ARISTOTE. Le langage de la raison ne s'addresse pas à moi par la bouche de la vertu. SOCRATE n'est plus, DEMOSTHENE voyage, et la porte de PHOCION ne m'est point ouverte. Ici rien de si réel que le regret des choses qui ne sont plus. Qu'il me soit donc permis de chérir des illusions qu'il coute si cher de perdre, et de substituer des images passagères à des êtres réels. Que l'heureux climat que j'habite maintenant, et qui répandoit sa chaleur féconde dans les sentimens de l'ame et dans les opérations de l'esprit, embellisse une dernière fois les tableaux que je contemple. Qu'il adoucisse à mes yeux les traits sévères de la vérité, et revêtisse de formes communes d'une lumière éclatante et de couleurs nouvelles. Qu'il accorde au silence la parole, et au néant le mouvement, et peuple en ma faveur cette auguste solitude des héros et des sages.—Oh! je vous réponds, mon ami, nous aurons de quoi causer à mon retour—mais pour vous dire ce qui se passe à présent, sous mes yeux, je n'en ai pas le tems.—J'ai fait un très grand recueil d'anciennes inscriptions—il n'y a ici guères de pierre que je n'ai tournée et retournée.

Je viens dans ce moment de voir une cérémonie si curieuse que je ne puis pas m'empêcher de vous la détailler. Je viens d'assister à une noce.*. D'abord je fus avec mon hôte, voir rendre compte de la dot, aux parens de l'époux par ceux de la future. Un notaire

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* NOCE.—For an account of the dress, marriage, and other ceremonies of the Athenians, and also of the Albanians, the reader can consult with equal pleasure and profit HAYGARTH'S *Greece:* (notes and illustrations) pp. 196—205. (ED.)

s'y trouvoit tenant un registre, dans lequel il notoit les biens donnés en marriage, avec la fille, à mesure qu'un des parens de la jeune personne les étaloit aux yeux de toute la société. L'objet de cette cérémonie est afin de rendre au juste les mêmes biens à la famille de l'épouse, dans le cas où elle viendroit à mourir sans enfans. La dot consistoit partie en argent, partie en meubles et en divers appareils de femme—un lit, un matelas, deux ou trois courte-pointes, des draps de lit, des serviettes, des chemises, des robes, des jupes, des mouchoirs brodés, des pantoufles ou *papouches*, un collier de petites perles mêlées avec des sequins, une espèce de bonnet tricotté, garni de même avec des pièces d'or, des plats et des assiettes de fer blanc, des tasses à café, des soucoupes, &c. Tout cela fut enrégistré bien soigneusement—on remarqua de quel genre d'étoffe, etoient les robes, leur couleur, leur garniture; de même pour le collier, et dans le bonnet, le nombre et la valeur des pièces, avec d'autres détails semblables. Au beau milieu de tout cela s'éleva une dispute. Un des parens de la fille disoit qu'il y avoit encore autre chose à enrégistrer—que le jeune homme avoit déjà reçu quelques intérêts d'argent appartenant à sa future épouse, et que cela devoit par conséquent se trouver compté dans les biens apportés en marriage. Le parent du jeune homme s'y opposa, puisqu' il n'étoit plus question, disoit-il, des choses antérieures à la production de la dot, mais uniquement de l'exhibition d'aujourd'hui. On s'échauffa de part et d'autre; et la différente manière de soutenir la dispute de la part des deux avocats, celle du parent du jeune homme étant plus calme et paroissant s'addresser davantage à la raison, celle de l'autre étant emporté et violente, me fit d'abord soupçonner, avant que d'entendre clairement de quoi il s'agissoit, que la justice étoit du côté du premier. Ayant pourtant changé d'avis aussitôt que je fus au fait de la chose, j'ai reconnu que dans toute contestation, la possession de la chose en lice opère sur le

tempérament de celui qui en jouit comme un droit bien constaté, et que l'avantage qu'il a sur celui qui la réclame contre lui est si sensible, qu'il lui rend un calme et un sang-froid, qu'on est sujet à méprendre pour le sentiment de sa bonne foi. Il fut décidé néanmoins par la voix de tous les assistans, que l'intention de cet enrégistrement étant pour assurer à la famille de la future,* en cas qu'elle mourût sans enfans, le retour de tous les biens qu'elle en eût fait sortir, et que l'argent dont il s'agissoit lui ayant effectivement appartenu, il fut juste que cela aussi trouvât place dans le registre. La cérémonie finit par présenter du caffé et des sucreries à tout le monde.

Au soir se faisoit la noce. Après que j'eus été à l'église quelque tems, la jeune épouse parut. Elle fit son entrée, se promenant avec une lenteur étudiée, chargée d'une très pesante parure, les yeux baissés, soutenue sous le bras par deux femmes, et précédée de plusieurs jeunes gens, dont un tenoit dans la main un long flambeau de cire verte. L'espérance ne doit pas s'éteindre en pareille occasion. Le mari entra de l'autre côté avec un cortège semblable. L'archevêque† d'Athènes étoit placé devant une table au

* The original having been defaced in this part, the Editor has been obliged to make a discretionary selection from the three expressions in the french language, consecrated to the bridal state: viz. *future* (*épouse* being understood) *fiancée* and *pretendue*. (Ed.)

† The Archbishop of Athens has a considerable degree of civil authority conceded to him by the turkish government, and the greek inhabitants of that city have some privileges not generally possessed by that oppressed people. They annually elect four magistrates, who have the name of *Archons*, and who have under them two advocates, or pleaders, whose duty it is to support the rights of the Greeks before the *Vaivod*, when the latter prepares to administer executive justice. Independently of these, they nominate every year certain

milieu de l'église. Cinq ou six prêtres venoient de lui mettre, aux yeux de tout le monde, les habits propres à l'occasion; s'habillant eux-mêmes après. J'ai remarqué qu' à mesure que l'on ajustoit l'archevêque, on lui baisoit le main à plusieurs reprises, comme pour lui faire compliment sur sa bonne mine. Il se prêtoit à cette petite attention avec une douceur inexprimable. Les deux époux se tenoient debout en face de l'archevêque, de l'autre côté de la table: chacun ayant alors en main un des ces cierges verts qu'on avoit porté devant eux à l'entrée de l'église. Je les voyois distinctement. Le mari avoit sur la tête, par dessus le bonnet, un cerceau d'argent, qui avoit l'effet d'une gloire; on l'appelle la couronne du martyre, apparemment pour montrer l'état de résignation dans lequel doit se trouver tout homme qui se résout à se marier. L'épouse avoit sur la tête une espèce de couronne, consistant en un coussin recouvert de petites perles, d'où s'élevoient perpendiculairement, à sept ou huit pouces de hauteur, trois ou quatre ornemens, en guise d'aigrette, dont la partie inférieure, grosse comme une noix, étoit travaillée en filigrames d'argent, et soutenoit des fils de même métal surmontés de petits cœurs. Ses cheveux étoient entrelacés de clinquant d'or et de sequins: un collier, qui lui serrant le cou sous le menton, descendoit sur la gorge jusqu'au giron; il étoit fait de petites perles et de pièces de monnoie d'or,

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officers, who have the name of *Epitropi*, the number of whom corresponds with that of the districts into which the city is divided, and who exercise a sort of administrative power over those of their nation, in the departments assigned to them. The archbishop, when in residence at Athens, assembles at his house every Monday a council, composed of the aforesaid magistrates, at which he presides, constituting a civil tribunal for the amicable decision of all disputes among the Greeks, which gives its decisions without cost to the parties, and aims by every means to prevent a reference to the authority of the turkish governor. [See a more particular account in OLIVIER, vol. 6. p. 443—5.] (ED.)

la plupart de la valeur de cinq piastres, mais battues de manière à paroître plus larges : une chaîne de filigrame d'or lui entouroit aussi le cou, mais sans le serrer, et tomboit en ligne droite des epaules à la ceinture. Le front de cette petite poupée avoit une mouche justement au milieu où le néz rencontre les sourcils, immédiatement au dessus desquels étoient des paillettes d'or jonchées avec profusion, et tenant à la peau moyennant une espèce de gomme. Ses joues brilloient du même fard. Tous les deux tenoient les yeux baissés, et ne témoignoient pas la plus petite curiosité de se regarder, malgré que ce fut le premier jour où l'usage leur permit cette liberté. Quelle constance ! et combien au dessus de celle d'Orphée !—L'office commença ; les prêtres se rangerent autour de la table ; on lût les choses prescrites par le rituel ; on chanta, ou l'on en fit semblant ; puis l'archevêque, s'approchant des deux époux, leur frotta doucement le front, commençant par celui du mari. (Dieu sait ce que cela voulut dire). Il mit ensuite sur le petit doigt de la main droite, à l'un et à l'autre, un anneau. Un des autres prêtres vint alors relever l'archêveque, et changea aussitot les anneaux à plusieurs reprises—; c'étoient autant de présages de mécontentement et de révolutions dans le ménage. Revint l'archevêque, tenant dans la main une coupe de vin, qu'il donna à boire à l'homme et à la mariée, mais à l'homme le premier, comme de raison. Ensuite, après qu'on eût chanté raisonnablement des hymnes et cantiques, le tout en honneur d'une florissante postérité ; voilà, mon ami, la chose faite qu'on désire si souvent défaite le lendemain. Je felicitois de tout mon cœur la nouvelle mariée de ce qu'on eût mis fin à ses fatigues, pour le moment ; car elle se soutenoit à peine, chargée du poids de la parure et de la mauvaise-honte. Restoit encore une partie de la cérémonie assez bonne à voir. Arrivés l'un et l'autre à la porte de leur maison, où ils étoient précédés par des joueurs de différens instru-

mens,* là, des femmes leur présenterent une bouteille d'huile, un pain, et une grenade. Croissez et multipliez. On monta l'escalier: là encore à la porte de la salle où nous les attendimes, un jeune garçon présenta à l'épouse des amandes trempées dans le miel; il en mangea une; puis prenant un couteau, il fit un signe de croix sur le soliveau de la porte, et enfonça le couteau au dessus. Si cela avoit rapport aux esprits démoniaques, ou bien à autre chose, c'est assurément ce que je ne sais pas; mais il m'a paru que le diable y étoit pour quelque chose. La nouvelle mariée prit aussi de la coupe une amande trempée dans le miel—un avant-goût des douceurs du mariage. Elle s'en alla ensuite se placer sur un trône, où on lui étendit sur les genoux un mouchoir brodé, sur lequel elle posa les mains, sans relever jamais les yeux, et sans paroître prendre aucune part à tout ce qui se faisoit autour d'elle. La scène se ferme, du moins pour moi—je me retire, et je suis venu vous rendre compte de tant de laborieuses niaiseries.

Dans cette description vous découvrirez pourtant des cérémonies qui vous rappelleront les anciens. Je vous renvoye là-dessus au 77me. chap. du *Voyage du jeune* ANACHARSIS. ——Ces pauvres femmes Grecques, mon ami, sont bien à plaindre. C'est horrible que de voir l'état d'esclavage où elles sont reduites. Elles sont presque toujours renfermées dans leurs appartements. Il est vrai, qu'elles se dédommagent de cette gêne, toutes les fois qu'elles par-

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* MUSIC.—The present orchestra of the Greeks (according to HAYGARTH), consists in general of a pipe of one, and sometimes two, reeds, a violin, a drum, an instrument played with a bow after the manner of a violin but somewhat resembling a lyre, and a sort of bag-pipe made of the skin of a sheep or a goat. Most of the lower order of Greeks, in and about Constantinople pass their leisure hours in fingering a rude guittar or mandoline of three strings, which they call *lyra*.

viennent à échapper aux tristes gardiens qui les obsédent.—Mais elles ne sortent que rarement. Elles ne sont destinées qu'à veiller sur l'intérieur de la maison, et à faire de la broderie et des enfans. Encore les Grecs ont l'art d'ôter au mariage son plus grand charme—comme il est reçu chez eux de ne pas voir la femme qu'ils doivent épouser, avant le jour de la noce, ni de causer avec elle, laissant aux parens de part et d'autre l'histoire des arrangemens, l'amour par conséquent n'y est pour rien. On se sert de cette plaisante formule de FAUBLAS, "Ma fille, un tel te cherche, et te convient—une fille ne peut pas rester fille; fais-toi femme."—Non, les Grecs ne connoissent pas le charme des doux entretiens et du tendre sourire—L'attrait d'une première sensation, la grace naïve d'une passion, qui vient d'éclorre avec tout le même détail des soins et des attentions, qui remplissent si agréablement le noviciat de l'amour; tout cela est perdu pour eux. La possession suit la connoissance de près; point d'incertitude, point de délai; partout point d'intérêt. Tout est fadeur, et convenance et calcul.——— Je vous ai écrit une très longue lettre sans m'en douter avant que d'arriver au bout de mon papier. Je resterai encore à Athènes une dizaine de jours—ensuite je ferai une excursion à l'isle de Salamine, à Eleusis, à Mégare, Corinthe, Argos, Mycènes, Sparte, Olympie et Patras; de là je traverserai la mer de Crissa, et je reviendrai ici par Delphes,* le mont Parnasse, les Thermopyles,

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* DELPHI—"How faded Delphi's glory! Broken walls,
And scatter'd blocks, and ruin'd fragments, tell
What once it was, and with a mournful sound
That thrills the heart, proclaim—'Mortal, behold
All that remains of that imperious queen
Of cities, whose prophetic voice, sent forth
From the earth's centre, aw'd the trembling world.'"

Greece, p. 33.

Thèbes,* et la plaine de Marathon. Alors je dirai adieu à cette ville celèbre.

Adieu, mon cher BIGGE——donnez moi souvent de vos nouvelles; il y a bientôt quatre mois que je n'en ai reçu, il me semble—prenez-garde, ne me laissez pas penser que vous m'oubliez.

J. T.

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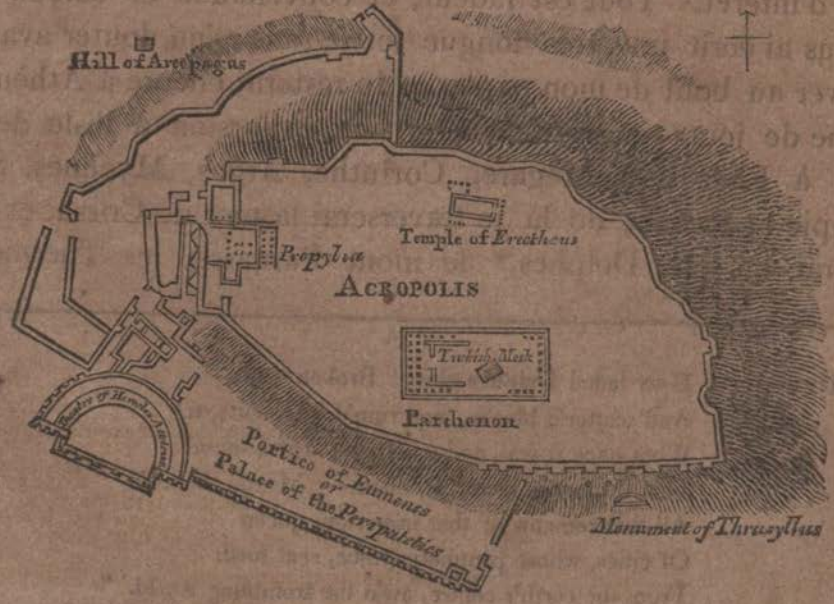
* THEBES—"Desolate are thy fields, Ogygian Thebes;
No broken shaft nor ruin'd temple shews
Thy former site; no mould'ring stone remains
To tell thy splendour in the ages past."

Greece, p. 86.



LXX.

To FRANCIS TWEDDELL, Esquire.

Athens, 25th April, 1799.

MY DEAR FATHER,

You will be surprised to learn that I am still at Athens*—I am almost as much surprised to find myself here. But nothing is to be wondered at in this abominable country, which I am quite impatient to leave. The reason of this delay is, the want of intelligence of every kind under which I have labored since my arrival. In addition to the very great anxiety occasioned by not hearing from my friends, I have had another reason to wait for the return of the Tahtar, who was the bearer of my last letters to Constantinople, and who was engaged to return in 25 days—and that is, the melancholy news we have here of the entire destruction of Péra by fire.† I fear that I am a very material loser by that fire. Before

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* Athens.—For a general description of this city, its climate, &c. &c. see Dr. Holland's *Travels*, p. 408. Of the state of society at Athens Dr. H. gives a pleasing account at pp. 413—414.

† Mr. Hobhouse says, that at the time of one of these dreadful conflagrations, Sultan Mahmoud stationed himself at Galata-Serai [palace of Galata], and was sending messengers continually to assure the english embassy that all due care should be taken to prevent disaster—whilst the fire at that moment was rapidly extending itself to the foreign palaces; and all that the Sultan did was to distribute piastres amongst the populace—a custom, he observes, "which has often been the *cause* of fires, and contributed to their continuance." Such is turkish police and exertion. The fires which so frequently spread devastation in Constantinople are, it is well known, the effect, for the most part, of malicious design; but the method pursued by

I left Constantinople, I was advised most strongly, on account of the excessive difficulty and risk of travelling in these countries* with much baggage, to leave, at Péra, with some one of the english merchants, every thing belonging to me which was not of absolute necessity upon the road; and, above all, not to take with me those things to which I annexed any degree of value. I, accordingly, deposited in the hands of Mr. THORNTON, a trunk and portmanteau, containing all my better clothes, &c. &c. and, what was of much more importance, *all my papers and notes upon the different countries through which I have passed—which were then very voluminous*—among other things there were also *one hundred drawings relating to Constantinople.* But, after all, my greatest alarm and regret (if the alarm prove founded) is for my different *Journals*—especially *those of Switzerland and the Crimea, which were composed with much care,* and which contained, I will venture to say, some very good information, and many details not yet known. Perhaps, after all, my alarm may not be founded—I have not yet received any letter from the person in whose house my effects were deposited. He had a magazine of stone, in which my trunks were placed—so that it is possible they may have escaped. On the other hand, I know, unluckily, that the english palace, and every

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such incendiaries may not be so generally understood. They use for this purpose a parcel of materials called *coundaks,* which consist of a small bundle of splinters of pine-wood, in the middle of which is a piece of *amadoue* (fungus rendered combustible), wrapt up in cotton dipt in sulphur. This they secretly place behind a door which they find open, or in a window; and, having put fire to it, abscond. No more is necessary to cause the most terrible ravages in a city, where the houses being built of wood and painted with oil of aspic, are easily reduced to ashes by any villain who chooses to make the attempt. [See DE TOTT's *Memoirs,* I. p. 133.] (ED.)

* For a practical and minute account of the method of travelling in Turkey, see HOLLAND, p. 203. (*Note.*)

thing belonging to it, the german and spanish palaces, with all their appurtenances, are reduced to ashes; and the house of Mr. THORNTON, who had the care of my property, was yet nearer to the centre of the fire than any of these palaces—and the german palace, I should add, had also a magazine of stone (which is burnt) containing valuables belonging to the Internuncio* and to the

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* BARON DE HERBERT—The austrian minister residing at the Othman Porte, with the peculiar title of "Internuncio;" to whom Mr. TWEDDELL was largely indebted for the most constant kindness and hospitality. This personage was of irish extraction, and a descendant, in a direct line, from Sir WILLIAM HERBERT, created Earl of Pembroke by King EDWARD VI. in 1551, as may be seen by his pedigree, inserted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for November 1802 (page 1012). The Internuncio died in that office, generally esteemed and lamented, and was buried in the latin conventual church of St. MARY, situated in that suburb of Galata called Péra; where his tomb is marked, and his talents and virtues deservedly commemorated, by the following epitaph:—

D. O. M.
S. V.
PIIS PETRI PHILIPPI L. BARONIS AB HERBERT-RATHKEALE
MANIBUS SACRUM
ROMANI IMPERII CÆSARIS AUGUSTI AB INTIMIS CONSILIIS AC LUSTRIS
FERÈ V AD OTTOM. PORTAM INTERNUNTIUS
OLIM IN CONGRESSU PACIS TESCHINENSIS
OPERAM SUAM EGREGIÈ ADHIBUIT
POSTEA IPSE LEGATUS SISTOVII BELLUM CUM TURCIS HAUD
SECUNDO OMINE MIRUM IN MODUM COMPOSUIT
FRÆNATA PIRATARUM ARROGANTIA PONTUM EUXINUM NAVIBUS
AUSTRIÆ APERUIT MERCATURAM FOVIT PROMOVIT
MORUM CASTIGATOR ÆQUUS FACILIS COMIS
INGENII ACUMINE CANDORE ANIMI RELIGIONE DOCTRINÂ
AMORE PATRIO VIRTUTIBUS EXIMIUS
OPTUMI PATRIS-FAMILIAS EXEMPLAR
INOPINATÈ EHEU! 68MO. VITÆ ANNO HUMANO GENERE EREPTUM
LUGENT CONJUX PROLES PATRIA SUBJECTI BONI OMNES
ÆTERNUM PLORATURI FUISSE MORTALEM
OBIIT VII KAL. MART. ANNO A CHR. NAT. CIↃDCCCII

nation, to the amount of a million of piastres. This makes me tremble. I fear that I have lost the fruits (not all the fruits, but a great part) of three years and a half of unremitted application to every object of curiosity that has come before me. I cannot, however, blame myself—it would have been highly imprudent to have dragged about with me from place to place papers of that importance—and as for having two journals, that was a matter of utter impossibility—as it would *have required half a year of constant writing to transcribe the principal part of what I had already written*; during which time I must have neglected all fresh sources of intelligence. I once thought of attempting this, but a very short experience shewed me the impracticability of it. No: this is one of the misfortunes which I must endeavour to bear with a good grace. It increases the desire which I already had of returning home, as soon as I possibly can. I shall abridge my plans as much as possible, and only visit those places which I should merit reproach in having neglected whilst upon the spot. I am quite impatient to revisit Threepwood, and after so much fatigue to have a little quiet and repose. I think of you all every day that passes, and many times in the day: my health continues good. My collection of drawings of Athens is the most complete, without any doubt, of all those that have ever been carried out of the country. My portfolio *contains fifty views of Constantinople and its environs, more valuable than the hundred which I imagine to be lost; fifty more of the Crimea, which are not burnt, I know; forty views of Athens; and one hundred and fifty drawings*, respecting the *ceremonies*, and *usages*, and *dresses* of the people of this country.——My next letter will be dated Patras.

I am, &c.

J. T.

LXXI.

To Mrs. WARD.*

ATHENS, 1st May, 1799.

OUR correspondence, my dear friend, is not very frequent—I do not advance great pretensions to punctuality on my side; and on yours, if you have such pretensions, at least, I know nothing of them.——I am quite out of humour with a country which cuts me off from all kind of intercourse with those whom I love and esteem. I have received, lately, every kind of mortification—and have only a small portion of patience remaining—not enough, I am quite sure, to carry me through the remainder of my tour. I devoutly wish I were at last quietly transported into England; I am weary, and fatigued, and disgusted. I must tell you of a misfortune which has befallen me: during the three years and a half which had intervened between my arrival at Hamburg and my departure from Constantinople, *I had registered the occurrences of every day with much minuteness.* I had neglected no species of information, and had collected a variety of details very interesting, and some, little known. My papers and notes of this kind were become *voluminous.*

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* The subject of this letter being so nearly the same, in all respects, with that of the preceding, it is necessary to apologize for the introduction of it, by requesting the reader to regard it in the light of an additional *evidence* purposely brought forward in illustration of the *nature* and *value* of that portion of Mr. TWEDDELL'S literary property, which was left in the care of Mr. THORNTON, and (after being rescued by that gentleman from the fire of Péra) was, by him, delivered into the custody of the Earl of ELGIN. [See *Appendix.* Letter to ABRAHAM MOORE, Esq. C.]

I was strongly advised not to carry them about with me—and I, consequently, deposited them in the house of a friend at Péra. The whole of Péra is lately consumed by fire, &c. [---- ----------] —My share of this calamity appears, no doubt, very inconsiderable—yet, perhaps, I would have consented to lose one half of all I may one day have, rather than the fruits of three years and a half of constant application—those years, some of the best of my life, under certain points of view, and spent under circumstances greatly advantageous, and which never can occur again. Amen!—I am wedded to calamity, and so I must think no more of this.

I some time ago drew upon A——— for the remainder of the money—and of the receipt of which this letter will be the acknowledgement, in case I should die before I reach England. I do not say this because I think it likely; my health is tolerable; but who can foresee those accidents which are written in the book of fate? As for myself, perhaps, the most solid profit which I shall have reaped from my travels is, a precious stock of indifference with regard to whatever may befal me. I know that my life will be useful to my family, and for that reason I do not pray for the end of it: but I covet nothing, being thoroughly convinced of the vanity of every thing.———I am anxious to leave this place, where I have now been more than four months, and the greater part of travellers content themselves with a fortnight. I am satisfied with the buildings of ancient times, with the busts of ancient heroes, with the vases which I have found containing ancient ashes, and with all that is here dead and inanimate. But those scoundrels, called men, disfigure every where the face of God's earth.* There

* Dr. HOLLAND, in his entertaining delineation of the modern state of Athens (just published), observes:—"A rude resemblance of PERICLES still walks the streets of Athens,

are a few, however, that redeem by their virtues and qualities the remainder of the generation in which they live—my friend Mrs. WARD is one of them—God bless her.

J. T.

LXXII.

To MRS. TWEDDELL.

THEBES, 29th May, 1799.

MY DEAR MOTHER,

I AM endeavouring to bring my travels to an end, as expeditiously as I can, consistently with the use to be derived from them, and the information which I shall be expected to have procured. Thus far I have reason to be satisfied in that respect. I have no immediate opportunity of sending this letter, which must either be sent by way of Patras* or Salonika. But as this is a day which I have so much reason to venerate and to love, I will not suffer myself to be diverted by my inquiries and pursuits from offering to you my accustomed tribute of good wishes and grateful feelings. Accept, my dearest mother, from a son whose absence may be measured by distance, though it cannot by thought, and whose affection at once diminishes and extends the space which

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in the person of one of the Archons; a man now advanced in age, but whose faculties are still fully awake, and who, by dint of intrigue, plausible manners, and knowledge of mankind, has long maintained a paramount authority in the place." (p. 413.)

* PATRAS.—Antiently *Patrae*, in Achaia; of which the primitive name was *Aroe*. See, OVID. *Met.* vi. 417; PAUSANIAS vii. 6; LIV. xxvii 29; MELA. ii. 3. Also, OLIVIER, "*Voyage dans l'Empire Othman*," &c. vol. vi. p. 473.

divides us, the sincere expression of his warmest sentiments. No day passes in which I do not think of you, and of the pleasure which we shall mutually receive, whenever the happy moment of our meeting shall arrive. If you think that there exist, at any time previous to my return, reasons for the immediate cessation of my travels, you have only to indicate them to me, accompanied by a wish upon that subject. I have been so long absent, that I balance every time when fresh objects of curiosity occur, which may add a few weeks to the months and years that we have passed asunder. It is only the apprehension of subsequent regret, not only on mine, but also on your and my father's part, in case I should neglect inquiries which would give additional value to the remarks I am now making, which prevents me from curtailing abruptly the system of travels which I have lately in repeated letters explained to you. *I should not be inclined to give any thing to the world in an imperfect condition*—and when I have already done so much, it seems to me that the sacrifice of a few months more or less, however accompanied by regret, should not be scrupulously considered. It is certain that I labour most indefatigably to abridge all my plans, both by making long journeys, and by writing whatever I see and learn with the greatest assiduity. I can safely say, that since I left the Ukraine, I have not had one entire day of relaxation. I do not know what can be the object of travellers in general—they pass through places of uncommon interest after a residence of a few days, sometimes of a few hours, which I have found it impossible to exhaust in several months of unremitted application. All this country, the seat of ancient renown, is replete with objects of rational curiosity—and I persuade myself, that, notwithstanding the difficulty of finding resources in the information of the inhabitants, I shall have some remarks to communicate which are not yet known, both on the manners of the modern orientals, and the remains of ancient gran-

deur. I would willingly hope that the last letter which I wrote to my father from Athens may not arrive before this, as I therein communicated to him news of a disaster which I imagined to have befallen me—the loss of my journals and other papers by the fire of Péra. I have yet had no letter from the person in whose house I left two trunks; but as I had positive information of the consumption of his house and warehouse by fire, I had little doubt that I had borne my share of the common loss. Mr. THORNTON, however (as I have since been informed), exerted his efforts to save my two trunks, knowing the importance of their contents—*and succeeded in his attempt*—generously leaving his own effects to the mercy of the flames, having saved nothing but my property. He either fell or was otherwise wounded in the dreadful confusion which reigned during this melancholy catastrophe—and was confined to his bed for some time afterward, which prevents me from having had these details from himself. But the Neapolitan Envoy* informs me positively that Mr. THORNTON had saved all the effects which I committed to his care. This intelligence will give you as much pleasure as myself. I confess I should have felt very serious regret in losing the fruits of my past labours, especially my journals of the Crimea and of Switzerland.

The French, God be thanked, are beaten in every quarter. The opening of the campaign is prosperous—I hope it may continue. I am in daily expectation of having some news of disaster having lighted on the Brest fleet.————My health is extremely good. I believe I owe it in some measure to the abstemious diet I have adopted. A very able physician, whom chance has transplanted into this country, told me, that I pursued three plans well calcu-

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* The COUNT de LUDOLF, see *note*. Letter L.

lated for travellers in these countries—vegetable diet, washing myself from head to foot with cold water every morning, and wearing a light flannel-waistcoat next the skin. I suffer little from heat, and never feel fatigue. I eat very sparingly twice a day, and never drink between meals, however violent the heat. In short I never enjoyed my health better. Believe me to be,

My dear Mother,

Your ever affectionate Son,

J. J.

LXXIII.

To the Hon. STEPHEN DIGBY.

Pharsalia,* in Thessaly, 1st June, 1799.

When I tell you, my dear Mr. Digby, that I have only just received your letter of the 23d of October, you will comprehend the many obstacles which obstruct the regularity of our correspondence. Your letter has made me melancholy—though I have little need to be stimulated thereto. You seem to have few hopes of our meeting again—God knows—but I hope we shall. Should the failure be on my part, I could not regret it, so far as I am concerned.—But if, on the other hand, I should arrive in England without finding you there, I shall have to regret one of the few real and sincere consolations with which I flatter my fre-

* Pharsalia:—properly the name of the plain near *Pharsalus*, now called "Farsa," and "Fersalé." See, Dio. Cass. Plut. *in* Pomp. & Caes. Lucan, i, &c. Appian. *Civ.* Caesar *Civ.* Sueton. *in* Caes.

quent bile and recurring despondency. Believe me, I think seriously of bringing my travels to an end.—I abandon my tour of Syria—at least I see no possibility of undertaking it with any reasonable chance of escaping the many dangers which at this time would beset me at every hour of the day in that country. Those along this road are much less considerable, and yet this very day I passed by the foot of a mountain, where 140 murdered carcasses lay upon the ground, a prey to the birds and beasts, and infecting the air to a considerable distance. These men made part of a band of 200 banditti, composed principally of Albanians, who have long infested this country. They have been surprised, and beset by 1000 of the inhabitants, of whom, previous to their own loss, they slew 100. The remaining 60 robbers took refuge among the impenetrable passes of the mountains. At present there is little or no danger.

By the prosperous opening of this campaign, the face of public affairs seems something less woful than it was—though I am not convinced that the same degree of success will long continue. The Russians, however, will, I doubt not, shew to the five-headed monster a spirit and resistance very different to that which they found in the mountains of Savoy and the plains of Lombardy. The French have long been accustomed to owe their triumphs to perfidy and corruption. They have now to grapple with other foes; and that Providence may accumulate disaster and disgrace on their execrable heads, is the sincere wish of my deliberate benevolence. I entertain hopes for Switzerland—that fair country, which I once knew so happy and so free, reduced to the abyss of misery and bondage by the profligate *hordes* of pretended patriots. I am sorry in the mean while that MACK is a prisoner. DUMOURIER confessed to me, that Germany possessed no officer of equal talent, and that if MACK's advice had been followed, he should never have surprised Holland as he did.———The french sultan has re-

ceived a check under the walls of Acre, defended by Sir SIDNEY SMYTHE—but this affair is by no means so serious as the mussulman-politicians pretend.* All the great preparations of this ignorant people are of little importance—15,000 French are superior to 100,000 Turks. If BUONAPARTÉ fails, he must owe his discomfiture to the English† and the Russians.—In the midst of

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* ACRE.—This, it should be considered, was written under circumstances of imperfect information, and whilst as yet little more than a first repulse had been sustained by BUONAPARTE, and the prevalent conviction of his invincible prowess, not less than the natural weakness of the place, would not admit an idea that Acre could oppose an effectual resistance. The improbability of such a result, whilst it gave rise to the sentiment here expressed, virtually conveys the more significant honour to the gallant defender of so feeble a fortress, against the assaults of such an enemy. The triumphant result of that memorable siege is, in truth, one of the most momentous and extraordinary facts which the historian of the late eventful æra will have to record: in its own nature, and in its immediate and distant results, it constitutes an epoch of surprising import, and has a significancy which is stamped with a providential aspect. Among all her glorious sons to whom she is indebted, under heaven, for her present proud pre-eminence among the nations, Britain has scarcely one, perhaps, to whom she owes the tribute of more grateful and lasting admiration than to Sir WILLIAM SIDNEY SMYTHE; and the voice of all Europe substantiates this opinion. The progressive state of this city is represented in all the chronicles of the period of the crusades, but with peculiar accuracy in JOHN VILLANI, vii, 144; and in MURATORI, *Scriptores rerum Italicarum:* xiii, 337. [See GIBBON, c. lix.] (ED.)

† The turkish *bulletin,* which appeared on occasion of the successes in Egypt, whilst it enjoined in solemn language the celebration of the event by public rejoicings, made no mention of the English by whom the victories were achieved, but ascribed all the glory to "the bravery and prudence of HUSSEIN *Pasha* and his troops, led on by their great prophet," &c. There was tag'd to the above, indeed, a sort of postscript, briefly intimating, that "the english *Ghiahours* acted friendly on the occasion!" (See Dr. CLARKE iii. p. 640.)—The opprobrious name which the Turks bestow on the *infidels* is expressed by DUCAS' Καβους, and *Giaour* by LEUNCLAVIUS, and by the moderns. The former term is derived by DU-CANGE from Καβουρου, in vulgar greek, a tortoise, as denoting a retrograde motion from the faith of islamism. But, in truth and fact, *gabour* is no more than *gheber,* which was transferred from the persian to the turkish language, from the worshippers of fire to those of the crucifix. [D'HERBELOT, *Bibl. Orient.* p. 375.] [GIBBON's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* c. lxviii. note *Ghiaour.*] (ED.)

this alarming conflict of evil passions, which desolate the universe, you, my good friend, live quiet and do well. If good be the final result, that good is distant, and neither you nor I shall ever taste of it. The early visions of growing perfection which once played before my eyes, are vanished from my sight. I see, it is true, as through a glass darkly; but what I do see, is odious in its spirit, and unseemly in its form, and in all its attitudes hateful and ungracious. We are fallen on evil times; but we must bear with resignation the burden of our sorrows.—To-morrow I hope to visit the valley of TEMPE.*

I am extremely grateful to every part of your family for the good wishes they send, and the interest they take in me.——You tell me that apprehensions are entertained lest I should forget you——Oh! never, Memory survives in the plains of Greece.——God bless you, my good and dear friend.

Your's, ever affectionately,

J. T.

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* TEMPE.—"This delightful place has attracted the praises of many celebrated poets; but the most luxuriant imagination would find its boldest conceptions realized amid the scenes which nature here offers to the sight. The sublime, the beautiful prospects of pastoral tranquillity, and views of grandeur and magnificence, succeed each other in wild variety." In the widest part "it expands to the breadth of a mile and a half. A wood of large and flourishing planes, the most beautiful I ever beheld, spreads along the banks of the Peneus; and on the right, about two thirds on the ascent to the summit of Ossa, appears the village of Ambelakia, romantically situated.—After passing this pastoral spot, the scenery presents one continued range of sublimity for an extent of about six miles, where it terminates in a plain." [For a beautiful description of Tempe, see HAYGARTH's "*Greece. Notes and Illust.* p. 135.] Dr. HOLLAND gives a classical and elaborate description of it (pp. 291—295); which is assisted by an illustrative drawing from his own correct pencil.

TAHTAR

LXXIV.

To THOMAS BIGGE, Esquire.*

Larissa, 3d June, 1799.

MY DEAR BIGGE,

A Tahtar,† coming from Salonica, has brought me a letter from you of the 12th October. Is it my fault if I do not reply before the 3d of June? Surely I am neither at Bombay nor in Kentucky; yet your letter might have reached me in either one or the other country in the same time. The same delays attend all my correspondence. I have engaged the Tahtar to repose himself a moment in the corner of a chamber, which I now occupy, in a most forlorn caravanserai. He smokes his pipe till I write half a dozen words, to assure you of my health and of my regard. I am at the distance of a few hours from the valley of Tempe. I have

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* This is the last letter ever received in England from Mr. Tweddell. (Ed.)

† Tahtar.—This word, as the reader will have perceived, has been carefully substituted throughout this volume to the incorrect although more popular spelling Tartar; concerning which corruption Gibbon says:—"Mogul and *Tatar* are kindred and rival names, of which the former having given birth to the imperial race, still adheres to the titular sovereign of Hindostan; and the latter has been extended by accident or error over the spacious wilderness of the north. The *Tatars* were descended from Tatar *Khan*, brother of Mogul *Khan*, and formed a horde [*ordou*, a camp] on the borders of Kitay. In the great invasion of Europe, *A.D.* 1238, they seem to have led the vanguard; and the similitude of the name *Tartarei*, recommended the corrupt appellation of Tartars to the Latins." [*Decline and Fall*: c. lxiv.] (Ed.)

come hither by the way of Platæa,* Thebes,† Livadea,‡ Chæronea,§ Thermopylæ,‖ Lamia,¶ and the pharsalian plain. After pushing on a little further in the same direction, I shall return upon my steps to Delphi, and thence to Patras; from whence I shall visit the different parts of the Morea, and return for a week to Athens, previously to embarking for the islands and Smyrna. But I have explained already all my plans to you.

You ask me if I am informed of a tribe of mohamedan infidels

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* PLATAEA.—See HERODOTUS, viii, 50. PAUSAN. ix, 1. PLUT. *in* ALEX. *&c.* C. NEP. *&c.* CICERO *de Officiis*, i, 18. STRAB. JUSTIN.

† THEBES.—See APOLLOD. ii, 4. MELA. ii, 3. PAUS. ii, 6, ix, 5. STRAB. ix. PLUT. *in* PEL. FLAM. *&* ALEX. C. NEP. *in* PEL. EPAM. *&c.* HORAT. *ars Poet.* 394. OVID. *Met.*

‡ LIVADEA.—See STRAB. ix. PLIN. xvi, 36. PAUS. ix, 59.

§ CHAERONEA.—See PAUS. ix, 40. PLUT. *in* PELOP. *&c.* STRAB. ix.

‖ THERMOPYLAE.—See HERODOT. vii, 176, *&c.* STRAB. ix. LIV. xxxvi, 15. MELA. ii, 3. PLUT. *in* CAT. *&c.* PAUS. vii, 15.

> "Fair Greece! sad relic of departed worth!
> Immortal, though no more; though fallen, great!
> Who now shall lead thy scatter'd children forth,
> And long-accustom'd bondage uncreate?
> Not such thy sons who whilome did await,
> The hopeless warriors of a willing doom,
> In bleak Thermopylæ's sepulchral strait:
> Oh! who that gallant spirit shall resume,
> Leap from Eurotas' banks, and call thee from the tomb?"
>
> [BYRON: *Childe-Harold.*] (ED.)

¶ LAMIA —See DIOD. xvi, *&c.* PAUS. vii, 6.

of the sect of Vehab?* and you wish me to give you details. If I had with me the papers which I left at Athens, I certainly could

* VEHAB:—or, more properly, ABD'OUL-WEKHAB, whose followers (*Wahebbi*) constitute a formidable host of armed devotees, in that province of Arabia called the Nedjed, was born in the tribe of Jemen, inhabiting the town of El-Ayaen, of opulent parents, and received a careful education at Damascus, under the guardianship of an uncle, who was at the head of a respectable commercial establishment. A taste for abstract speculations inducing him to leave the concerns of commerce, in which he had realized considerable property, he entered into a dervish college; where he passed several years in religious studies, and also in polemic controversy with the Mollas and Immaams of that city. The bigotry and persecution of his opponents obliging him to flee from Syria, he returned to his native country, at the age of 40, with a high reputation, supported by great erudition, which, with the help of an ambitious mind, soon placed him at the head of a numerous party—popularity became converted into devout admiration; and ABD'OUL-WEKHAB, availing himself of the example of the arabian prophet, assumed the pretensions of an inspired teacher. It consists not with the limits of a note to enter into any account of the religious tenets of the sect of WEKHAB—a sketch of these will be given in the *Appendix*; it must suffice to observe, that the grand ostensible and professed object of the followers of that powerful leader is, religious *reformation*, or mohammedanism purified from the corruption and degeneracy into which, it is pretended, that the genuine faith has lapsed, through the enthusiasm and ungodliness of its professors. The attempts of the Wahebites to reduce their theory to practice gave umbrage to the rulers of that country; and the leading Sheïk attempting to suppress the *heresy*, ABD'OUL-WEKHAB reared the standard of persecution, and, at the head of his partizans, fell upon the dwelling of the Grand-Sheïk, and upon the houses of his relatives and principal officers. The contest was maintained with fury for three days; when the innovators, at length, drove the old prince and his supporters into the desert, and ABD'OUL-WEKHAB became the Sheïk, Emir, Mufti, and Immaam of the Nedjed. Of what afterwards befel this extraordinary person, the contemporary journals contain the following intelligence:—— "*Constantinople*, 11 *Janvier*, 1804.—ABD'OUL-WEKHAB *a été assassiné par* HADJI-OSMAAN, *musulman de la secte d'*ALI. *Il avoit profané le temple d'*ALI; *ce qui avoit excité la fureur des sectateurs de ce prophete;* HADJI-OSMAAN *resolut de venger les cendres du patriarche. Il traverse le désert d'Arabie sur un dromadaire, entre dans la tente d'* ABD'OUL-WEKHAB *pendant qu'il faisoit sa priere, et lui enfonce un* handjar* *dans la poitrine.* 'ABD'OUL WEKHAB! *(dit-il en même temps) ceci est pour venger le tombeau d'*ALI *de tes profanations.' Le frere d'* ABD'OUL-WEKHAB—*accourût au bruit; il trouve son*

* A sort of poignard or dagger, like a malay *kris*.

give you some very accurate information with respect to the tenets, the force, and the situation of this sect; at present, without the assistance of my notes, I will not risk to communicate imperfectly what I may detail to you with greater effect and more satisfaction on my return to Athens. There are many very curious particulars relating to this subject, which are certainly very little known. I have communicated the result of my inquiries to Mr. SMYTHE, who has forwarded them to government, as being of a nature meriting its serious attention. I do not, however, apprehend that there is any immediate danger of a junction between the infidels of France and those of Arabia. Indeed, I do not see how the new principles of the Sultan BUONAPARTÉ can amalgamate with those of the sons of VEHAB: the father is lately dead. I have not time to dilate upon the political state of this country—some other time I will endeavour to repay you for my present dearth of matter. The success of the allies in Italy did not enter into my calculations —I hope it will continue. Much as I love peace, I cannot think that any peace can be either valid or sincere with the five directors; and, for that reason, I pray that they may be overtaken by the sweeping vengeance of outraged Europe; absolute and unqualified destruction is my deliberate wish for them. I do not so much predict this, as I pray for it; but either I have formed a wrong estimate of the military spirit of Russia, or France will feel a wide difference between combating with these hardy veterans of the north, and the half-faced opposition of her former foes. You will recollect that I once passed a whole winter in the same house with

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frere baigné dans son sang, et l'assassin accroupi, faisant sa priere, et attendant tranquillement la mort: il se jette sur lui; mais HADJI-OSMAAN, *plus fort, se relève, et le tue avec le même* handjar *teint du sang de son frere: des soldats accourent, se jettent sur l'assassin, le tuent à coups de lances, et le coupent par morceaux.*" ABD'OUL-WEKHAB was 110 years old at the time of his assassination. [See the very authentic account of the Wahebites in Naval Chronicle, vol. xxiv. pp. 293, 371. For some further particulars consult *Appendix*.] (ED.)

SUVAROW—I take some pleasure in examining the relation which exists between his conversation at that time, and his actions at the present day.———But the pipe is burnt out, and the coffee is drank up; and what can retain a Tahtar beyond the term of these still enjoyments? So God bless you, my dear BIGGE; and grant that we may one day meet again—when my epistolary abruptness shall be repaired by the more ample details of calm and uninterrupted conversation.—I will write to you again on my return to Athens—and am always yours, most truly,

J. J.

LXXV.

To JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, ESQUIRE.

SALONIKA,* 3d July, 1799.

DEAR SIR,

I RECEIVED your letter of the 1st of May, on an excursion which I made from hence to Mount Athos;† from which I have been returned two or three days. I set off this evening, once more,

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* SALONIKA.—For a full and satisfactory description of this city, see HOLLAND, pp. 313—318. See also some notices of Consul CHARNAUD, his family, hospitality to strangers, &c. *ibid.* For Thessalonica, see STRAB. viii. DIONYS. CIC. *in* PIS. xviii. LIV. xxix, 17; xl, 4; xliv, 10, 45. MELA. ii, 3.

† MOUNT-ATHOS:—now bears the name of *Aghion-oros,* in modern Greek; and the italian name of *Monte-Santo,* among the european inhabitants of Turkey. For its antient history, consult, HERODOT. vi, 44; vii, 21; *&c.* LUCAN, ii, 672. ÆLIAN *de anim.* xiii. 20, *&c.* PLIN. iv. 10. ÆSCHIN. *contra* CTESIPH.

> "*Ingenti tellurem proximus umbra*
> *Vestit Athos, nemorumque obscurat imagine pontum.*" (*Theb.* v.)

for Livadea, thence to prosecute my original plan of visiting the Morea. Having been attacked by a band of robbers on my way hither by land between this place and Larissa, I deem it prudent to embark my men and horses on board a small vessel to a town beyond the river Peneus, in order to escape a similar difficulty and danger on my return. I condole with you sincerely on the unfortunate accident which has despoiled you of much of your valuable property.* I hope that government will indemnify you for a loss incurred in its service. Although you are no longer a collector, I will certainly take care that PRÉAUX shall employ from time to time the cards which you gave him, as often as any thing may occur capable of being expressed in so narrow a form. I have more than once desired him, since our return from Monte-Santo to give you a sketch or two of the different convents which are dispersed in the most picturesque situations over the face of that mountain. I do not know whether he has done any thing of the kind. He has, at least, had abundance of time; though I rather think he has passed it in the various species of buffoonery which suit the

* Meaning the destruction of Péra by fire. On arrival of the intelligence of that desolating calamity, which left Mr. SMYTHE in a state of destitution so entire, as even to be without a change of raiment, the LEVANT-COMPANY, with its accustomed liberality, voted and despatched to him, the sum of one thousand pounds, on the instant; judging, no doubt, or rather feeling, that, in such a distressing emergency, the maxim, *bis dat qui dat cito*, was recommended by every principle of justice and humanity. The Editor understands that government, also, after a deliberation of about four years, made some farther indemnification for the loss sustained, judging, it is likely, that the royal bounty would be more highly appretiated from not having been issued with mercantile haste, but after a dignified expenditure of consideration and care. No pecuniary retribution, however, can compensate to a literary man the loss of scientific *MSS.* and the records of laborious research: these Mr. SMYTHE, by the advantage of a long residence in the East, and extended travels in european and asiatic Turkey, had largely accumulated—with the taste of a cultivated mind, and the knowledge of an oriental scholar: these are perished in the flames of Péra, and Society has to lament the irreparable loss of collections particularly valuable in the department of geography. (ED.)

genius of his motley wit. He certainly is a very able artist. ——— The successes of Sir SIDNEY SMYTHE, on the coast of Syria, are extremely important in the present state of affairs. The Turks and Arabs have been taught that the republican prophet is not heaven-born, nor his arm invincible—and it reflects the highest honor on the english name, and on your brother, as its chief officer in those parts, that the fortune of BUONAPARTÉ has been unable to survive the first movements of british prowess. There is a circumstance to which I must beg leave to call your attention, as being of extreme importance to the success of the allies: a contraband trade of corn is carried on here, and in other parts of the Levant—vessels are laden, apparently, for neutral ports, but, really, for such parts of Italy as are, more or less, under french domination—(at least, were, till the late successes); and even when the grain is landed at the place for which it is nominally destined, France always contrives, one way or other, to draw remote succour from this commerce.——It is difficult to prevent this trade under such an abominable government—where every one of the servants of the Porte are accessible to bribes from the offending parties, and none more so than the present *pasha*, who is enriching himself by every species of iniquity and extortion. I see no other way to prevent the continuation of measures so destructive of one principal object of the combined fleets, than either by one sweeping prohibition of the exportation of corn, for whatever place declared, or if the Porte refuses to grant this, by the summary justice which the English are authorised to render to themselves, in having an armed vessel cruising off every suspected port, but this above all others, which should examine the papers and pretensions of every laden vessel, and decide upon the probabilities of advantage or disadvantage to the allies by the delivery of the cargo. I venture to hint this subject to you, though Mr. CHARNAUD tells me that he has already written to you, and shall again write, upon

the same occasion. I have been very kindly received here by Mr. CHARNAUD—who is a very worthy and upright man, and extremely attentive to the interests of his country. Had he not been so, the offers which have to my knowledge been made to him to conceal the practices alluded to above, would not have been resisted. The *pasha** of this town is one of the most odious tyrants I have

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* PASHA.—The greater governments within the turkish empire are held by the sultan's lieutenants, who have the title of *beyler-bey*, or prince of princes; the subordinate jurisdictions are administered by the *pashas*, the *beys*, and the *sanjacs*. These different governments are distinguished by ths names of *pashalik*, *mustelimlik*, *vaïvodalik*, and *agalik*. The order of precedency is as follows: first the *vezir-azem*, or grand *vezir*; next the *pasha* of three tails, who has also the title of *vezir*; the *pasha* of two tails; the *bey* who is honoured only with one horse-tail! and the *aga*, or military governor of a district who has the *sanjac* or standard. BEAUJOUR (quoted by THORNTON in his "present state of Turkey,") who was french consul at Salonica, says, that the pasha of Salonika has about 20 villages under him, from which he receives the tenths of their yearly produce; he collects, besides, at least an equal sum from casualties: he makes by *avanias* or extortions a hundred thousand piastres; and if he be covetous and rapacious, he absorbs the riches of the country. MUSTAFA *Pasha*, who governed Salonika in the year 1799 (and must be the identical person referred to here,) remitted to the sultana, his wife, a monthly pension of 15000 piastres: his household establishment consisted of 500 men and 150 horses. The *pashalik* yielded to him on the whole a revenue of about 24000 pounds sterling; and what must seem rather extraordinary to the reader of this letter, he was, in the opinion of the inhabitants, as Mr. BEAUJOUR states (to which he adds his own testimony,) a "*humane and disinterested*" *person*. The mode of life and occupations of a pasha are thus described:—"they rise at day-break to perform their morning devotions, which are preceded by ablution. Pipes and coffee are then served. The pasha sometimes mounts his horse, and amuses himself with seeing his pages exercise the *jerid*, and sometimes he gives public audiences. He then administers justice. At noon public prayers and dinner: at three hours after mid-day, prayers again, military parade and music. He then enters his *selamlik* or drawing-room, receives visits, and amuses himself with listening to stories, to story-tellers, or with laughing at the grimaces and antics of his buffoons and jesters, or with chaunting verses of the Koran. At sun-set, prayers and supper, and afterwards pipes and coffee. An hour and a half after the close of the day, he performs his fifth and concluding devotions; immediately the military music sounds the retreat, and the whole family retires to rest." Thus

yet seen in the east. The manner in which he has treated the french prisoners in this *scale*,* is atrocious in the last extreme. He has proceeded to every excess of barbarity, in chaining numbers of them together with the same chain, fixed to the neck and ancles, in confining them in damp and unwholesome dungeons, in providing food that is fitter for dogs than men; and when he found that all these detestable measures failed of the object which he proposed, *that* of extracting from them the sum of 17000 piastres, he had recourse to the more effectual menace of putting their wives and daughters in the same situation. This produced the effect—they have been obliged to pay this enormous tribute, which bears extremely hard upon the fortunes of some of them who have numerous and young families. Their chains are now taken off for the moment—but they are in daily fear of some new *avania* †; and they have requested me, upon my visiting them in their dungeon, to supplicate your exertions in their behalf. This I have engaged

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if turkish governors are not good men, it is evidently not from a deficiency of public devotion. (See ample details in THORNTON's *Turkey*, pp. 122—130.) The word *pa-sha* is derived from the Persian, and signifies vice-roy. *Basha*, from *bash*, head, is restricted in the turkish language to distinguish subaltern officers of the janizaries in addressing them. [ED.)

* SCALE:—A corruption of the italian *scala;* which is a translation of the turkish *iskēli;* literally, a ladder or stair; in a more extended sense, a quay or wharf; and figuratively, a sea-port frequented by commercial shipping.

† AVANIA.—Under this head, the same writer mentions the following fact, by way of illustration. "I knew a person against whom an annual claim was made for a room in the upper part of a house, which he had built himself. He had bought it off in the first instance; and this concession was construed by the opposite party into an acknowledgment of his right, and the *rayah* was subjected, in consequence of it, to the payment of a tribute until his death. This species of robbery constitutes the chief riches of the turkish population in the great cities. [p. 154.] (ED.)

to do, with some hope of success, as well knowing that you and your brother have been principally instrumental in mitigating similar severities at Constantinople and elsewhere,* and being well persuaded that your humanity will be shocked in the same degree as my own, by the recital of a treatment so different in its spirit from those measures of simple detention and *surveillance* which the circumstances of the time exact. I certainly have no title to request your attention to these details as a personal favour to myself; but I willingly hope, that feelings of a superior nature, the proud desire of obliging an inhuman enemy to recognize and to respect the more generous conduct of the british nation, that also of adding by an extension of the same principle to the gratitude already felt by many individuals for your own and your brother's mediation, will induce you to procure an order for the security and preservation of many innocent persons, who after a residence of twenty and thirty years in this country upon the faith of treaties, are become the victims of french ambition combined with ottoman rapacity. The case, believe me, is pressing—as they are in daily fear lest the pasha should proceed to new extortions. I beg pardon for the earnestness of these representations—but I am convinced that you would feel as myself, could you witness as I have been condemned to do, the horrible excesses of tyranny practised in this town. "*Homo sum; humani nihil à me alienum*

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* This circumstance places in a flagrant point of view the baseness of the accusation charged upon Mr. SMYTHE by BUONAPARTE, (See "Portrait of a Foreign Minister, &c." in the *Appendix*,) as having used all his influence in Turkey to aggravate the resentment of the Turks against french citizens of every class, and excite them to acts of spoliation and barbarity. PRÉAUX, the artist so frequently named in the course of these letters, was released from arrest, and preserved from the slavery of the gallies by Mr. SMYTHE's intercession. (ED.)

puto." The case of one of the prisoners is peculiarly hard.—It is that of *Signor* DIOPOLI, a Venetian subject, who, from the circumstance of having his affairs connected with those of the French, has been thrown into prison, and undergone the same cruelties with the rest. His family had no resources but those procured by his exertions, and there are now three helpless females—his wife, who is confined to bed by grief and illness, and two young daughters, in a very deplorable situation. I will add nothing to what I have said—believing that more would be ineffectual, if this be not sufficient.

I am afraid that I shall not again have the pleasure of seeing you at Constantinople, after what you tell me of the expected arrival of Lord ELGIN. I promise myself that pleasure in England—and hope that we shall discuss in better times and at the *Ottoman club** many events of the day, the mighty importance of which have agitated our spirits and disturbed our peace under the shade of those cypresses, where turtle-doves† coo over the

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* OTTOMAN-CLUB.—An association formed by Mr. SMYTHE, in conjunction with the late Professor SIBTHORP, Messrs. HAWKINS, LISTON, DALLAWAY, WILBRAHAM, MORRIT, STOCKDALE, TWEDDELL, CRIPPS, Dr. E. D. CLARKE, and other english gentlemen who visited Constantinople between the years 1792 and 1801. (ED.)

† TURTLE-DOVES.—By an extraordinary regulation of the turkish law, there is a percentage allowed to the corn-merchant in favour of turtle-doves, that is, in consideration of the depredation which they are licensed to commit. Baron DE TOTT informs us that "a cloud of these birds constantly alights on the vessels which cross the port of Constantinople, and carry this commodity uncovered either to the magazines or mills. The boatmen never oppose their greediness. This permission to feast on the grain, brings them in great numbers, and familiarizes them to such a degree, that I have seen them standing on the shoulders of the rowers, watching for a vacant place where they might in their turn get occasion to fill their crops." [See *Letter* XLV. to Mr. LOSH, p. 233.] (ED.)

tomb-stones.* Sad emblem of our mixed condition, where love and death are so near neighbours!—Do me the favor to tell Mr. THORNTON that I beg he will immediately reply to the different enquiries I have made of him by repeated letters during eight months: to none of which he has made answer.

I have just seen a letter from your brother, giving an account of his operations as far as 30th April.—I hope the subsequent reports are true, which this letter prepares us to credit. I finish in haste—I embark in half an hour. I meant to have written to Count LUDOLFF—so tell him—but I have not time. Adieu, dear Sir, and believe me to be

Your obliged and faithful humble servant,

J. J.

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* TOMB-STONES.—

"The cemeteries that were the scenes of our occasional rambles. *J. S. S.*"

[Marginal note upon the original of this letter transcribed *verbatim*.] (ED.) "The vicinity of a cemetery is not, in the capital of Turkey, judged by any means disagreeable, and no spot is so lively and frequented as the armenian and frank burying ground at the outskirts of Péra, called *mnemata*, or, the Tombs. It is shaded with a grove of mulberry trees, and commands a magnificent view of the suburb of Scutari, and a great portion of the Bosporus. There is an open space here which is the scene of all kinds of amusements. Groupes of turkish ladies stroll about the walks, or seat themselves on the tomb-stones, or within the tents, with their children and attendants, and amuse themselves with being spectators of the wrestling and other sports which are there going on (See HOBHOUSE, p. 837.) Lady M. W. MONTAGU gives the following description of the tomb-stones in use with the Turks:—Some of them, she observes, are costly, being of very fine marble. They set up a pillar, with a carved turban on the top of it, to the memory of a man; and as the turbans, by their different shapes, show the quality or profession, it is in

LXXVIII.

To THOMAS THORNTON, Esquire.

14 July, 1779.

I write to you, my dear Sir! on board of a ship in the harbour of Piraeus,* which in half-an-hour hence will transport Mr. Neave to Smyrna; from whence he will proceed to Constantinople. I am desirous that he should not sail without taking charge of half-a-dozen lines for you; because I recollect with continued satisfaction the resources which I derived from your society during my residence at Péra, and promise myself at the same time that you

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a manner putting up the arms of the deceased; besides, the pillar commonly bears an inscription in gold letters. The ladies have a simple pillar, without other ornament, except those that die unmarried, who have a rose on the top of their monument. The sepulchres of particular families are railed in, and planted round with trees. Those of the sultans, and some great men, have lamps constantly burning in them. [*Letters.* Constantinople, May 29, 1717.] (Ed.)

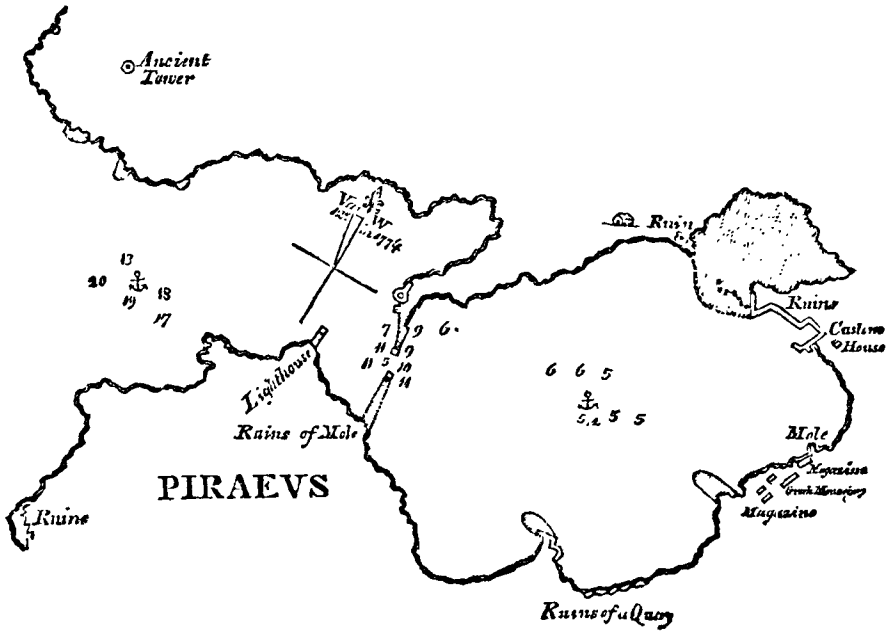
* Piraeus.—"Before the gate [of the arsenal at Venice] stands a vast pillar on either side, and two immense lions of granite, which formerly adorned the Piraeus of Athens. They are attended by two others of a smaller size, all, as the inscription informs us, *Triumphali manu e Piraeo direpta.*" (Eustace's *Classical Tour through Italy.* p. 73.) In the little chart of the Piraeus, reduced from a *MS.* survey presented to the Editor, by I. S. Smythe, Esq. and subjoined as a tail-piece to this the concluding letter of the series, the ruins of the two moles, at the extremities of which these lions stood, are distinctly marked. These gave the name *Porto-Leone* to this haven in the middle ages.

> "*Indè ubi Piraei capient me littora portûs*
> *Scandam ego Theseae brachia longa viae.*"
>
> [Propert. *Eleg.* III, xxi, 23.] (Ed.)

will thank me for having procured you the acquaintance of this gentleman. I do not add a syllable upon any other subject. There is so much noise, "above, around, and underneath," that I do not know whether the few words which I have written will be intelligible to you. I hope at least you will understand, even though you should not be able to read it, that my best wishes attend you; and that I am,

My dear Sir,

Ever very truly your's,



APPENDIX.

Five Letters from the Editor to ABRAHAM MOORE, *Esq. of the Inner-Temple, London.*

A.

DEAR SIR, MANCHESTER, 4th October, 1813.

THE generous interest which you have expressed on the subject of your friend the late Mr. TWEDDELL, and your solicitude to do honor to his memory, induce me to suppose that some account of the extraordinary disappearance of his journals, drawings, and every other article of his valuable property; together with a detail of the measures pursued to discover and regain them, will not be an unacceptable narrative, to yourself in the first instance, and eventually to the public.

I shall begin with transcribing such extracts from the inventory of Mr. TWEDDELL's effects, taken officially on the spot, by Mr. PROCOPIO MACRI, consular agent of the british government at Athens, as certify in an exact and authentic manner, the number and particular description of the various collections and manuscripts which were found in his possession at the time of his decease, on the 25th of July, 1799.

The original document, in Italian, was transmitted to my father by JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, Esq. then the minister of Great Britain at Constantinople, with the following indorsement:—" A true copy, from the certified extract of the chancery register, transmitted by the late Mr. PROCOPIO MACRI, the Levant Company's consular agent at Athens.

" CONSTANTINOPLE, 1 Feb. 1800. *John Spencer Smythe.*"

(Translation.)

Inventory of the Noble Gent. JOHN TWEDDELL.

IN the year 1799, on the 25th of July, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. JOHN TWEDDELL, of the english nation, departed this life. We, PROCOPIO MACRI,* Consul of his britannic Majesty, in company with *Signors* Dr. MATTEO COSSOVICH, Canon; DEMETRIO ESOPO, swedish Baratario; STAVRO VIONDOGUNI; MICHELLE PREO, and PIETRO TRANDAFILO; as witnesses, and with ARISTODULO PATUSSA, our Chancellor, went to the house of Mr. SPIRIDION LOGOTHETI, british *Baratario*,† where the defunct dwelt, in order to affix our seal; and, in consequence, we immediately sealed *four trunks*, a *small box*, an *escritoire*, a *portefolio*, and a *portemanteau*, and have subscribed our names.

Dr. Matteo Cossovich, Canonico. Σταυρος Βιονδογουνης.

Δημήριος Αισωπου.

Preau.

Pietro Trandafilo,
(per non saper scriv:) ⁂

Aristodulo Patussa, Cancell.

Procopio Macri, Console Britannico.

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* It appears, from original letters in the Editor's possession, that the consul being obliged, at that time, to go into the Morea, consigned over all the effects in a regular form to Signor SPIRIDION LOGOTHETI, british *Baratario*, or vice-consul *pro tempore*. (ED.)

† BARATARIO—is a barbarous compound of the *lingua-franca* dialect, common to the shores of the whole Mediterranean; formed from the turkish, *barat* or *bérat*, a patent or diploma; and such more particularly for the immunity and impunity of the tributary subjects of the Porte, called to act as interpreters for the agents of foreign powers. In a general sense, therefore, *baratario* means a patentee; but in the particular sense connected with Signor LOGOTHETI, means an official linguist so recognized: he holding such a patent of precedence attached to the athenian consulship. (ED.)

FIRST VISIT

"In the year 1799, on the 27th of July, at three o'clock, We, Procopio Macri, british Consul," (in company with the aforementioned) "went again to the chamber of the defunct; and having observed the seals which we put upon the trunks and cases as above, and found them whole and untouched, we opened them, and found as follows:—

No. I. A trunk, covered with black leather, containing the following things:—Here follows a list of various articles, amongst which are these particulars, namely:—

1 Little red journal, with 58 leaves, all written.
1 White do. with 35 leaves, written, &c. &c. &c.
A little writing box, with the contents (that is to say)
1 Journal, covered with red paper, with 14 leaves, written.
1 Do. covered with white paper, with 36 leaves, written,
60 Sheets of paper, with annotations.

No. II. A box, with a white leather covering, containing, amongst other things the following, namely:—

Eighteen ancient vases, lamps of pottery-ware, &c. &c.
Also, different drawings folded up, which were not opened nor touched, lest they should be injured; but the consular seal was put upon them in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) as before, * * * *

SECOND VISIT.

On the 27th of July, We, Procopio Macri, British Consul, in company of the above-named witnesses, and of Aristobulo Patussa, our chancellor, went again to the house of Mr. Spiridion Logotheti, british *Baratario*, where the defunct dwelt, to continue the inventory; and having found the seals upon the cases and trunks safe and untouched, we met with the following articles:

No. III. A box of wood with iron edges and two chains, containing, with other particulars,

1 Portefolio, having in it *one hundred and eighty-three drawings*, in paper, without inscriptions.
1 Paper-packet, containing *nineteen* sketches of *Costume* and fragments.
1 do. containing *seventy-three* drawings, entitled "Different Sketches."
1 do. containing *eleven* drawings, entitled "the greek Islands."
1 do. containing *forty-nine*, entitled, "Athens, and in general the Continent of Greece."
1 do. containing *eleven* drawings, entitled, "Egitto."
1 other packet, containing *eighteen* drawings, subscribed "Constantinople."
5 Books bound in paper, and entitled, "My Drawings in the East."
1 other, entitled, "Athens."
Another, without any title, containing different notes.
Another, entitled, "Constantinople," with different notes.
A fifth, containing sketches, which Mr. Préaux claimed as his.

A book bound in Turkey, with different drawings of Salonichi and Mount Athos.

1 do. bound in white leather, containing different drawings of his journey to Salonichi and Monte Santo.

1 Little book, covered with red, with different notes, entitled, "Attica, Bœotia, and Thessaly."

1 ditto covered with red, containing different greek inscriptions, entitled, "Vol. of Inscriptions." Another like it, entitled "Thessaly and Macedonia."

1 Little book with different greek inscriptions, entitled, "2 Vols. of Inscriptions." One rather less (making the 2d.) with greek inscriptions.

&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) as before, * * *

THIRD VISIT.

On the 28th of July, We, PROCOPIO MACRI, british Consul, (accompanied as formerly) having found the seals which were put upon the remaining trunks whole and untouched, we met with the things following:—

No. IV. A box covered with leather, containing (amongst sundry other items,)

A book, entitled, "The Plains of Troy."

A little journal, covered with green marbled paper, containing various annotations.

A purse of blue-striped cotton, containing *eighty-seven* medals of brass, great and small, entitled, "Macedonia."

1 like to the former, containing *one hundred and fifteen* brass medals, great and small, entitled, "Medals of Greece."

In this box (No. IV.) we found the little casket, called the "Escritoire" already mentioned, and well sealed, &c.

Having found nothing more, we finished our visit, and gave the effects to the charge of Mr. SPIRIDION LOGOTHETI, to be kept by him until some direction be received.

(Signed as before.) * * * *

To all to whom these come, We attest and certify, that Mr. ARISTODULO is our Chancellor, and that this subscription is such as it appears above, and that therefore full and undoubted credit may be given to these presents, signed by my proper hand, and sealed with the royal seal of this Consulship.

ATHENS, 1st *August*, 1799.

(Signed) *Procopio Macri*, *Console Britannico.*

The unavoidable length to which the above official details of

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* This act of Official administration appears to have been one of the last of Consul MACRI's life; as the following letter, addressed to Mr. SMYTHE, will serve to shew. It was communicated by him, among other memoranda explanatory of the original facts of this extraordinary case, with the candor and fidelity with which that gentleman has met every enquiry addressed to him on the part of Mr. TWEDDELL's representatives; and which the Editor with pleasure avails himself of this occasion sincerely and distinctly to acknowledge. This translation presents a specimen of oriental correspondence that will not be read without interest.

"YOUR EXCELLENCY, 3d October, 1799.

"On the 2d of this month arrived at the Piræus, in a dying state, the poor Consul MACRI, who had set off fifteen days before for the Morea, in company with Mr. HOPE, and two hours after his arrival in the port, he gave up his soul to God. Having therefore the present opportunity, I have not failed to avail myself of it to acquaint your Excellency with this unhappy intelligence. Y. E. will condescend to give the necessary orders how we are to act in future; and humbly kissing your garments, I am, &c.

Spiridion Logotheti."

(ED.)

Mr. TWEDDELL's *literary* property have extended this letter, though it obliges me, dear Sir, to suspend, for the present, any farther communications, will not fail mean while to afford you satisfactory evidence of the industry of his researches on the continent of Greece and elsewhere, as well as of the undisputed value of his numerous drawings and collections. Believe me to be always,

Sincerely your's,

Robert Tweddell.

B.

MANCHESTER, 8th Oct. 1813.

DEAR SIR,

IN pursuance of my plan for putting you in possession of all particulars concerning the property so minutely described in a former letter, I proceed to observe, that a short time subsequent to the date of the proceedings therein mentioned, the whole of Mr. TWEDDELL's effects were embarked on board a country ship, bound for Constantinople, and consigned to the care of JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, Esq. then minister-plenipotentiary from Great Britain at the Porte. The mention of this gentleman recalls, not without emotion, a welcome remembrance of those polite and most friendly attentions, which my brother received from him in Constantinople—where, as a guest under his hospitable roof, for some months previous to his departure for Greece, he had an opportunity of witnessing the urbanity, taste, and benevolence which, at that time, presided in the english palace.* Such was the friend to

* Mr. SMYTHE's gentlemanly assiduities were not confined to Mr. TWEDDELL, but extended to every english traveller who had pretensions, either from learning or superior

whom, as the minister of England within those dominions, Mr. TWEDDELL's property was formally consigned by the consul at Athens, according to the letters of instruction,* which had been despatched by Mr. SMYTHE for that purpose, on his receiving official intelligence of his death.

The vessel which contained these effects was unfortunately wrecked, somewhere near to the anatolian coast of the sea of Marmora; but the packages were preserved and forwarded to Constantinople, about the last week in the month of November 1799. Immediately on their arrival, and before their delivery to Mr. SMYTHE, they were attached under the order of the Earl of ELGIN, who had recently landed from England, with the powers of ambassador extraordinary, and were taken into the custody of the embassy—by virtue of what authority I pretend not to explain In consequence of this unfortunate detention of the property, the various packages, although evidently suffering under the consequences of shipwreck, were allowed to remain unopened for a very considerable length of time, daily contracting fresh injury, from the neglect of a precaution so obvious and indispensable. A note was addressed to my Lord ELGIN, through the medium of the Chancellor of the british factory, by Mr. THORNTON,† entreating

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merit, to his especial favor. Mr. HAWKINS, Messrs. HOPE, Mr. MORRITT, Dr. CLARKE, Mr. CRIPPS, and every other of our distinguished countrymen who visited Constantinople during the period of his ministry there, experienced in like manner his uniform kindness and zealous assistance in their learned pursuits. (ED.)

* See *Letters of Instruction,* addressed by Mr. SMYTHE to Consul MACRI and to Signor LOGOTHETI. [*Appendix.*]

† THOMAS THORNTON, Esq. author of "*The present State of Turkey, &c.*" was at this period residing at Péra, solely for commercial purposes, as a member of the english factory. His name frequently occurs in the course of this narrative. Some of his letters

his lordship's immediate attention to the state of the consignments which he had thus imperatively taken into his own peculiar care, and particularly insisting on the mischief which might ensue from delay; notwithstanding which, it is a known fact, that the space of nearly *eight weeks* was allowed to pass over, before any examination was instituted—during the whole or greater part of which time this valuable property was lying in the cellars of the english palace at Péra.

I have said already that the arrival from Athens may be dated about the last week of November 1799; and it was on or about the 26th of January 1800, that an english artist, then at Constantinople, received the ambassador's instructions to attend at the palace, for the purpose of viewing the drawings which had *then* been unpacked, and were spread abroad upon the chairs and tables of the apartment; he was informed, that these were the property of the late Mr. TWEDDELL, and was requested to exercise his skill in saving or restoring those which had sustained injury, from the effects of the sea-water. His attention was particularly engaged by "many beautiful drawings, views of Greece, and costumes of that country—but in a state of mildew, from having remained a considerable time in the cellar of the english palace; he succeeded, however, by great care, in separating many of them; and these, when dried, he left in tolerable condition. What that condition really was, appears from a declaration repeatedly made to Dr. CLARKE, by LUSIERI,* an italian artist, then under the patronage of Lord

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appear in this *Appendix*, but the editor has sincerely to regret that the means of personal intercourse with this gentleman are unfortunately closed. [See *Correspondence*, Letter LXIV.]

* "This celebrated artist, Signor BAPTISTA LUSIERI, better known by the name of *Don* TITA, is a native of Naples. He resided many years in Italy, where he was renowned

ELGIN, who, having had the means of inspecting these drawings (as, indeed, who had *not* the means?) asserted in unequivocal terms that they were in a recoverable state, and such as offered a facility to any artist to make copies from them; nay, more—sketches of some of the costumes were actually taken on the spot, and are at this moment in possession of an individual in this country.

I consider it a point of duty to take this opportunity of acknowledging, that the exertions made by Dr. CLARKE, at Constantinople, to obtain a satisfactory account of Mr. TWEDDELL's effects, and to promote their preservation, though unhappily frustrated by an opposite influence,* entitle him to the warmest thanks of every member of the family; nor will they be unappreciated by those who wish well to the cause of Literature and the arts.

Having now related the principal circumstances connected with that *part* of Mr. TWEDDELL's property, which was found at ATHENS, and described the measures pursued on its arrival at Constantinople; I reserve for a future occasion the account of another *distinct* portion of property, which was left by my brother, on his departure for Greece from the turkish capital in

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by his beautiful drawings in water-colours. Many of his best works are in the collections of our english nobility. By some, his compositions have been deemed too laboured; but his colouring is exquisite, and nothing can exceed the fidelity and perfection of his outline and perspective. When the French invaded Naples, he retired to Sicily, and was long employed among the ruins of Agrigentum. The desire of seeing Greece tempted him, in 1799, to follow the british embassy to Constantinople; whence he removed to Athens; where he now lives, surrounded by every thing that may exercise his genius; and where he is not less distinguished by his amiable disposition and disinterested attention to travellers who visit the city, than by his taste and knowledge of every thing connected with the history of the fine arts." [See Dr. CLARKE's *Travels*, iiid. part, page 469, note.] (ED.)

* See Letter D.

the autumn of 1798, under the private and confidential care of Mr. THORNTON.* By this gentleman it was transferred into the immediate custody of the british ambassador, by order of his Excellency, for the ostensible purpose of being transmitted to this country, together with the other property, according to instructions addressed to Lord ELGIN by FRANCIS TWEDDELL, Esq. father of the deceased.†

I am, dear Sir, &c. &c.

R. T.

C.

MANCHESTER, 15th October, 1813.

DEAR SIR,

I CONSIDER it important, in detailing the history of Mr. TWEDDELL'S effects, to establish in the clearest manner a *distinction* between those which were found at Athens, at the time of his death, and those which, on his proceeding for Greece in the autumn of 1798, were left behind him, in the care of his friend at Péra.

Without entering minutely into the particulars of this latter portion of property, let me observe, that it comprised several views of the Crimea, either sketched by himself, or, under his direction, executed by a very masterly hand;‡ *one hundred* drawings

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* See a Letter from Mr. THORNTON to "FRANCIS TWEDDELL, Esq." (*Appendix.*)

† See the letter referred to, in *Appendix.*

‡ The artist referred to was a painter in the service of Professor PALLAS. (See *Correspondence,* Letter XXXVII.)

of Constantinople and its environs; besides other collections of a mixed nature, which had accumulated in the course of three years' travels, prosecuted with an uniform and zealous regard to every object of rational curiosity, and under circumstances singularly favourable for obtaining information.

It is under this head that I must specify a part of Mr. TWEDDELL's property on which he seems to have placed a higher value than on any other of his literary effects, namely, the journals of his travels in Switzerland and the Crimea, which were both *voluminous* and complete. The journal of his tour in Switzerland, in particular, was composed with much care, had received the last decision of his judgment; and appeared, in his own beautiful hand-writing, in a state of finished preparation for the press. It remains that I should inform you in what manner the above were disposed of. But first let me pay a tribute of grateful acknowledgment to the generous conduct of Mr. THORNTON, by briefly stating, that, at the period of which I am speaking, there happened a most alarming and destructive fire at Péra, which laid waste the greater part of those suburbs; and, amongst other residences, consumed the mansion and warehouse of this gentleman, who was charged with the custody of the effects in question; they, however, by a happy precaution, had been lodged in a chamber on the ground-floor, supposed to be fire-proof; and by this singular advantage escaped the danger which encompassed them. Yet it was not without the greatest exertions that they were even thus preserved—it was the intrepid enterprise of duty and friendship which, at the risk of personal safety, proved in fact the ultimate and efficient means of rescuing that much-valued deposit from destruction.

The property so fortunately saved from the flames of Péra, was contained in two trunks, and remained under the same custody

until the period, when it pleased his excellency the british ambassador to order up out of his cellar the packages which he had there deposited, on their arrival from Athens, about two months before; and to cause them to be opened and examined in his presence. It was precisely at this juncture, that Mr. THORNTON received the *commands* of Lord ELGIN to send Mr. TWEDDELL's trunks to the english palace, with an intimation to himself to attend there, and witness the proceedings which were then to be commenced. Having complied with the injunction in both respects, he found his lordship, together with the chaplain of the embassy, and other gentlemen of the suite, assembled in an apartment of the palace; he there saw *the whole* of the packages, both those from Athens, and those which had recently been under his own care, opened and examined—he remembers to have noticed with particular attention, on that occasion, *the journal of the tour in Switzerland*, which, together with all the other manuscripts, and sundry particulars, were taken out of the trunks in the order in which Mr. TWEDDELL himself had packed them up. The contents thus opened were spread abroad, for their inspection and examination, upon the chairs and tables of the room; and when the parties present withdrew, they were left exposed in that state, the door of the room being locked by Lord ELGIN himself, and the key kept in his own possession.

Several weeks after this transaction, Mr. THORNTON on going one morning to his warehouse in Galata,* found some boxes which had been brought there from the english palace: he examined the

* GALATA.—The establishment of the european merchants or factors in this quarter of the turkish metropolis, may be traced back to that of the genoese, as described by DUCANGE, (*Constantinopolis christiana*), from the Byzantine historians PACHYMER, NICEPHORUS-GREGORAS, and CANTACUZENE. Concerning the origin of this singular commercial colonization, GIBBON thus expresses himself:—"The mixture of two discordant nations in the same capital might have been pregnant with mischief and danger; and the suburban city of Galata was assigned for the quarters of the French and Venetians."———

contents of them; they appeared to correspond to a certain extent with those which he had seen unpacked from the trunks formerly in his possession—with this material exception, however, *that all the drawings and manuscripts were missing;* these, after the most diligent and repeated search among the returned boxes could not be found; no satisfactory intelligence of them could be procured at the time; no subsequent communication on the subject was ever made; *and in fact they never were returned.*

In reviewing the contents of this letter, which completes the description of the whole of Mr. TWEDDELL's literary property, I must point out to your notice one circumstance which it is desirable to keep in mind; namely, that whatever may have been the degree of injury sustained by those effects which were transmitted from Athens, it is plain that no such injury can be presumed with regard to those which were left by Mr. TWEDDELL at Constantinople, in the autumn of the year 1798. The latter were never subjected to the casualties of a voyage, but remained from the first in the possession of the friend to whom they had been confided, and although exposed at one time, whilst under his

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"Instead of banishing the foreign factories, the present conqueror accepted their oaths of allegiance, encouraged their industry, confirmed their privileges, and allowed them to live under the jurisdiction of their national magistrates. The Pisans and Venetians preserved their respective quarters in the city; but the services and power of the genoese deserved at the same time the gratitude and jealousy of the greeks. Their independent colony was first planted at the seaport town of Heraclea, in Thrace. They were speedily recalled and settled in the exclusive possession of the suburb of Galata, an advantageous post, in which they revived the commerce and insulted the majesty of the byzantine empire."——"The empire of the east might have sunk into a province of an italian republic, if the ambition of Genoa had not been checked by the triumph of Venice. A contest of 130 years was determined by the loss of freedom and ruin of naval power; but the spirit of commerce survived that of conquest; and the colony of Galata still awed the metropolis, and navigated the Euxine, till the petty quarrel of a city and her suburbs were involved in the indiscriminate servitude of both by the Turks." (*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*: lx, lxii, lxiii.)

care, to imminent peril, were saved in the manner above stated, and delivered into the custody of the Earl of ELGIN precisely in the order in which Mr. TWEDDELL had left them, and in a state of the most entire preservation. I am, dear Sir, &c. &c.

R. T.

D.

DEAR SIR, MANCHESTER, 21st October, 1813.

IN the course of my former letters, the whole of Mr. TWEDDELL's literary property, of every description, has been traced into the immediate and sole possession of the english ambassador; it remains for me to state to you, that instructions were sent out to his Excellency from the family in England, expressive of their anxiety for the safe transmission of the effects; this anxiety was relieved by intimations of a satisfactory nature, which I cannot, perhaps, better convey than in his Lordship's* own words, addressed to a particular friend; dated

CONSTANTINOPLE, Dec. 19, 1799.

" I heard of poor TWEDDELL's fate on my arrival here, with sincere regret. His correspondence, and his papers, as well as the collections he had made, shall be carefully sent home; and I will direct any trifle of expence which I believe to be due on his account, to be paid, that no delay may arise, on this pretext, in transmitting his effects home to his parents. From the industry and knowledge Mr. TWEDDELL displayed in his literary pursuits, his loss is considered to be as serious a one as could have happened to those who set a value on the riches of Greece."

Elgin.

* Mr. TWEDDELL had become known to Lord ELGIN during his residence at Berlin, and in the *sixth* Letter of his " Correspondence," makes acknowledgment of having received many polite attentions from his Lordship. (ED.)

From his Excellency himself, indeed, the family at Threepwood never had the honour of receiving any communication or acknowledgment whatsoever; encouraged, nevertheless, by indirect declarations so favourable and express, the friends of Mr. TWEDDELL, who had neglected no precautions which prudence or zeal could suggest, consoled themselves under their affliction with an assured expectation of, at least, receiving his manuscripts and collections; and, in that resource, of possessing those means which might perhaps have enabled them to alleviate in some degree, to society and to themselves, the loss which his premature death had inflicted upon both. The confidence of this expectation had, indeed, met with some abatement, by a letter received about that time from JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, Esq. the Minister Plenipotentiary at the Porte; it expressed strong regret on the part of the writer that his good offices towards procuring an arrangement of Mr. TWEDDELL'S affairs, had been frustrated by an interference "highly officious and indelicate"; and which, moreover, "condemned him to be an impotent spectator of such mismanagement as rendered the topic a very ungrateful one for him to resume, &c. &c."*——.

This information, I repeat, had somewhat damped the confidence before excited; though it could not, of course, disturb the full persuasion entertained, that *in some state or other*, the effects would surely at length arrive. However, as nothing did actually appear, and as an ample allowance of time had been given, inquiries were instituted in every channel that promised a probability of success. The late highly-respected master of Charter-House-School,† together with the Reverend Dr. PARR, JAMES LOSH,

* See the Letter referred to (dated, Constantinople, 15th April, 1801), in this *Appendix*.

† Rev. MATTHEW RAINE, S.T.P. He filled that important station for nearly 20 years with distinguished ability and success. The benevolence of his character gave a singular

Esq. and other friends whose personal influence, and attachment to Mr. TWEDDELL's memory, pointed them out peculiarly for the purpose, were requested to investigate the cause of a delay so extraordinary and unaccountable, and which had become a source of fresh and serious uneasiness to the family—whose misfortune, already sufficiently heavy, needed not any further aggravation.

To enter into all the particulars of that investigation, is what you will neither expect from me, nor does it now seem necessary. That no practicable means were left untried to come to a discovery of the property, the zeal and intelligence of the gentlemen engaged in the undertaking afford, in themselves, the fullest assurance; let it suffice to say, that letters were sent out to Dr. CLARKE, then on his travels in the east; and that all other likely methods of access were resorted to, for the purpose of obtaining from the Earl of ELGIN such explanations as might enable the friends of Mr. TWEDDELL to secure his valuable effects. I wish I could add, that the explanation obtained (if such it could be called), was either explicit or in any degree satisfactory. Let the accomplished traveller, to whom I confidently refer, correct me if I am wrong in asserting, that his representations at the english palace in Constantinople, though addressed in the most respectful and earnest manner, were met with rudeness and rebuke; with a pointed refusal to enter into the particulars which formed the sub-

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meekness and benignity to his manners, and these united with great address and humanity in the business of tuition, endeared him to his pupils in an extraordinary degree, and gave him a very unusual ascendency over their minds. It is almost superfluous to say that his classical erudition was great and accomplished. To his intimate and almost paternal friendship for the late Professor PORSON, the learned world is in no small degree indebted for the few but invaluable publications of that second BENTLEY. Dr. RAINE died in October 1811; few men have been more regretted by those to whom they were known, and few have so well deserved it. (ED.)

ject of inquiry; with a general, but positive, declaration, "that the property had been sent home in compliance with the instructions of Mr. TWEDDELL's father; and that the interference of the gentleman referred to was equally superfluous and unauthorized."

You will easily conceive, that such being the sum and character of the intelligence received, after the most diligent and patient search, there remained little or no hope of any attainable advantage, much less of any satisfactory result, by pursuing farther, at that moment, an investigation which seemed to have produced nothing but perplexity and disappointment. Nor was this the utmost extent of the discouragement. There had still been cherished a remote expectation that the approaching return of the ambassador to England might lead to a more favorable developement of things; those who were aware of his Excellency's devoted attachment to the antiquities of Greece, flattered themselves that, in the disinterested ardor of his anxiety to secure the fruits of Mr. TWEDDELL's researches and discoveries, it was even possible that some of the most valuable of his manuscripts and drawings might have been taken into the Earl's peculiar care; and would, on his arrival in this country, doubtless find their way, in due season, to the family of the deceased. This flattering hope, however, was checked, on a sudden, by intelligence received, that Lord ELGIN was detained a prisoner in France; and when, at length, after some years' detention, he obtained his release, he brought home with him ostensibly nothing more than this—that he was incompetent to add any thing to the accounts which had been already given, of the embarkation of the property in question at Constantinople.

I cannot here, with any propriety, omit to remark, that the above declarations of the Earl of ELGIN stand unsupported by

either invoice, bill of lading, certificate of health, letter of advice, or any memorandum or other document whatsoever.* Still farther—it has been found impossible, after the most extensive and minute enquiry, to discover one individual (amongst several yet surviving) connected with the *Duncan*, personally, or generally concerned in the shipping interest at Constantinople and in the Levant, who did ever receive, directly or indirectly, any commission from his Lordship of the kind alluded to; or, who can undertake, either from his own recollection or private memoranda, to say, that any shipment, such as is alleged, was actually made of the packages, addressed to the family of the deceased. Indeed, Mr. THORNTON himself, who, from his peculiar interest in the business, must have watched over it with unceasing attention, distinctly disavows any knowledge, personal or from report, of any such transaction.†

In this state, therefore, of complicated disappointment, mystery, and unavailing regret, matters necessarily rested; and time imperceptibly passing on, the family of Mr. TWEDDELL, their anxieties partly diverted, partly worn out, were forced into a tacit and melancholy acquiescence in the absolute loss of the whole and every

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* I mean specifically to state that no *written* document of such description can be found to exist; but I feel it right to say, that the Rev. Dr. HUNT, the ambassador's chaplain, who, from his official situation, became necessarily implicated in his Lordship's proceedings in this matter, concurs with him in asserting, that the whole of Mr. T.'s property was consigned to JAMES LOSH, Esq. on board (as he believes) the Duncan, and under the personal superintendance of Professor CARLYLE. See Mr. THORNTON's 5th Letter, p. 381. See also Mr. CARLYLE's communications to JAMES LOSH, Esq. *Appendix.* (ED.)

† See Mr. THORNTON's fourth letter, addressed to the Editor.

part of his property.———But, after a long interval, the public attention was unexpectedly called, in a very pointed manner, to this mysterious subject, by a criticism* which appeared about the end of the year 1810, in the xxiiid. volume of that very authentic and interesting work, the "Naval-Chronicle." Under the head of "*Naval Literature,*" the reviewer takes into his cognizance "*The present State of Turkey, &c. &c.* by THOMAS THORNTON, Esq."—a work in which reference is made to Mr. TWEDDELL'S death in a very feeling and honorable manner; and some loose imperfect hints are thrown out concerning "the *dispersion* of the materials which he left behind him." The animadversions of the censor, on the latter topic, are marked with such circumstantial minuteness—there is such an air of conscious truth, and perfect knowledge of his subject, in the pointed questions which he puts to the author, and such a discovery of facts, illustrative of the mysterious history of the property referred to, that it could not but excite anew the most lively emotions in my mind; giving birth, at the same time, to much speculation, and adding confirmation to some existing surmises. The writer of that article in the "*Naval Chronicle*" has my hearty acknowledgments for his just and serviceable animadversions; for to *them*, and to the channels which they were the means, eventually, of opening, it has been owing, that I am enabled to state much of the information contained in these letters; and to arrive at some conclusions, which, if not satisfactory, are, at least, tolerably clear and certain, and tend to remove much of the ambiguity and darkness which before enveloped the subject. To the same source I am indebted for the means of renewing, with increased advantage, representations of a recent date to the late ambassador-extraordinary; the result of

* See extracts from the "Naval Chronicle." [*Appendix.*]

which, with a few additional expositions, and a recapitulation of the whole, must be deferred to a future occasion.

I am, dear Sir, &c. &c.

R. T.

E.

MANCHESTER, 5th November, 1813.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE already intimated that, in consequence of certain animadversions in the *Naval Chronicle* (which, however, did not happen to come under my cognizance for a considerable time), representations were addressed by me to the Earl of ELGIN, requesting explanation on the subject of the late Mr. TWEDDELL'S property; declaring, in express terms, that no part thereof had ever reached its proper destination; and urging, how important and necessary it was, that a circumstance so mysterious, and so interesting to the cause of literature, should, if possible, be accounted for; to which, it was presumed, no person was so competent, in all respects, as the british ambassador for the time then being, at the court of Constantinople.

His Lordship, in reply to this application, with that same courtesy which was so conspicuous towards his countrymen in his public audiences at the Porte, politely acknowledges the interest which he feels in the subject submitted to him, and most happy would he be to have it in his power in any way to contribute to elucidate those topics to which the enquiries are directed. His memory, however, he is sorry to say, does not supply him with any recol-

lections sufficiently precise for that purpose; though he is not without some "impressions" remaining on his mind, by the help of which he ventures to state, in substance, as follows:—

That certain effects of Mr. TWEDDELL, sent from Greece by sea, were brought to the residence of the english mission at Péra, after having first suffered shipwreck; that among them were several drawings executed by a french artist, some memoranda of inscriptions, and a few "trifling notes" on his tour in Greece; and that the whole had been so much damaged by salt water as to warrant the description (for so it is expressed) of being "in a very deplorable state." His Lordship's "impression" further is, that some of the gentlemen attached to the embassy did charge themselves with the more immediate care of the property in question; and he believes that it was sent home, either under the personal care of the late Professor CARLYLE,* or, by his direction, in a merchantship called the Duncan,† along with several boxes of presents to

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* This "impression" is not substantiated by any thing that appears in Professor CARLYLE's communications on the subject to Mr. LOSH. [See this *Appendix*.]

† It has been ascertained, by the most minute and patient enquiry, that the ship Duncan, Captain THOMSON, took her departure from Constantinople on the 5th of October, 1800 (which was *ten months* after the effects from Athens had come into Lord ELGIN's possession), and sailing direct to Smyrna, was there taken up as a transport, by the commissaries for the expedition on the coast of Egypt. That, in consequence, she had made a transfer of the whole of her cargo, with the exception of a very few packages for private individuals in England, to the Princessa, Captain WM. LEE; who, in the most direct and unqualified terms, asserts his perfect knowledge that no consignment for Mr. TWEDDELL, addressed to the care of JAMES LOSH, Esq. or otherwise, was amongst the cargo taken on board by him. It further appears, that after the Duncan had fulfilled her service on the coast of Egypt, she fell in on her return with the Flora, merchant ship, 327 tons, Captain DAVID MERRYLEES,

Mr. PITT and Lord GRENVILLE. I will just stop to remark, that my Lord GRENVILLE had the good fortune to receive his consignment safely: but the property of Mr. TWEDDELL, said to have been sent by the same vessel, and at the same time, not only did not then arrive, but never by any chance has even been heard of to this day.

The noble Earl being subsequently requested to consider more particularly, what might be the number and peculiar description of the packages received from Athens, with particulars relating to their embarkation on board the "*Duncan*," confines himself to a simple declaration, that he had already taxed his recollection to the uttermost, and is unable to discover, either in his mind or amongst his papers, any memorandum alluding in any way to the circumstances of this transaction. To certain questions proposed at the same time, Whether LUSIERI was not permitted to make copies from some of the Athenian drawings? and, Whether any transcript was ever made of the journals, or any notes or extracts taken from the various manuscripts? His Lordship replies to the

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in the port of Malta; and that the Flora being the first ship sailing for England, those few packages which had remained on board the Duncan since her departure from Constantinople, were then transferred to that vessel (the Flora), and by the latter safely conveyed to England. On examining the custom-house report of the Flora, the most careful scrutiny affords no notice of any consignment for Mr. TWEDDELL, or his friend in Northumberland; the only specification of packages at all remarkable as private property, is the following—"For H. NISBETT, Esq. 5 packages, 4 pieces, 1 marble-pillar, 1 window-sash, and a cask of wine." This is the intelligence obtained concerning the Duncan, and the transfer of her cargo. The result on the whole is this: that, as the whole and every part of the Lord Duncan's cargo, of whatever denomination, was certainly taken on board the Princessa and the Flora, and as neither the one nor the other of these two vessels did receive on board the property in question, it follows that no consignment of Mr. TWEDDELL's effects could ever have been shipped at all in the Duncan. (ED.)

former, by intimating, that LUSIERI was not at that period* in Turkey, and of course he feels confident that he never did copy any of the drawings alluded to, or any others which were found in Mr. TWEDDELL's collections; adverting to the latter, he observes, that he has no "guess or belief" that any copy was taken of the journals, or any extracts or notes from the manuscripts: "It is possible (his Lordship adds) that some of the notes or inscriptions may have been copied, being in the hands of the several gentlemen of the embassy, engaged in similar researches; but he has none in his possession, nor does he know of any."

Being solicited once again to recollect, Whether he did ever receive from Mr. THORNTON two trunks, which had been confided to him by Mr. TWEDDELL, containing his journals of Switzerland and the Crimea, and other literary effects? My Lord ELGIN briefly and distinctly replies, "that he has no recollection of any such delivery being made by Mr. THORNTON;" but he would wish it to be understood, "that any deposit made into the custody of the mission, by no means necessarily came under his own individual observation; that he did not take charge of the effects, while there were persons in the embassy who, from their connexions in England and their situation, more naturally could see to them." He insists on the length of the interval which has elapsed since the date of the transactions; and, having intimated how "very transiently" the matters in debate originally came before him, and how anxiously he has availed himself of his fading "impressions" to give all possible information on a subject so extremely interesting, the noble Earl takes his leave, by expressing a general persuasion, that every thing relating to Mr. TWED-

* This seems to be an error of memory in his Lordship. LUSIERI appears in another part of these *Remains* to have been at Constantinople at or about this period. (ED.)

DELL's concerns "must" have been sufficiently explained at the time in one way or other.

Permit me, dear Sir, to make a brief recapitulation of the evidence before us. It appears, on review, that Mr. TWEDDELL died possessed of extensive literary and other effects; among which were journals of Switzerland and the Crimea, in a state of preparation for the press; sundry manuscripts having reference to the continent and islands of Greece; an ample collection of highly-finished drawings, illustrative of grecian antiquities, of the *costumes* of Russia and turkish empire, as well as of various objects of curiosity in some of the most interesting parts of Europe———; it further appears, that the whole of the above property, of every description came into the possession of the Earl of ELGIN, who, in the character of ambassador-extraordinary, individually and authoritatively assumed the custody thereof, at a time when JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, Esq. to whom a principal part of the same had been duly consigned, continued to reside with official rank at the turkish capital, remaining in possession of that rank till about the spring of 1801, and holding all the while an unquestionable jurisdiction* from the Levant Company over english persons and things within those dominions;——that, such being the circumstances of the case, the packages which arrived from Athens having first been removed by Lord ELGIN from the british chancery, without the permission of the chancellor, *to his own residence*, remained for the greater part of two months neglected in the cellars of the english palace—that in the mean time another portion of property, which had been left by Mr. TWEDDELL in the care of

* JURISDICTION.—See a declaratory vote of the Levant Company, transferring that jurisdiction to Lord ELGIN—but not until 1801 nearly eighteen months subsequent to the date of the transactions in question. [*Appendix.*] (ED.)

Mr. THORNTON, was, by the order of his Excellency, also transferred into his own personal care; and that an examination of the *whole** took place, on a day appointed, in a chamber of the palace, in the presence of the noble Lord, and of several persons attached to the embassy; that the contents of the trunks and other packages were left spread out on the chairs and tables of the apartment, which was afterwards locked by the ambassador himself——; that several weeks after this proceeding, Mr. THORNTON found unexpectedly at his warehouse some boxes which had been delivered there from the english palace; and having examined the contents, found them to correspond, to a certain extent, with those of the two trunks (formerly in his possession) which he had seen unpacked in the palace, but the drawings and the manuscripts, which had formed a part thereof, were *not* among the number of the things returned;——that as to what did in fact become of the latter, and of all the other parts, and sundry particulars composing the whole of Mr. TWEDDELL's effects—how they were disposed of, or whither transferred, or where they may actually be at this present time, no satisfactory information has ever been obtained by the family, nor has any portion of the aforesaid property come into their possession, notwithstanding the most diligent and continued enquiries abroad, and recent and repeated representations to Lord ELGIN at home.

It remains for me to conclude this subject with a few illus-

* Upon what grounds of expediency the trunks containing the latter portion of property were opened at all, I am at a loss to apprehend. That the packages from Athens should be opened and their contents spread out, there was a self-evident and pressing necessity; why those which had remained with Mr. THORNTON, which were in a state of perfect preservation, which were delivered in that state to Lord ELGIN, with the view, not of being examined, but of being forwarded to England, should have *their* contents exposed, I have yet to learn. (ED.)

trative facts, which may supply in some degree the imperfections of the noble Lord's memory, and of which I have become possessed from the most authentic sources.

It has already been intimated, that Lord ELGIN caused Mr. TWEDDELL'S effects, just arrived from Athens, to be removed from the british chancery, where on landing they had been deposited by the orders of Mr. SMYTHE (awaiting his early examination and disposal), and to be brought to his own mansion—which, at that time, was within the precinct of the french palace, and had been granted by the Porte as a temporary residence for the ambassador, after the british palace had been destroyed by fire. It is not for me, doubtless, to attempt to fathom those reasons which influenced this proceeding; but it may be allowed me to observe, that property thus deposited in the public office of an embassy (especially that of a british subject dying intestate), seems to become, from that moment, a sacred thing; and that in this instance it could not, without a violation of law, be taken from under the public security, by any individual however exalted, and transferred to his own residence, without any reason being assigned for such removal, or any certified account thereof being rendered to the representatives of the party deceased.——Whatever be the true light, however, in which this matter is to be viewed, it is an undeniable fact that Mr. TWEDDELL'S athenian effects were not only transferred at that time in the mode described, but that very shortly afterwards they underwent a second removal, and the whole of the property was then taken by his Lordship to his private villa in the village of Belgrad, at the distance of about twelve miles from Constantinople; and if I am to credit information which rests on authority the most respectable, derived on the spot and in circulation at the time, my brother's journals and various collections were not only accessible to the eyes of all visitors at

the villa, and to the hands of certain individuals,* but so notorious was this circumstance, that it was a common theme of conversation, not only amongst the English, but with persons of other nations; indeed it was even confidently said, that a certain learned traveller deceased, and his reverend friend and companion, then proceeding on a journey to Mount Athos and other parts, took along with them a part of Mr. TWEDDELL's grecian journal, as a guide and *vade-mecum* on their travels, and that it proved the means of introducing them to some local antiquities at Mount Athos of a secret and very valuable description. I mention this report as such, exactly as I have received it; pledging myself for nothing but the respectability of the sources through which it has come to me, and the fact of its being in current existence at Constantinople.

It is ascertained from positive testimony, that so late as the end of 1801, which was nearly *two years* from the arrival of the effects from Athens, his Lordship being then at Bouyukdéré, and walking there on the quay, entered into familiar conversation with the late Mr. THORNTON; with feelings of evident vexation, he expressed the severe disappointment he had just experienced, in the refusal of one of his retinue to proceed to Athens, for the superintendance of his "Pursuits in Greece"— "particularly after I had prepared him for the purpose, by allowing him the use of TWEDDELL's papers and collections."

A single additional circumstance shall close the present account. A quantity of drawings, known to have formed part

* See a letter of the late Mr. THORNTON to J. S. SMYTHE, Esq. dated "Galata, 29th May, 1800," presenting some extraordinary information on this point. [*Appendix.*] (ED.)

of Mr. TWEDDELL's collection, and exhibiting *costume* in singular beauty, were *seen* in Lord ELGIN's possession at different times, and at distant periods from the date of the original transaction; they were kept by his Lordship with the avowed intention of having them copied, and with a farther view of their being taken home by himself, or, on his own account, by a confidential person. Sixty-nine drawings of levantine dresses, copied by an artist at Naples, from the originals—once in the portfolio of Mr. TWEDDELL—but, at the time when they were copied, in the custody of a gentleman who received them from Lord ELGIN, are now in the possession of the gentleman adverted to,* resident in this country, and who acknowledges them to have come into his hands in the way above described; still farther, there is every reason to conclude, that on the noble Lord's return to this country, in 1806, those *original* drawings, with others of a similar description, were duly restored to him: be it also observed, that one ostensible reason for his having detained these effects, was, that they might the more safely be conveyed into the hands of the family.

I here take my leave, for the present, of a subject which has throughout severely exercised my feelings; and equally disappointed my hopes. If, however, there has been a portion of suffering experienced, in detailing the particulars of this history, there has also, I trust, been a duty discharged which was required both by justice and affection. I feel myself able conscientiously to say, that I have no where indulged in wilful exaggeration, or

* Subsequently to the date of this letter, the copies to which reference is here made, have come under the Editor's own inspection, and strongly attest the merit of the originals. The owner of these drawings knows how to unite politeness with generosity: the remembrance of his proffered liberality is gratefully present on the mind of the writer. (ED.)

unmerited censure. I have not stated any thing which I do not conceive myself warranted, by documents in my possession, in firmly asserting; and let me add, that an explanation which should throw light on the questionable character of the whole transaction, and do away the suspicious obscurity that hangs over it, would be hailed by no one with so cordial a satisfaction as by myself. On the whole, I am not without consolation in reflecting, that in this attempt to vindicate the memory of a distinguished scholar, and of a relative most amiable and most beloved, I am at least secure of the approbation of yourself and those I esteem, and not without the sanction of some of the best friends to literature and departed worth. Believe me to be, dear Sir, with a lasting sense of your kindness.

Your's very sincerely,

R. T.

Extracts of Letters from the late Mr. THORNTON *to the Editor.*

F.

BURNHAM, March 28, 1818.

"DEAR SIR,

——— "ALL, however, that I am able to tell you about the property of your late brother, is, that the whole of it, I believe, and certainly the whole of that part which he left in my house, and which was saved from the fire, was taken under the care of Lord ELGIN, at that time his Majesty's ambassador at the Porte. The obvious, and, indeed, the only step which it seems to me you can take, in order to recover your brother's journals and manuscripts, is, therefore, to address yourself to his Lordship, who, it

must be supposed, will feel a pleasure in giving you full and authentic information respecting them. I have the honour to be,

Dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

Thomas Thornton."

G.

BURNHAM, April 11, 1813.

"MY DEAR SIR,

———*——— "I AM pretty certain that the review of my book in the *Naval Chronicle* was written by a person, who, instead of putting so many queries to me, might quite as well have answered them all himself. However, I beg you to believe, that I have not the least wish or intention of withholding a distinct answer to every one of them. Before entering upon the further explanation which you ask for of particulars and circumstances, I must, however, beg of you to take the trouble of sending me a copy of Lord ELGIN's letter to you, for though indeed I am a good deal disappointed at the passages of it which are contained in your letter, I am still more curious to learn the name of the gentleman who is said to have taken charge of your brother's effects, and to have sent or brought them to England. I beg you to believe me very faithfully, &c. &c.

Thomas Thornton."

H*.

BURNHAM, May 11, 1813.

"MY DEAR SIR,

I HAVE delayed answering your last letter for a few days, in order to give myself time for calling to mind, as particularly as

* This letter is acknowledged by the late ambassador to be correct and satisfactory. See page 382.

possible, the part that fell to my share in saving the property which your brother, Mr. JOHN TWEDDELL, left behind him in Turkey, at his death.

When he went from Constantinople in the autumn of 1798, he begged me to take some things into my care, among which he himself told me were certain papers in his own hand-writing, which he valued more than any other part of his property—by which papers I understood him to mean, more especially, the journal of his tour in Switzerland, *which he had before shewn to me in a finished state.*

My house in Péra was burnt down in the spring of 1799; but, as your brother's effects had been placed in the farthest corner of a chamber on the ground floor, which was supposed to be fire-proof, the whole of them appear to have escaped *without loss or damage*; though the fire had passed between the chinks of the iron door on the upper story, and had burned almost all my own furniture to ashes. I have by me a letter that I wrote to your brother, which was sent back again to me, as it did not reach Athens till after his death. It is dated the 15th April, 1799, and contains the following passage:—"Your trunks were in the warehouse adjoining to my house. I can only tell you what I saved from it, and hope that your loss, if any thing, will be small. I find two trunks—the one which I lent you, and in which are things belonging to yourself; the other, a hair-trunk, belonging, I believe, to PRÉAUX. They smelt so strong that I was induced to break the lock, to see in what state they were within, and I find every thing perfectly unhurt. Besides the trunks, I have only an empty leathern portmanteau, and a blue stuff bag, filled with books and other things. If you left any thing else, which I hope and believe was not the case, you must console yourself, as I have done, for the loss of my books, clothes, and furniture."

These things remained in the state I have thus described when the news came to Constantinople of your brother's death; and, indeed, they were never again touched, either by me or any other person, until I sent them to Lord ELGIN, which I did some months afterwards, in consequence of his Excellency's orders.

About the same time when Lord ELGIN arrived at Constantinople, which I think was in November 1799, your brother's property, which had been sent up from Athens by LOGOTHETI, the consul, in a vessel that was wrecked on the island of Marmora, was received at the english *cancellaria*, or public office of the embassy, after having been fished up out of the sea. it was addresed to Mr. SPENCER SMYTHE: and, as soon as I heard of its being landed, I applied to him, and begged him to give directions for having the boxes opened, in order to put a stop to the damage which whatever they might contain was receiving. Mr. SMYTHE, however, said, that although Mr. TWEDDELL's effects had been properly consigned to him while he was chief of the mission, yet, as he was now no longer so, he had no right to meddle with them.* All that I could do, therefore, was to write to the chancellor, and

* Mr. SMYTHE having been applied to for an explanation of the declaration attributed to him in the text, has authorised the Editor to state, that, to the best of his memory, no such specific, or at least so-timed application was made to him by Mr. THORNTON: but that if Mr. T. did, in fact, apply to him, the suddenness with which the ambassador possessed himself of the property in question, precluded the possibility of his carrying Mr. T.'s alleged suggestion into effect. With respect to the conversation with Mr. T. in which that gentleman supposes Mr. S. to have admitted that he had no right to meddle with what was properly consigned to him: if Mr. S. so expressed himself, it most probably occurred incidentally, *after* the sequestration or removal of the effects; and any such admission must have referred to the then existing state of the case; when Mr. S. (deploring all the circumstances of it) deemed that an *ex-post-facto* interference with the ambassador's actual exercise of authority would, on his part in his two-fold capacity of *secretary* of *embassy* and minister-plenipotentiary, have been equally unseasonable, indecorous, and hopeless. (ED.)

to beg him to point out to Lord ELGIN how necessary it was to examine into the state of Mr. TWEDDELL's effects without loss of time. I did not find an opportunity of speaking to Lord ELGIN himself on this subject before nearly the end of the year. His Lordship had been applied to by Count LUDOLF, the neapolitan envoy, in the behalf of Mr. FAUVEL, a french artist, at that time prisoner of war at Athens, respecting the payment of a sum of money (about an hundred pounds, as well as I can recollect), which your brother himself had fixed upon as a fair price for a collection of original drawings; and you may, perhaps, remember my having drawn a bill on your father, which Lord ELGIN warranted my doing, for the purpose of paying Mr. FAUVEL. It was then that Lord ELGIN invited me to be present with him at the opening of the boxes which had been received from Athens; and at the same time he directed me to send to him the things which Mr. TWEDDELL had left under my care. The Rev. Mr. HUNT, his Lordship's chaplain, assisted as well as myself. I do not remember that any memorandum was made at the time, either of the effects themselves or of the state in which we found them; and at this distance of time it would be impossible for me to say any thing about them with precision, farther than, that I remember seeing the journal of the tour in Switzerland, as well as all the other property which Mr. TWEDDELL had left with me, taken out of the trunk in the order in which he himself had packed them up; and that, among the things sent from Athens (which, indeed, appeared to be a good deal damaged, on account of their having remained wet so long), I particularly noticed Mr. FAUVEL's port-folio of drawings,* besides a book of greek inscriptions very beautifully copied in your brother's own hand-writing.

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* Meaning the portfolio of drawings executed by Mr. FAUVEL, and which Mr. TWEDDELL had purchased of that artist, and added to his own collection. (ED.)

Several weeks after this, on going one morning to my warehouse in Galata, I found that some boxes had been brought there from the english palace. Upon looking into these boxes, it appeared to me, that they might contain all that I had before seen of your brother's effects in the possession of Lord ELGIN, *except the drawings and manuscripts.* I however, made out a list of them, and locked them up till I might receive directions as to what I was to do with them. In the mean time, Professor CARLYLE called upon me, to say, that he was about returning to England; and, as he was acquainted with Mr. TWEDDELL's family, would tell them any thing which I might have to communicate respecting the state of his papers and other property.

Professor CARLYLE already knew most of the circumstances that I have mentioned in this letter, so that I had only to shew him what was again put into my possession, namely, the remains of your brother's *wardrobe*—of which I gave him the list, and begged of him to let me know from England in what manner the things were to be disposed of, as they were not worth the expense of being sent home.

It is quite out of my power to say what afterwards became of these things. I remember giving away two of the flannel waistcoats to a poor man in a very severe winter; but I take it for granted I must have left the rest of them, as I did every thing belonging to myself, under the care of Mr. BARBAUD, when I went to Russia on public business; which I did at a very short notice, in March 1804.

I beg you to believe me, very faithfully, my dear Sir, &c. &c.

Tho. Thornton.

I.

BURNHAM, July 15, 1813.

MY DEAR SIR,

I HAVE been so particularly engaged since I received your last letter, that, though I have all along purposed to sit down and write to you whenever I should have an hour's leisure, I have really never been able to do so till now, that I am in some degree confined at home by a slight indisposition.

You do me only justice in supposing me to be sincere in my friendship for your brother, and in my reverence for his memory; but if even I had not such strong motives as these for satisfying any enquiry which you, his nearest relation, might think fit to put to me, I certainly could not, in any case, have justified to myself a refusal to answer all questions whatever about the property, and especially the literary property, which so accomplished a scholar left behind him in a distant country.

In the first place, then, and in answer to your enquiry marked "1," I have to say, that Lord ELGIN did not give me an order in an official form to send to his house the effects which your brother had entrusted to my care. Perhaps he said, after asking me to attend at the opening of the trunks sent up from Athens, "and you may as well send those you have, that we may look over them all together." Lord ELGIN, however, as english ambassador, had the *right*,*

* RIGHT.—The Earl of ELGIN not having received the delegation of the LEVANT COMPANY'S chartered jurisdiction at the time of his *diplomatic* nomination, the *right*

and, indeed, it was his *duty*,* to take into his own hands the property of any of the king's subjects dying intestate in

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attributed to his Lordship by Mr. THORNTON is extremely problematical. That Right Worshipful Company has been accustomed to elect and support an ambassador at the Porte, who was always tendered to the Company by a letter from the King; this was the case with Mr. LISTON, who on quitting the embassy left Mr. SMYTHE as his *chargé-d'affaires* (by letters-patent) entrusted with the double concerns of our Government and of the Company. The Company forthwith voted Mr. S. the customary appointments, and conferring upon him the various necessary faculties of administering oaths of office, &c. but in point of fact had not an opportunity at any time afterwards of electing him its ambassador, because that gentleman was never proposed in that capacity under the royal sign-manual; and therefore he remained in technical strictness only a *locum-tenens*; but he was one acknowledged on all hands; and his exercise of plenary jurisdiction was never called in question by any one but Lord ELGIN. The Editor understands, that when the noble Earl was to be appointed, the Secretary of State held a conference with the Deputy-Governor of the LEVANT-COMPANY, explanatory of that unlooked-for appointment; wherein it was settled that Mr. SMYTHE was to superintend all the concerns of the Company, and Lord ELGIN was to confine himself to politics. It is to be lamented that neither of the parties in that conference were sufficiently aware of the distinction necessary to be made between the general transactions of the embassy, and those which particularly regarded trade and navigation; much less was Lord GRENVILLE apprized of the nice line of conduct to be traced for each of the diplomatists, to avoid collision. (ED.)

* DUTY.—Some other, and in some degree similar, cases, which occurred during the time of Lord ELGIN's embassy afford a demonstration of what his Lordship deemed his duty on such occasions. In the year 1800 (March 18) an english ship-builder (named Mr. SPURING), employed in the Levant, under Sir SIDNEY SMYTHE, leaving Constantinople suddenly, to join his commanding-officer, without taking leave of the ambassador, the chancellor's deputy was directed by his Excellency to put seals upon the doors and windows of his apartment. On the 5th July following, farther directions were issued to consign Mr. SPURING's property to Mr. THORNTON, taking his specified receipt for the same. On the 16th July the same officer makes his report, that he proceeded, with a witness, to examine the seals which he had formerly affixed, and that, finding them unbroken, he had opened the apartment, and taken an inventory of the whole property: all which is entered on the public register books of the chancery. The Editor understands that Mr. SPURING

Turkey; so that if I had had any doubt on my mind of the propriety of sending the things to Lord ELGIN (which I certainly had not), I could not legally, nor under any decent pretext, have hesitated to deliver up to him property so circumstanced as was that of your brother.

In answer to your second question, I can distinctly say, that Lord ELGIN, after having opened and examined your brother's trunks, left the contents of them spread about on the tables of the room, which he locked when we came out of it, and put the key in his pocket. I never received, nor of course can I give you, any farther information about the most valuable part of these effects *(I mean the drawings and the manuscripts)*, for I do not believe that either Lord ELGIN or the Rev. Mr. HUNT ever spoke to me about them again, except once incidentally, on an occasion which I shall mention hereafter.

Thirdly,—I never heard of the shipment of any part of Mr. TWEDDELL's property on board of any vessel bound for England. I remember very well that the *Lord Duncan* was at Constantinople,

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(since deceased) thought himself so aggrieved by this interference that he entertained intentions of seeking redress by an action at law. Into the merits of that case the Editor does not now mean to enter: but it is important to observe that forms were therein observed which imply in the party who directed them, a sense of duty different from that which was manifested in the case of Mr. TWEDDELL. Again, one Dr. JAMES STUART OGILVIE having died at Brusa, in Anatolia, about the month of October 1800, his effects were lodged in the chancery; and some demands being outstanding against his estate, the ambassador ordered his property to be sold to pay his debts: a sale took place; and an entry thereof, lot by lot, was entered on the same public register. In this and the preceding note the Editor thinks the reader will find some acceptable information towards an exact definition of those inseparable terms "right" and "duty," as applied to the jurisdiction of the english magistrate at Constantinople in cases of intestacy. (ED.)

I think, in the summer of 1800. She was a merchant ship, commanded by a Mr. THOMPSON; she did not, however, sail for England, in the first instance; for she was taken up by the commissaries at Smyrna, as a transport for the service of the army, and remained so employed during the whole of the egyptian campaign. I wonder, however, that Lord ELGIN should think it necessary to speak from "impressions:" for, as your brother's property came regularly* into his hands through the *cancellaria* (the public office of the embassy) a fact which cannot be questioned, and may be easily proved, it must be easy for his Lordship to shew, by an extract from the registers of the same office, to whom and for what purpose the property was subsequently delivered up. * * * * *

I answer your fourth question by a question from myself: you ask me, What representation I made to Lord ELGIN when I found that he had withheld or purloined *the drawings and the manuscripts?* And I, in return, ask you, What document I had to produce, as authority, from any part of your family, for my interfering in such a manner? I did not feel it to be my duty, and I knew that I had not a right, to address a remonstrance to Lord ELGIN, which he, undoubtedly, would have taken for an affront * * * * You should do me the honor to recollect, that at the time we are speaking of, I was only a merchant at Constantinople; and, as such, was *dependent*,† in a great degree, on the ambassador's good pleasure for the protection, and, consequently, for the success of my business.

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* The writer was evidently uninformed that the whole of this proceeding was, in truth, highly irregular, as will appear hereafter. (ED.)

† The Editor refrains from making any remarks upon this curious statement: the writer is now beyond the reach of censure or pity. [See *Appendix.*]

The circumstance I have hinted at in answering your second question is this:—Lord ELGIN, while he was at his country-seat at Buyukdéré, I think about the latter end of 1801, met me one evening on the quay, which was the public walk; and, among other things, said to me, that Mr. HUNT had a good deal disconcerted him, by refusing to go to Athens for the purpose of superintending the artists that were employed by him there; "particularly so," his Lordship added, "after he has prepared himself for it by looking over TWEDDELL's papers." * * *

——— PRÉAUX mentioned to me, that his sketch-book had been put up by mistake among Mr. TWEDDELL's things, as he himself was dangerously ill at the time of your brother's death; and he wished me to get it back for him from Lord ELGIN. I advised him, however, to apply himself; and I think I remember his telling me some time afterwards, that he had actually received it back:—and not only so, but I think that Dr. CLARKE since shewed me at Cambridge a collection of PRÉAUX's out-line sketches of the ruins of Athens, which had been copied from the sketch-book in question that was originally made out for your brother.

I hope that what I have written may be of use to you. If any thing else should suggest itself to you, which you may wish to inquire about from me, I beg you will not restrain yourself from doing so. Every claim which your brother had on my friendship I am very happy to make over to you, to the greatest extent; and, if, as you lead me to hope, I can be at all instrumental in honouring the ashes of my departed friend, I shall accomplish the object I had in view when I mentioned his name in the preface of my book. I beg you to believe me, &c. &c.

Thomas Thornton.

J.

BURNHAM, Nov. 10, 1813.

MY DEAR SIR,

I HAVE been so seriously ill for the last four months, as to be unable to attend to my own affairs; consequently I have no apology to make for having neglected to answer your last inquiries. Indeed, if you have done me the honour to read over the letters I have before written to you, you will find, I think, that those very inquiries have been already answered, either expressly or by implication. I never heard of Professor CARLYLE's having had any thing to do with the shipping of your brother's property ——; and I am pretty certain that I have said so to you before: therefore I know nothing on this point, not even enough to authorise me to form any opinion about it. As for the time of my own departure from Péra, you will see in one of my letters that I have said, it was in the month of March, 1804.——"

—— I have not before, I think, had an opportunity of telling you that Mr. MEADLY, a gentleman of Bishop-Wearmouth, who knows the master and owners of the *Lord Duncan*, promised that he would make inquiry on the several points in your letter concerning that ship, and communicate them to you through Mr. JAMES LOSH.

I have myself sent a copy of the letter which I wrote to you in May last, to Lord ELGIN,* through Mr. HAMILTON, the under

* See the 3d Letter of this series, (H) dated May 11, 1813, page 371.

secretary of State, from whom I have since learned that Lord ELGIN acknowledges it to be *correct and satisfactory*.

It will give me great pleasure to communicate to you any thing I may hear in Turkey, bearing a reference to your brother or his pursuits. I am, &c. &c.

Thomas Thornton.

K.

BURNHAM, Dec. 9, 1813.

MY DEAR SIR,

I AM very willing to admit your interpretation of the expression in one of your former letters, upon which I thought myself called upon to animadvert.

You say I have never declared to you in any one of my letters, in precise terms, whether the boxes which I delivered to Lord ELGIN were locked and sealed. I think, however, that the question is sufficiently answered by my saying (which I very well remember to have said to you), that every thing was taken out of them in the same state and same order in which they had been packed up by your brother himself. Consequently, whether I sent up the boxes to Lord ELGIN locked, or sealed, or corded—I must have been satisfied that I saw them again, at the time of opening them, in precisely the same state. If they were sealed, which I think was not the case, it could have been only with my private seal, as there could have been no reason whatever for putting on them the seal of the LEVANT COMPANY. I would, however, advise you to dismiss from your mind altogether any suspicion of broken locks or seals: Lord ELGIN had the whole of

your brother's effects in his possession, without any person to controul him in the use he might choose to make of them. * * * * *

I do not presume, nor have I ever presumed, to point out to you how you ought to act in your own affairs: but you *know* from me (and Lord ELGIN himself admits my account to be *correct and satisfactory*), that he took possession of your brother's manuscripts and drawings. Why should you not call upon him, boldly and manfully, either to produce these manuscripts and drawings, or to produce a bill of lading, or some other proof, of his having shipped them for England? It is upon this ground, as it appears to me, that you should make your stand. I shall be happy to strengthen the evidence I have given *by making oath to the truth of every particular of it;* and I must be allowed to say, that whatever end you may propose to yourself by your correspondence with me or with any other persons, would be more immediately and more effectually answered by such than by any other proceedings. Believe me, my dear Sir, ever faithfully, &c. &c.

Thomas Thornton.

L.

Extracts from the "*British Critic*," the "*Monthly*," "*Critical*," and other Reviews; with some Obituary Recollections.

I.

From the "*British Critic*."

"ON perusing the catalogue prefixed to the exercises contained in this book, we were not a little struck with observing, that of the thirteen compositions which the volume presents, seven were honored

with public academical, and three with private collegiate, prizes, and that two others were also written in consequence of prizes adjudged to the author; and all this within the short period of four years: an instance of individual merit and success, which we apprehend to have very rarely, if ever, occurred in the university to which Mr. TWEDDELL belongs, or in the sister seminary. Whatever arguments may be adduced against the publication of any compositions in the dead languages, and of juvenile productions in any language—We feel tempted, on the present occasion, to coincide in opinion with the author's friends, who, as he tells us in the preface, recommended the publication. Our motive to this is such, as Mr. TWEDDELL could not and would not avow, yet such, we believe, as his friends, if they did not urge, cannot but approve. Those young academicians, who may be inclined to court the same distinction, will receive from the perusal of this book a powerful stimulus to their ambition, as well as an useful acquaintance with the nature of the prize compositions of the university. In this point of view we particularly recommend this collection, being the first and only one published (we are induced to think) that comprehends every different species of exercise, in which the young candidates for classical honors can enter the lists of competition. Whatever progress Mr. T. may make in polite literature in the space of the next twenty years, he need not blush, even then, to look back upon and recognise these rich first-fruits of his youthful Muse.

" *Quid purè tranquillet?* In this exercise we must not omit to notice, in an especial manner, the very elegant and cultivated compliment which, in enumerating the blessings of philosophical retirement, Mr. T. takes occasion to pay to his own university, expressing his grateful sense of the benefits he has derived from it, of the encouragement it has given him, of the honors it has conferred upon him, of the sacred and invaluable friendships it has given him an opportunity of forming. We esteem his remarks on the subject of love and friendship, to be the purest specimens of Mr. T.'s beauty of diction, and of his taste in morals; but they are too long to be extracted at length, and too good to be abridged.

"In our judgment, Mr. TWEDDELL's latin prose compositions, for which, sometimes CICERO, and sometimes QUINTILIAN, should seem to have been his model, stand first in point of merit; his greek odes next; his english orations claim the third place in the scale of comparative excellence; his epigrams the fourth; and his latin ode the last: but, in each of the various species of composition, in each of the various languages in which they are composed, we find, distinct from all comparison, much positive excellence; and when, in addition to this, we contemplate that versatility of talent requisite to shine in so many divers ways, we cannot conclude our remarks upon the *Prolusiones*, without congratulating *Alma Mater*, "*quod natum habeat tali ingenio præditum.*"

2.

From the "Critical Review."

"ON the extraordinary proficiency of Mr. TWEDDELL in classical attainments, the very superscription of the several pieces contained in this volume will not suffer us to hesitate a moment: they are chiefly *prize-exercises*, written during the academical progress of the author; and amidst so much competition for these rewards, as so flourishing an university as Cambridge must inevitably furnish, we may readily presume that the victor must have exhibited no common share of excellence.—The volume consists of poems, orations, and declamations on various subjects; two of which are in English. — We cordially recommend both these exercises to the perusal of our readers.—Nor can we doubt but our author, after these promising blossoms of genius, will produce 'fruits worthy of Paradise' in maturer age; and, instead of suffering his academical accomplishments to waste away in indolence and dissipation, will proceed with vigour in the race of glory, from a conviction that nothing is truly respectable, nothing valuable and permanent in this state of things, but literature and virtue."

3.

From the "English Review."

"THE gentleman whose academical *Prolusiones* we shall now proceed to criticise, has had a very unusual and singular share of distinction. —They are introduced by a very elegant, classical, and modest preface, in which he explains the nature of the compositions and the motives of publication.

"No. XIII. is a Latin dissertation upon the following subject:— 'Whether equal liberty is compatible with extensive empire. Mr. T. contends strenuously and ably for the affirmative.—The style of this essay is very eloquent and highly animated; the thoughts luminous and profound; the subject divided and arranged with great skill and precision, and treated with great perspicuity.—How far Mr. T. has proved his point we do not undertake to determine. We think him rather sanguine upon the probable extent of human improvements, and the perfection to which reason and virtue may one day be carried. But, as well where we dissent from (which we frequently do), as where we agree with Mr. T. it is equally impossible for us not to admire the dexterity of his arguments, and not to discover an honest and independent zeal in what he believes to be the cause of truth and virtue. Both in this and the preceding essay, we observe an equal degree of that quick and nervous sensibility, which turns with instantaneous disgust and aversion from every object of natural and moral deformity, while it dwells with rapturous complacency upon natural and moral beauty. —And we must confess that we cannot ourselves survey, without some little portion of the same feeling, that warm spirit of kind and benevolent enthusiasm which distinguishes so many parts of these compositions, and which, as ROUSSEAU says, "*n'agit que sur les belles âmes; il les perd quelquefois, c'est vrai; mais c'est par un attrait qui ne séduit qu'elles.*"

4.

From the "Analytical Review."

"After some general introductory observations, the reviewer proceeds, "These general remarks might, indeed, have been spared in a review of the elegant volume before us, which needs no such defence for its publication; in which nothing *juvenile* is to be discerned, except in the modest *title-page*, unless, indeed, it be that noble ardour in the cause of virtue and liberty, which is almost peculiar to the purity and sensibility of youth.

"Among the english essays, the most conspicuous are a discourse on the policy of Henry VII. and an oration on the character of William III. If, in the latter, the author sometimes betray the partiality of a panegyrist, yet he compensates for it amply by just reasoning and manly eloquence, and by an enlightened zeal for the most sacred interests and rights of mankind.

"Of the compositions in latin prose, the most remarkable, both for the subject and the execution, is a dissertation on the question, 'Whether a free and equal government can be established and preserved in a great empire?' This is a discourse eminently distinguished, in our opinion, both for intellect and eloquence; and deserving as well to be considered by the philosopher for its arguments, as to be admired by the scholar for its style."

5.

From the "Monthly Review."

"When a young collegian, instead of dissipating his leisure hours in frivolous pursuits, dedicates them to the Muses, it is a manifest sign of

a generous and energetic mind; and while he not only thus procures for himself an immediate agreeable amusement, but provides a store of entertainment for future days, he also gives the public a fair pledge of his being, in riper years, an useful member of society, and an ornament to his country. Such, if we mistake not, will Mr. TWEDDELL one day be, or rather, such he already is. We have not often read a juvenile production with more pleasure than the present volume has afforded us.

"Mr. TWEDDELL's english oratory is not less pointed and vigorous (than his latin composition): witness the paragraph on the british constitution. 'The fabric of our *real* constitution is that of a temple, &c. &c.' p. 140.

——"From an author who writes thus at the age of *twenty-two*, what may we not expect at forty-four; when the eloquent fervour of juvenility shall be mellowed into the dignified energy of maturity."

6.

*Extract from the Appendix to the 33d Volume of the "Monthly Review," Article IV. "*STEPHANOPOLI'S *Travels in Greece." January*, 1801.

——"The publication of travels in Greece, by Greeks, might naturally lead us to hope for an acquisition to letters, and a treat for curiosity. A late british labourer* had entered the same field, and had reaped diligently: but in the midst of his toils, fate cut the slender thread of his existence, and deprived the world of the valuable fruits of his exertions. She gave his ashes to his favorite Attica, leaving to us nothing but regret —that regret which must ever flow from the recollection of his rare

* "Mr. JOHN TWEDDELL, of whose juvenile proficiency in classical literature some specimens appeared in our xiith. vol. N.S, p. 327, &c. We then with pleasure hailed the dawn of his literary career, and it is with real regret that we now record its early termination."—(*Review.*)

qualities, of the *industry* which would have left no promising track unbeaten, of the *judgment* which was able to select and appreciate, and of the bosom which could foster neither fantastic prepossessions, nor intentional deceit! Such were the qualifications of a traveller whose researches would have benefitted the age, and added to the lustre of british learning."

7.

From the "English Chronicle."

"Is TWEDDELL gone? and shall no voice be rais'd
His high endowments or his fate to tell?
Shall his bless'd spirit take its flight unprais'd,
Ascend to heaven without one fond farewell?

"Oh! worthy pattern of the human race,
On whom thy Maker shed a ray divine!
Virtue and science caught a sweeter grace,
Woo'd by a genius and a form like thine!

"From Cam's applauding banks, with laurels crown'd,
Thou issued forth, thy country's blooming pride;
Ardent thou rush'd on Græcia's classic ground,
Reach'd thy lov'd Athens—in her bosom died!"

W. A.

8.

Extract from the "Holy Land," a prize Poem, by FRANCIS WRANGHAM, A.M. *Member of Trin. Coll. Cam.* 1800.

"ACROSS th' Ionian next, by Delphi's steep,
The forked mount, and fam'd Castalia's spring
To Athens, scene of all her infant joys,
Anxious she speeds. But there nor pictur'd porch

Glowing with various life, nor virgin's fane,
Meets her sad eye. By Rome's fell lightning scar'd
With partial blast, at Othman's withering touch
Th' athenian amaranth died: The servile brow
No chaplet binds. Yet other sorrows wound,
With keener pang, the Muse's gentle breast.

"There in his early bloom, 'mid classic dust
Once warm with grace and genius like his own,
Her favorite sleeps; whom far from Granta's bowers
To Attic fields the thirst of learning drew,
Studious to cull the wise, and fair, and good.
He could have taught the echoes of old Greece
(Silent since Freedom fled) their ancient strains
Of liberty and virtue, to his soul
Strains most congenial! But high heaven forbade.
Rest youth belov'd! Most blest, if to thy shade,
'Tis given to know, what mighty forms of chiefs,
Whose deathless deeds oft dwelt upon thy tongue;*
Of patriots, bold like thee, with ardent tone
T' assert their country's cause; of bards, whose verse
Thy Lesbian lyre could emulate so well,
Repose in tombs contiguous! Rest, lov'd youth,
In thine own Athens laid! Secure of fame,
While worth and science win the world's applause."

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* It is due to the learned author of this poem to notice, that, in a note here affixed, he acknowledges his obligation for the sentiment he has so happily pursued, to the latin verses of "A. M., Temple." See *Memoir*, p. 20. (Ed.)

9.

From the "Bath Herald."

"DIED, at Athens, &c. &c.—In the death of Mr. T. the public have not only to lament the loss of an excellent and accomplished young man, but also a vast store of accurate information respecting that interesting part of the world, Poland, the Ukraine, the Archipelago, and turkish territories; all which Mr. TWEDDELL had traversed and surveyed with the eye of philosophy, and, we have reason to think, with the intention of communicating the result of his observations to the public. For an expedition of the nature of that in which he was engaged, no man was, perhaps, ever better qualified; an ardent curiosity, a clear discriminating judgment, a profound erudition, and a store of general knowledge, most uncommon at Mr. TWEDDELL's age, held out the fair hope of future honorable fame to himself, and of high intellectual entertainment to his countrymen, from his eastern travels. But Providence ordained that he should add one to the many instances of disappointment in the generous attempt of enlightening and benefitting mankind.

"Fame is the spur, that the clear spirit doth raise
(That last infirmity of noble minds)
To scorn delights, and live laborious days;
But the fair guerdon when we hope to find,
And think to burst out into sudden blaze,
Comes the blind Fury, with th' abhorred shears,
And slits the thin-spun life."——

Friendship, alas! can do no more than scatter these trifling flowers over his empty urn!

"*His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani*
Munere!"

Extract from "Greece," a Poem, by WILLIAM HAYGARTH, *Esq.* 1814.

"PAUSE on the tomb of him who sleeps within:
Fancy's fond hope, and learning's fav'rite child,
Accomplish'd TWEDDELL*—but weep not, his death
Was kind although untimely, for he rests
Upon the shores to Taste and Genius dear.
To him in youthful dreams the grecian Muse
Deign'd nightly visitation, breathing soft
Her heav'nly melodies upon his ear;
He own'd her power, and when his slumbers view'd
Her beauteous form bending with loosen'd vest

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* "The name of this accomplished scholar will long be remembered by every admirer of classical literature. Whilst an under-graduate at Cambridge, he obtained unprecedented honors, and bore away almost every prize for which he contended." *(Note by the Author.)*

There is scarcely any one of the numerous contingencies of human life, which has not been elegantly touched in the greek *Anthology*. A simple, chaste, and elegant thought, expressed in the happiest manner, by that incomparable language, which adds magnificence to the most exalted, and grace to the most tender themes, would appear to constitute the essence of the poems contained in the collections distinguished by that title. The Editor takes the liberty of annexing the following translation of a beautiful original, the leading idea of which is remarkably associated with the destiny of him, who, to borrow the language of HAYGARTH, "sleeps within."

On Death.

Whether from Athens you begin,
Or Meröe thy road,
One trodden track still points the way
Unto the joyless god.
And though an exile's death thou die,
And see thy home no more,
Blows from each clime one steady gale,
Swift to the stygian shore. (ED.)

And tresses discompos'd upon her lyre,
And heard the well-known accents of her voice
Falt'ring despair, he left his native isle,
Join'd in her first embrace his tears with her's
And died.—She guards his sacred dust, and mourns
His early doom, and leads with tender care,
On each returning year, the solemn choir
Of youths and virgins to his silent grave."

(p. 57.)

M.

To JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, Esquire.*

St. Petersburg, September 30th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

This will be delivered to you by Mr. Tweddell, an english gentleman, travelling for his amusement; whom I beg leave to recommend most particularly to your civilities and good offices during the stay he may make in your part of the world. You will find him in every respect a very valuable acquaintance, and as such I do not hesitate to introduce him to you. I beg you will present him to Mr. De Kotschoubey;† for whom I do not give him

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* See *Correspondence*, Letter XXV. page 141.

† Victor Paulovitz Kotschoubey:—Envoy-extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from the Emperor of Russia to the Othman Porte: created count, and knight of several orders, as a reward for distinguished merit and services; since elevated to the office of a cabinet-minister in Russia; at present he is believed by the Editor to live in a dignified retirement from political employment—a gentleman of amiable and elegant manners in society, of extensive acquirements, particularly in the european languages, of great taste in the polite and liberal arts, and a patron of science. Count De Kotschoubey is the proprietor of Pultava, where Charles XII. of Sweden was finally vanquished by the Czar Peter I. (Ed.)

letters, trusting that you will render him that service. As it is quite uncertain when this will reach you, because Mr. TWEDDELL purposes being sometime upon the road, it is useless to take up more of your time, than to assure you of the real truth and regard with which, &c. &c.

Charles Whitworth.

N.

Letter from Mons. PRÉAUX, *addressed to* JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, *Esq. &c. &c.*

ATHÉNES, le 2d Aoust, 1799.

VOTRE EXCELLENCE,

LES larmes aux yeux, je me vois obligé de vous apprendre la triste fin de Mr. TWEDDELL, décédé 25 juillet à 3 heures après midi, au retour de notre voyage de Salonique et du Mont Athos, où nous avons essuyé beaucoup de fatigue. Une fièvre double-tierce* qui ne paroissoit point dangereuse dans le principe, lui est devenue funeste, pour avoir voulu se traiter lui-même par des remèdes trop violents,† qui lui ont fait fermenter le sang au point qu'il en a été suffoqué en un instant, sans que l'on ait pu lui porter secours.

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* DOUBLE-TIERCE.—Double-tertian is the peculiar term applied by the practitioners of medicine in the Levant to an intermittent fever or ague, of quotidian period, but of which the alternate paroxysms have a marked correspondence in degree and duration: that is to say, the fits are regularly weaker and stronger every other day. (ED.)

† Mr. PRÉAUX speaks, no doubt, according to the measure of his knowledge, which, it should be remembered, was not that of a medical man. See an extract from the official report of the physician, subjoined. (ED.)

Attaqué de la même maladie, j'eus recours à la saignée. La fièvre m'ayant laissé depuis deux jours, j'espere en échapper. Tous ceux qui nous ont accompagnés dans notre voyage se trouvent encore plus mal que moi. Nous devons ce triste événement aux marches forcées de notre voyage dans la Canicule. Il suffit d'avoir connu Mr. TWEDDELL pour se faire une idée de nos regrets.

Les gens les plus indifférens l'ont pleuré; le commandant de la ville a voulu que son corps soit accompagné par sa garde, jusq'au Temple de Thesée, au milieu duquel il a été inhumé après trois salves de mousqueterie. L'archevêque, les Archontes, une foule de peuple, formoit la pompe de cette cérémonie lugubre. Je ne vous représenterai point les soins empressés de Mr. LOGOTHETI et de toute sa famille pendant notre séjour: le défunt n'auroit pas manqué de reconnoître toutes ses attentions. Le consul aura soin de vous rendre compte des formalités d'usage; quand à moi, votre réponse et le rétablissement de ma santé décideront de mon retour.

Votre très humble obéissant serviteur,

Préaux.

O.

Extract from the certified official Report of Dr. ANASTATIO CICELLI *of Cephalonia, the Physician at Athens, who attended Mr.* TWEDDELL *in his last illness.*

(Translation.)

———HAVING given orders that I should be sent for, in the mean time he began to be agitated, and to have spasms, &c.—When I came to him I found him only just breathing;—Thus,

without any the least symptom of previous danger, died this noble young man, to the great regret of every one, and also to the infinite grief of the doctor who attended him; and who is not conscious of having neglected his duty, as far as his feeble powers extended.

I was anxious to obtain permission to open the body, but it was not granted to me. In the obscurity (which exists) as to the causes which may have occasioned this sudden death, if I may be permitted to conjecture, there seems to me little reason to doubt that it arose from some disease in his breast, and for the following reasons:—The few times I had the honor of conversing with Mr. TWEDDELL concerning his travels, he told me that travelling was a very pleasant thing, but that he had suffered during his (travels) *many inquietudes.** In other conversations he told me, that in Switzerland he had contracted a severe disorder in his breast, caused by his constant long walks for three months, among the mountains, and by having drank, one evening, when much fatigued, a great quantity of milk.

This pain in his chest frequently returned afterwards; and upon every attack he was obliged to rest two or three days, and confine himself to a scrupulous diet. In the month of March last (being then at Athens) this disease returned with great violence. I had myself an opportunity of observing him at that time, when for three days he suffered severely—a difficulty of breathing, a *laborious respiration*, a great degree of languor, a cough not frequent, but attended with much pain, shewed that his chest was greatly affected.

It appears, then, that this death was occasioned by the breaking of a blood-vessel in the breast.

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* The expression here, in the italian, is rather doubtful. (*Trans.*)

The pain in his chest, the livid appearance on his breast, the bloody foam, the blood which issued from the nostrils, seem to remove all doubt on this subject.

Such is also the opinion of that excellent man, Dr. ANDREW BERTRUD, who was consulted, and to whom I have had the honor of communicating my feeble opinion.

Anastassio Cicelli,
de Cefalonia.

P.

Translation (from the French).

A Letter from Mr. SPIRIDION LOGOTHETI *to* JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, *Esq. H. B. M.'s Minister-Plenipotentiary, &c. &c.*

ATHENS, 4th August 1799.

EXCELLENCY,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that Mr. TWEDDELL, on his return from Salonica, has been attacked here with a double-tertian fever,* which can only be attributed to the excessive fatigues of his journey, to which he has fallen a sacrifice, having also, perhaps inconsiderately, made use of Dr. JAMES's powders. This misfortune has filled us all with consternation. For more than seven months that this interesting traveller has resided with me, I have done every thing that lay in my power; I have procured him the facilities that he stood in need of for accomplishing the objects of his travels.

A death so unforeseen will prove a desolating affliction to his family, as well as to all those who have ever known him. His

* See page 394, *note.*

obsequies have shewn what place he held in the regard of every one here.

The commandant has himself given a proof of it, by ordering his guard to attend the procession to the Temple of Theseus, in the middle of which he has been buried, after a salute of three vollies of musquetry—an honour which is unprecedented. The consul, after having observed the accustomed formalities, has left under my care Mons. PRÉAUX, also the servant of the deceased, and the whole of his effects.

Mr. PRÉAUX, who had been suffering under the disorder before Mr. TWEDDELL, is now convalescent. The servant, who had been ill at Salonica, had a relapse the day after the death of his master, but we have hopes that he will speedily be restored.

I wait with impatience the orders which your Excellency shall be pleased to give me on this subject, too happy in having had it in my power to shew my zealous attachment to the deceased, and the respect with which I am, &c. &c. &c.

Spiridion Logotheti.

Q.

Translation (from the French).

Letter from JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, *Esq. to Mr.* SPIRIDION LOGOTHETI, *at Athens.*

CONSTANTINOPLE, Aug. 16, 1799.

THIS serves to confirm the tenor of my last letter, No. 6. dated 1st of June of the present year.

It would be difficult for me to be more profoundly affected than I have been, by learning the decease of Mr. TWEDDELL. The lively attachment I felt towards him has rendered his loss the more sensible: and it is with reason that he is followed by the regret of all those who knew him: *that* which his memory has obtained at Athens, where he was an entire stranger, says more in his favor than any studied eulogium of those excellent qualities that adorned his personal character. It is in reality a misfortune for his friends, and cannot but prove to his family a cause of the keenest affliction. I was already, Sir! made acquainted with the manner in which you administered the rites of hospitality towards Mr. TWEDDELL; who, when alive, was not remiss in acknowledging his obligations towards you, and rendered you that justice which is so perfectly your due.

I beg you will take notice, that I have given instructions to the Consul (by this same conveyance), according to which he will without delay take the necessary steps for the prompt and sure transmission *to me* of all the effects generally that belonged to the deceased.

R.

Translation (from the Italian).

A Letter from J. S. SMYTHE, *Esq H. B. M.'s Minister-Plenipotentiary at Constantinople, to Proconsul* MACRI, *at Athens.*

SIR, CONSTANTINOPLE, Aug. 16, 1799.

WITHOUT loss of time I reply to your despatch of the 2d instant, wherein you notify the death of my countryman Mr. TWEDDELL.

It is not easy for me to express the pain I have suffered from this lamentable news. I am not at all surprised that the loss of so estimable a man should have occasioned the general regret you describe. The praise-worthy qualities by which he was distinguished made him generally beloved; and his death is really a painful loss for all his friends. It is a more particular subject of affliction to me, as, besides being his most intimate acquaintance (in this country) I received the shock of his death without the slightest preparation, by any news of his illness.

Together with your letter I received the documents, all in good and due form, by which it was accompanied; that is to say:—The doctor's report of Mr. TWEDDELL'S malady; the inventory of his effects, as also a statement of the expenses which you have defrayed on account of the deceased. And I cannot but approve of the preliminary forms you have observed for the benefit of his heirs. As to his effects, you will now please to expedite hither, by the first opportunity, *addressed to my care*, every thing which has been found belonging to him, in conformity to the inventory. As to the account of charges due to you, I have to desire that you will reimburse yourself out of his remaining cash, as far as that will go; and for any deficiency, I authorise you to draw upon me for such balance to which you may be entitled, at thirty days sight, sooner than I shall allow any part of his property to be alienated for making good your advances. Therefore, you understand that you are to send his effects hither, under seal, just as they are described in the inventory; and your repayment will be effectuated in the manner I have above pointed out.

S.

Translation (from the Italian),

A Letter from Mr. SPIRIDION LOGOTHETI, *addressed as underneath.*

ATHENS, 24th September, 1799.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I HAD the honor to write to your Excellency lately, that, in consequence of the illness of the two persons left by the late Mr. TWEDDELL at my house, I have not been able to despatch them to Constantinople, to await the orders which might be given me by your Excellency. But now that his servant PETER is in a condition to depart, I have thought it advisable to send him the earlier in consequence of the season, and in four days time he will set off from hence by sea. His painter, PRÉAUX, finds himself still very weak, but when he shall have gained strength, he will set off at the first opportunity. Your Excellency will find enclosed my account with the late Mr. TWEDDELL, and I beg you will act respecting it according to the kindness you have ever shewn me. I entreat your Excellency to have the goodness to procure my re-imbursement with your usual benevolence, &c. I continue to await your orders respecting the effects of the deceased, which are in my house, and preserved with the greatest care.

I am, &c. &c.

Spiridion Logotheti.

To his Excellency Mr. SMYTHE, &c. &c.

T.

From the Same to the Same.

YOUR EXCELLENCY, ATHENS, 30th October, 1799.

ON the 24th of last month I had the honor to write to your Excellency all that had taken place until that time; and, on the 25th of the same, I had the honor to receive your two very polite letters, No. 6 and No. 7, dated the 13th of June and 16th of August, &c.

The consul, Mr. MACRI, having departed for the Morea, all the effects of the late Mr. TWEDDELL are consigned to my care according to the note included in the letter which the said consul sends; and, in consequence of Mr. PRÉAUX and the servant PETER having engaged themselves in the service of Mr. HOPE, I have entrusted all the effects to the bearer of the present letter, *Papa* SIMEON, a well-known and faithful friend, that they may be transferred to your Excellency.

Your Excellency will find enclosed an account of all that I have disbursed on account of the deceased, &c.*

I beg, therefore, your E. will have the goodness to pay, or cause to be paid by any one from whom payment may properly be expected, the enclosed account, to the bearer of this my humble letter, *Papa* SIMEON, within the period of 31 days, and I will not fail to pray, &c. I am, with all devotedness, &c. &c.

Spiridion Logotheti.

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* See *Papa* SIMEON's acknowledgment of the receipt of the effects, subjoined. (ED.)

Enclosure.

Attestation of the receipt of the Effects by Papa SIMEON.

Copia ex Greco.]

Hò ricevuto io sotto-scritto dal Signor SPIRIDION LOGOTHETI, Baratario Bretannico, quattro bauli sigillati, un cassoncin con quaranta-otto libri, un sacco di tela rossa cusito, contenente due selle all' uso europeo, due briglia nere, un tapetto con entrovi, un stramazzo d'indiana, un cussino simile, et uno coltra: quali Dio piacendo col mio arrivo a Constantinopli mi obligo consegnargli a S. Ex. ᵉ. SIENCER SMYTHE, Ambasciatore d' Inghilterra, e per nolo abbia da ricevere piàstre vinti come d'accordo: e cosi mi sottoscrivo per ogni demostrazione.

1799, 18 8bre. Atene.

Di piu hò ricevuto un saccheto sigilato con entrovi le chiavi,

Papa Simeone.

Translation (from the Italian).

I, the undersigned, have received from Mr. SPIRIDION LOGOTHETI, British Beratary,* four trunks, sealed; a small packing-case, containing forty-eight books; a sack of red cloth, sewn up, containing two saddles after the european fashion, and two black bridles; a carpet, and wrapped up therein a dimity mattress, a cushion of similar material, with a coverlet: which, God willing, on my arrival at Constantinople, I undertake to consign unto his Excellency J. SPENCER SMYTHE, English Ambassador; and for

* BERATARY.—Patented Interpreter. See page 342.

freight [of the same] I am to receive twenty piastres, according to agreement: and thus I subscribe myself, for every needful testimony. 1799, October 18, Athens. Moreover, I have received a bag, sealed, *with the keys therein.*

Papa Simeone.

V.

(1.)

Letters from FRANCIS TWEDDELL, *Esq. to* JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, *Esq. H.B.M.'s Minister Plenipotentiary, &c. &c.*

THREEPWOOD, near Hexham, Northumberland,
31st October, 1799.

SIR,

OF the very feeling and sympathetic manner in which you have been pleased to communicate to Mrs. TWEDDELL and myself the mournful event which forms the subject of your favor of the 25th of August, we are most duly sensible; and that our deepest regret is proportioned to the heavy loss sustained, you will readily conceive.

Your public character, and engagements of the first moment being considered, I should have been much at a loss to procure the necessary interference towards adjusting such matters as naturally present themselves on this melancholy occasion, had not your friendship stimulated the offer to arrange my dear son's affairs, and which you are pleased to say shall be communicated more particularly at a future opportunity. Meanwhile, allow us, Sir, to present our most fervent acknowledgments for the various acts of kindness which my son repeatedly expressed himself to have re-

ceived at your hands; for all which, and your now subsequent conduct, our most lively gratitude is due.

My dear son's journals, and other papers, from the time of his quitting England, will, from his general accuracy, prove such a mass of information as to render them highly valuable; and, connected with those of his prints, drawings, &c. will, I am persuaded, induce your particular attention towards securing, and, by the most probably safe conveyance, forwarding them to this country; and, whatever be the expense which occurs in so doing, on your having the goodness to intimate the same, it shall be most punctually discharged. Should Lord ELGIN be arrived at Constantinople, from my son's having had the honor of being known to him at Berlin, his Lordship's kind offices, if necessary in such a matter, I much flatter myself would not be wanting.

Mrs. TWEDDELL desires to unite in best respects and acknowledgments for the favors conferred, and with all due consideration, I have the honor to remain, Sir,

Your truly obliged and most obedient servant,

Francis Tweddell.

(2.)

Extract of a Letter from the Same to the Same.

THREEPWOOD, 1st April, 1800.

SIR,

YOUR favors of the 21st of January and 10th of February are now before me; and for your very obliging assiduity and friendly attention to the whole of the business resulting from the late melancholy event, I must request you to accept my best acknowledgments.

As every species of property of my late dear son's would by me have been highly estimated, greatly concerned I am, that damage in any way should have accrued thereto; but most especially as to his papers; every one of which, from his acknowledged judgment and accuracy, was truly valuable.—[Here follow instructions as to the best conveyance home.] * * *

The whole of what occurs on this subject I have named to Lord ELGIN and to Mr. THORNTON by the present conveyance, and take the liberty of repeating the same to you, in hopes that, if both or either of those letters should have miscarried, you may do me the favor of communicating the purport thereof, as before specified.

Respecting the whole of the debts due from my late son, amounting to 221*l.* 13*s.* Messrs. SYKES, SNAITH, and Co acquaint me that Mr. THORNTON has drawn on them for that sum; and as he has been pleased to say, that it is with Lord ELGIN's approbation, and that to you Mr. T. had delivered the proper vouchers for the same, I in consequence have given orders for the bill to be duly honoured.

—— From the various proofs of friendship on your part to my late dear son, and your kind subsequent attentions, happy indeed should I be were it ever in my power to testify to you the sense I must ever retain thereof. The inventory and other papers* mentioned in your two last favours, I must not omit to observe, have been duly received; and part of them, as I conceive, are the vouchers delivered to you by Mr. THORNTON.

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* Namely, Physician's report, inventory of effects, and a few returned letters, &c. (ED.)

W.

Letter from THOMAS THORNTON, *Esq. to* FRANCIS TWEDDELL, *Esq.*

SIR, CONSTANTINOPLE, Dec. 28, 1799.

I AM permitted to take the opportunity of answering the letter you have honoured me with, by an express which Lord ELGIN despatches for England.

Lord ELGIN's personal acquaintance with the late Mr. JOHN TWEDDELL makes him desirous, as well as all here who had the happiness of knowing him, of preserving his literary property from accident, and conveying it to you in the safest and speediest manner.

Part of your son's effects, received from Athens, are in the magazines of the british chancery *under his Lordship's seal*—the remainder, as you, Sir, are already informed, are in my warehouse.

In what manner they can best be sent to England, is not yet determined. The risk of sending them by sea, even though our merchant ships generally sail with convoy, is greater than I should wish such valuable property to be exposed to; and on the other hand, the uncertainty of the continuance of the war prevents my advising your leaving them here until peace—perhaps the best way would be to separate his journals, notes, drawings, &c.; and if they are not too bulky, to forward them over land through Vienna, to Hamburg, and thence by a safe conveyance to England;—the other part of his effects may be sent by sea. [After some detail, as

to the debts of the deceased, he proceeds again:]——With approbation of Lord ELGIN, I intend drawing on Messrs. SYKES, SNAITH, and Co. for the amount of the above-mentioned sums, &c.

I have the honour to remain, with great respect, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Thomas Thornton.

X.

Answer to the above. (Extract.)

SIR, THREEPWOOD, March 31, 1800.

YOUR very obliging favour of the 28th December, I have lately received, and take the earliest opportunity to acknowledge the friendliness of your intentions towards the conveyance of my late dear son's property to England. Concerning the various modes you proposed of effecting the same, I must confess I feel rather incompetent to determine. In the opinion of those I have consulted thereon, the general idea is, that a ship of war, whether acting as convoy to merchant ships, or coming alone direct to England, which latter is deemed preferable, bids fairest for security; and if so, separating the property, and sending the valuable journals, notes, drawings, &c. over land, and the bulky part by sea, might be rendered unnecessary.—But to your judgment, in adopting the best expedient, I rather wish to submit, being fully satisfied, from the nature of your commercial connections and your former friendly offices, that your best endeavours will be used towards ensuring their speedy and safe arrival in this country. In

addition to what you have been pleased to intimate as to my Lord ELGIN's friendly interference towards securing and promoting the safe transmittal of the effects I have the satisfaction to learn the same (myself)——I have also requested of his Lordship his farther friendly aid, and he is pleased to say,* he has offered you every assistance in his power. From such assurances I therefore flatter myself that the object in question will be satisfactorily attained."——

I note your observations, as to the debts due from my son, and by a letter just received from Messrs. SYKES, SNAITH, and Co. I am acquainted, that the Hamburg mails have brought them a letter of advice from you, counter-signed by Mr. SPENCER SMYTHE, of your having drawn upon them for 221*l.* 13*s.*; that Mr. SMYTHE acknowledges having received from you the proper vouchers, and desiring my instructions as to acceptance of the bill, and which I have in consequence ordered to be duly honoured."

With a due sense of your most friendly attentions on the late unhappy event, I remain, Sir, with esteem, &c. &c.

Francis Tweddell.

* The reference here is not to any letter, or note, to such effect, received from Lord ELGIN by Mr. TWEDDELL, who was never favoured with a single line of acknowledgment to himself direct, or with any written document of any description, either from his Lordship personally or by his orders: the allusion is solely to an indirect communication received through the medium of a friend of the ambassador, to whom he had condescended to write on the subject. In this letter the following passage is attributed to his Lordship:—"I have offered every assistance in my power to a Mr. THORNTON, an English merchant, who has acted as his (the deceased's) agent, and conducted his business with the kindness of a friend." (ED.)

Y.

Letter from FRANCIS TWEDDELL, *Esq. to the Earl of* ELGIN, *Ambassador-Extraordinary, &c.*

THREEPWOOD, near Hexham,
April, 1, 1800

MY LORD,

COLONEL DIGBY having been so obliging as to acquaint me of your Lordship's friendly interference in preserving the property of my late dear son at Constantinople and at Athens, your Lordship will, I trust, accept my sincere acknowledgments for the favor thus conferred, and also for your farther intentions of assistance towards transmitting the effects to England.

MR. THORNTON, as your Lordship has been pleased to intimate,* has conducted that business with the kindness of a friend; and in addition he now writes to me, that he will do his utmost in expediting the property to England in the most safe and expeditious manner; and observes, that it was not then determined what mode was the most eligible; Mr. THORNTON was, therefore, in doubt, whether to send the whole by sea, as the (merchant) ships generally sail with convoy, or, to separate the property (as before described.)——My own sentiments, and those of the commercial persons I have consulted, incline to the plan of forwarding the whole, on account of safety, by a ship of war coming direct for England, if such conveyance could be procured; and if this

* See note in preceding page: also letter to Mr. MOORE, (D.) [*Appendix.*]

meet your ideas, I trust it would be in your power to carry it into effect. But as at such a distance, I conceive myself incompetent to decide what plan is the most eligible—to your Lordship I therefore most readily submit the adoption of such methods, as to you may appear most fit and proper on the occasion; being at the same time assured, from Mr. THORNTON's uniform friendly conduct, of his assistance in promoting any measure that seems the most expedient. To Mr. T. I have suggested, in a letter by the present conveyance, that SAMUEL BOSANQUET, Esq. Deputy Governor of the Levant Company having kindly offered me every assistance on this melancholy occasion, whether it may not be advisable to embrace such his permission, by addressing the packages to *him*, who in the commercial line must be familiarised with the custom-house duties, &c. in preference to addressing them to my banker (as I had previously mentioned), who having no concern in that way, may be supposed less competent thereto than Mr. BOSANQUET.

Mr. BOSANQUET is pleased to observe, "that if the effects come by a ship of war, and the captain does not come direct to England, that, in such case, he be particularly requested to consign them at Leghorn or Gibraltar to the captain of the man of war that acts as convoy to the ships from thence to England, as it rarely happens that the convoys come through from Smyrna to England;" but, he adds, "that Lord ELGIN, Mr. SPENCER SMYTHE, or Mr. THORNTON will be competent to arrange the mode of bringing home the effects in a proper manner." As the above observation comes from a gentleman of Mr. BOSANQUET's intelligence in the Levant trade, it claims proportionable attention.

——— I ought much to apologize for the freedom of thus addressing your Lordship, but I trust it may be attributed to the sad

necessity of the case—and on this account I flatter myself your Lordship will have the goodness to excuse the intrusion.*

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Francis Tweddell.

To the Right Hon. the Earl of ELGIN,
Ambassador-Extraordinary, &c. &c.

Z.

Letter from JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, *Esq. to* FRANCIS TWEDDELL, *Esq.*

CONSTANTINOPLE, 15 Apr. 1801.

SIR,

I MUST premise by assuring you that my silence (long as it must have appeared) has neither been owing to any want of personal attention, nor to indifference towards the subject of our late correspondence, in which I take as lively an interest as ever; but must be placed to the account of such a change of circumstances since I last addressed you, as not only rendered my good offices touching the affairs in question useless; but moreover doomed me to become an impotent spectator of so much mismanagement as rendered the topic a very ungrateful one for me to resume—besides its being both an irksome and difficult task to explain the real state of things, and to express my sentiments thereon at this distance and in this form.

At length such a crisis has taken place in my own position as affords an occasion that I am not backward in availing myself of

* No answer was returned to this letter. (ED.)

towards you. Lord ELGIN's progressive encroachment on the department reserved to me in this country at his nomination to the embassy-extraordinary, has terminated in the way to be apprehended from his superior weight of metal; namely, by my entire supersedure, and by the transfer of all my official functions to his Lordship: I am therefore upon the point of quitting this post, to return home. Previously to which event, a general review of papers having brought again under my eye your letters of 23d Dec. 1799, and 1st April 1800 (comprehending a duplicate of that dated 31st Oct. 1799), I use this opportunity for acquitting myself both of the duty of a man of business as well as of the attention that one gentleman has a right to expect from another, in thus satisfying you of the safe receipt of the same; and I beg leave to accompany this acknowledgment by the expression of my regret that the interference of other persons (an interference which I must reprobate as highly officious and indelicate, to apply no other epithet), should have made all my regard for your late estimable son's memory, as well as my zeal for the same literary pursuits, of no avail towards a proper and advantageous management of his affairs. To a person of your undoubted experience and sagacity, I must have expressed enough for my meaning to be comprehended; or if not, the deficiency can be made good when I may be enabled *vivâ voce* to assure you of my being with perfect truth and regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

John Spencer Smythe.

A A.

A Memorial presented to the LEVANT-COMPANY.

To the Right Honorable the Governor, the Right-Worshipful the Deputy-Governor, and Court of Assistants, of the Company of Merchants of England trading into the Levant seas.

The Memorial of the Reverend ROBERT TWEDDELL, A. M. of Manchester, in the County-Palatine of Lancaster,

SHEWETH,

THAT in the year 1799, and on the 25th of July in the said year, JOHN TWEDDELL, Esq. Fellow of Trinity-College in the University of Cambridge, departed this life at Athens, a city of Greece within the dominions of the Ottoman emperor, where during several months he had resided, and had prosecuted researches of a literary or scientific character, with singular industry and success.

That he was a gentleman of extraordinary talents and acquirements, and amply qualified to have imparted information of the most useful and interesting description, on the subjects to which his labors were directed, and that the fruits of those labors, as can be satisfactorily proven, were abundant, various, and valuable.

That, on the decease of the said JOHN TWEDDELL, the whole of his literary and other personal property at Athens, consisting of

four trunks, a little box, a portfolio, and a portmanteau, passed under the care of Mr. SPIRIDION LOGOTHETI, or the acting english pro-consul at that place, and an inventory of the same having been first regularly taken (extracts from which are hereunto annexed),* were by him sealed officially, in due form, and remitted to the address of JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, Esq. a particular friend of the deceased, then H.B.M's minister-plenipotentiary at the imperial court of Constantinople, and charged with the management of your Worships' concerns in the Levant: But your Memorialist is also informed that the aforesaid effects did not actually come into the custody of that gentleman, in consequence of their being, in a summary and arbitrary way, taken possession of by the authority of the R. H. the Earl of ELGIN, who had then recently arrived from England, invested with the character of H.M.'s ambassador-extraordinary, which warranted, according to his Lordship's construction of such appointment, his superseding all the powers of the minister before-named, notwithstanding the latter continued to reside with his rank at the turkish capital, and was understood to remain virtually in the administration of your Worships' chartered jurisdiction over english persons and things within those dominions.

That thus (without your Memorialist now stopping to examine the very questionable legitimacy of such proceedings on the part of the ambassador), not only the property from Athens, as already described, but moreover two other trunks, containing effects of corresponding description and proportional value, which had been entrusted by Mr. TWEDDELL to the care of Mr. THOMAS THORNTON, a member of your factory at Constantinople, and transferred by that merchant to the ambassador's care, constituting the whole

* See Letter to ABRAHAM MOORE, Esq. (A.) [*Appendix.*]

of the deceased's personal estate in Turkey did, consequently, come into the immediate keeping and sole administration of the Earl of ELGIN, to be by him transmitted, by customary and safe means, to the representatives of the deceased in England.

That none of the packages enumerated above, nor any portion of their contents, have ever reached the said representatives or family; nor hath the existence of the same been ascertained or traced, in any shape or degree, beyond the custody thus assumed by the aforesaid Earl, notwithstanding due and diligent enquiries and efforts on their part.

That, amongst others, representations to that especial end directed, having been addressed by your Memorialist to the Earl of ELGIN, his Lordship appears to disclaim any particular or personal knowledge of the said effects, alleging that his memory does not supply him with any distinct recollection on the subject; but nevertheless that there are "impressions" on his mind which lead him to believe, that certain persons attached to his retinue or household, did charge themselves with the more immediate care of the same, and that the whole was finally shipped on board a merchant vessel named the "*Lord Duncan*," commanded by a Captain THOMPSON, and consigned to some one of the friends of Mr. TWEDDELL, with a view to their being ultimately conveyed to his father, the late FRANCIS TWEDDELL, Esq. of Threepwood, near Hexham, in the county of Northumberland.

That your Memorialist is the executor of the above-named FRANCIS TWEDDELL, as well as the brother and nearest of kin of the before-named JOHN TWEDDELL, and here feels himself bound to certify your Worships, that such assertion or supposition of the noble Earl, relative to the shipment and eventual disposition of

the property, does not hitherto appear to be corroborated by any bill of lading, invoice, receipt, letter of advice, or other voucher or memorandum whatever, usual in such transactions.

Finally, this memorial does also particularly set forth that, independently of the damage in point of property, and of the personal injury and affliction resulting to his family from the loss of his papers and other memorials, the disappearance of the entire collections of so distinguished a classical scholar, and so accomplished a traveller as the late JOHN TWEDDELL is universally allowed to have been, consisting of numerous manuscripts, highly-finished drawings, sundry remains of antiquity, and other works of art, constitutes a real and serious detriment to society, as far as the pursuits of literature and general knowledge are interesting thereunto: and your Memorialist humbly conceives that such disappearance requires to be accounted for, if possible, in some satisfactory manner; and that a detailed investigation of such disappearance and loss of property, occurring at the principal foreign establishment of the Right Worshipful Company, is an object not unworthy of the attention, aid, and authority of your Worships.

Therefore, with a view to such satisfaction, and upon the grounds herein-before stated, your Memorialist feels emboldened to prefer the following prayer to your Right-Worshipful Body, namely:—That your Worships would be pleased to move his Excellency the Right-Honorable ROBERT LISTON*, ambassador, or, in his

* LISTON.—The Editor is solicitous to offer some qualification of the sentiments expressed in Letter XVII. (p. 106,) of the "*Correspondence*," on the subject of english diplomacy. He ventures to hope it will be remembered by every candid reader, that the opinions alluded to were formed at a season of life when the fervor of youthful feeling, combined with a high tone of morals, and excited perhaps by some instances not of the

place, BARTHOLOMEW FRERE, Esq. secretary of embassy, or direct your precept to your consul-general, treasurer, or chancellor, at Constantinople, for the time being, to enter upon an examination of persons, papers, and records, there, or at other needful places, within the jurisdiction of the same, touching the disposition of the property of JOHN TWEDDELL, Esq. deceased, and forthwith to take, state and report the progress and result of such examination to your Worships; of which report your Worships are farther respectfully entreated to cause a full communication to be made to

Your afflicted Memorialist,

Robert Tweddell.

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most favorable complexion, conspired to make a most powerful impression on the mind of the writer: it cannot be thought unnatural, under such circumstances, and may assuredly claim indulgence, if in the warmth and freedom of epistolary confidence conclusions were drawn and expressed at the moment which more mature experience might have found cause to modify or in part reject; and which a more intimate knowledge of the measures at that time imposed upon our ministers abroad, by the œconomy of the british government in its foreign relations, would probably, in one respect, have disproved the application of altogether. Mr. TWEDDELL himself discovered a splendid exception or two to the truth of his own position, and would doubtless, had his life been prolonged, have met with others of an equally honorable description. The embassy to Constantinople supplies at this moment an instance in point, which offers a character that would not have discredited the best periods of english diplomacy: happy indeed would it have been for Mr. T.'s family, and perhaps not less fortunate for the public, had Mr. LISTON, who now so ably fills that department, been ambassador at the Porte at the critical juncture, so often the subject of allusion in this volume. The history of Mr. T.'s *MSS.* and drawings might then have been less melancholy: it might then have been the Editor's more welcome task to record his own grateful homage—to dedicate the thanks and applauses of the friends of science to the honor of that rare integrity and prudence which now so beneficially preside in the british councils at Constantinople, and which would not have failed to watch with tenderness over the treasures of departed worth and learning, and convey them with conscientious fidelity and despatch to that country whose literature they were destined to adorn. Mr.

B. B.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE R. W. THE LEVANT COMPANY.

1.

A Letter from Mr. Secretary LIDDELL, *addressed to the Rev.* ROBERT TWEDDELL.

LEVANT COMPANY'S HOUSE, 7th Jan. 1814.

SIR,

YOUR Memorial, dated the 10th of November, has been laid before a General Court of the Company, and, upon consideration thereof, it was resolved to comply with your request, that inquiries should be made into the disposition of the property of JOHN TWEDDELL, Esq. deceased.

Lord ELGIN being in this country, it was thought proper to apply to his Lordship in the first instance, and a copy of your Memorial was accordingly transmitted to him by the Deputy-governor, who has received a letter from his Lordship in reply, copy of which you will receive herewith. And I am directed to say, that the Company will be glad to receive your answer, as to proofs therein alluded to, that they may be enabled to pursue the inquiry. I have the honor to be, Sir, &c.

George Liddell,
Secretary.

LISTON was appointed secretary of embassy to Spain, 12th of March 1783, and minister-plenipotentiary in the absence of the ambassador, 14th May 1783; ambassador to the Ottoman Porte 25th Sept. 1793; envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the United States of America, 17th Feb. 1796; appointed with the same rank to Holland, 5th April 1802, which appointment ceased 1804; after which Mr. L. retired to his domestic residence, near Edinburg, till his last appointment, for the second time, to the turkish embassy, March 22, 1811.

2.

Lord ELGIN's *Answer, addressed to* JACOB BOSANQUET, *Esq. Deputy-governor of the Levant Company, (inclosed in the preceding.)*

BROOM-HALL, 21st December, 1813.

SIR,

I BEG leave to submit to the R. W. the Levant Company, as the first step in the proceedings on the Memorial presented to their Worships by the Rev. Mr. TWEDDELL, that they direct him to furnish distinct and formal proof* of the assertion upon which he grounds, not only the complaint against me, but more particularly his reason for preferring this complaint before the R. W. Company: namely, "That on the decease of the said JOHN TWEDDELL, the whole of his literary and other personal property, &c. at Athens ..... were sealed officially in due form, and remitted to the address of JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, Esq. a particular friend of the deceased, then his Majesty's minister plenipotentiary at the imperial court of Constantinople, and charged with the management of your Worships' concerns in the Levant: But your Memorialist is also informed that the aforesaid effects did not actually come into the custody of that gentleman, in consequence of their *being in a summary and arbitrary way taken possession of by the authority of the Right Hon. the Earl of* ELGIN, who had then recently arrived from England, invested with the character of his Majesty's ambassador extraordinary, which warranted, according to his Lordship's construction of such appointment, his super-

* With what grace this requisition for "formal and distinct proof" comes from a person who has himself declined all explanation on his part, and has not exhibited one single document in support of any one allegation he has made, is not unworthy of the reader's reflection. (ED.)

seding all the powers of the minister before-named, notwithstanding the latter continued to reside with his rank at the turkish capital, and was understood to remain virtually in the administration of your Worships' chartered jurisdiction over english persons and things within those dominions."

I am confident this proof so obviously required will be transmitted to me with as little delay as possible.

Not being quite aware of the usual form of address to the R. W. Company on similar occurrences, I continue the mode of communication adopted by you on the 2d instant; but I conclude and trust, that as the Memorial of the Rev. Mr. TWEDDELL was taken under consideration of a general meeting of the Right Worshipful Company, the same and every degree of solemnity will be given to all the further proceedings in this case.

I have the honor to be, Sir, &c. &c.

Elgin.

3.

Letter of the Rev. ROBERT TWEDDELL, *in reply to the Despatch of Mr. Secretary* LIDDELL, *of 7th January*, 1814.

MANCHESTER, 10th Jan. 1814.

SIR,

IN your favor of the 7th instant, received by me last night, I am honored with the answer of the Levant-Company to the Memorial which was, on my part, presented to their Worships, on the 10th November last, touching the property of my late brother, Mr. JOHN TWEDDELL.

I beg leave, in the first place, to request that you will present to the Company my very respectful and grateful acknowledgments

for the assurance which you are authorized to impart to me, expressive of the resolution which they have come to, to comply with the prayer of my petition, and cause "inquiry to be made into the disposition of the property of JOHN TWEDDELL Esq. deceased."

Your favor further expresses, that a copy of the Memorial having been transmitted to the Earl of ELGIN, his Lordship makes that reply, of which, inclosed, you have furnished me with a transcript.

Referring, then, to the original document in the possession of the Company, and to that part of it, more specifically, which is quoted in the letter of Lord ELGIN, namely, where it is asserted, "that on the decease of the said JOHN TWEDDELL, the whole of his literary and other personal property at Athens, was remitted to the address of JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, Esq." and ending with the words "your Worships' chartered jurisdiction over english persons and things within those dominions;" I am called upon to notice the requisition which is made by the noble Lord, for "a distinct and formal proof of the *assertion* on which more particularly the reason of my complaint is grounded," in the memorial presented to the R. W. Company.

Assuming it, therefore, to be intended by his Lordship, in "the assertion" to which he alludes, to refer, in the first place, to the consignment of Mr. TWEDDELL's property to JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, Esq. and to the official jurisdiction of the latter in the concerns of the Levant Company; I beg leave to premise, that at the time of my brother's decease, Mr. SMYTHE being the sole accredited minister of Great Britain at Constantinople, and a particular friend of Mr. TWEDDELL, and having also, in the first instance, communicated the intelligence of his death to the family, and charged himself with the care and transmission of his effects,

it was natural that Mr. TWEDDELL's friends, both at the moment of receiving the account, and more especially afterwards, on not receiving his property in the time and manner expected, should hold frequent correspondence with Mr. SMYTHE on a subject so extremely interesting to them; and that the latter, on his part, should be solicitous to vindicate himself from any appearance of neglect in the management of the deceased's affairs, for which, in a double capacity, he had become the responsible person.

It was therefore in consequence of documents in such way received by the family from Mr. SMYTHE, that I have asserted that the property at Athens "was sealed officially in due form, and remitted to the address" of that gentleman, then his Majesty's minister plenipotentiary at the imperial court of Turkey. In attestation of the former part of this declaration, I beg to refer to the extracts of the inventory officially taken on the spot by the acting proconsul at Athens, which came through the hands of Mr. SMYTHE, bears his indorsement of its authenticity, and will be found attached to the memorial presented; and my authority for the latter part of the assertion, in so far as regards the consignment of the property, is founded on the letters of instruction from Mr. SMYTHE to Consul MACRI and to Mr. LOGOTHETI, dated Constantinople 16th August 1799, enjoining the prompt and sure transmission to him of the effects of the deceased, and generally all that belonged to him; together with an acknowledgment of the same by the consul, addressed to his Excellency Mr. SMYTHE, and regularly advising, that he "had consigned all the effects to *Papa* SIMEON, a faithful and well-known person, to be remitted to his Excellency."

Again.—In confirmation of my assertion that Mr. SMYTHE did, at that period, "remain virtually in the administration

of their Worships' chartered jurisdiction over English persons and things within those dominions,' allow me first respectfully to invite the attention of the Company generally, to the undoubted rights and privileges conveyed by their own charter; and in the next place, to refer them to a declaratory vote of their's, dated 30th Jan. 1801 (a copy of which is inclosed),* from which I plainly infer that JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, Esq. did continue in the full and indisputable possession of the jurisdiction which I have ascribed to him, for the space of at least eighteen months subsequent to the date of Mr. TWEDDELL's decease.

It remains that I justify the declaration made, "that the effects did not actually come into the custody of the above-named gentleman, in consequence of their being in a summary and arbitrary way taken possession of by the authority of the Right Hon. the Earl of ELGIN;" and here I rest myself confidently on the whole tenor and expressed sense of the correspondence of Mr. SMYTHE with my father and myself, and I cannot doubt in the least that if the Right Worhipful Company should be pleased, for their more perfect satisfaction, to cause reference to be made to that gentleman personally, he will feel it his duty to afford any explanation which they may wish for in support of the uniform testimony supplied by his letters.

On the whole, permit me to observe, that as the LEVANT COMPANY have been pleased, in their discretion, to sanction Lord ELGIN's call for proofs of what is above referred to, I have therefore felt it my duty to render immediate obedience to their good pleasure; but, with all due respect, I will beg leave to submit it to their Worships that it is at least as much the duty of his Lordship to

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* See pp. 365, 461.

dispose of the allegations of my memorial (than which nothing could have been easier, if they were incorrect, and which not being attempted leaves an inference that they were well founded), as it can be any obligation of mine to bring forward any thing in confirmation of the facts asserted, beyond what the internal evidence of the case supplies; and I hope that I am not misguided by self-partiality in supposing, that, as there is nothing on the face of the question which entitles the Earl of ELGIN to superior indulgence; so there is, on the other side, a measure of real hardship, and a quantity of absolute independent facts which admit of no denial, such as may fairly claim the most favourable regard of the Right Worshipful Company; and such as may enable them with convenient advantage to pursue the solicited inquiry, on the simple evidence of the undisputed realities of the case.

Assuring you, Sir, at the same time, of the perfect readiness with which I have applied myself to comply with the purport of your letter, and requesting you to assure Mr. BOSANQUET and the gentlemen of the LEVANT COMPANY, in the most respectful terms, of the solicitude which I shall uniformly feel to meet every reasonable desire on their part for necessary explanation,

I have the honour to remain, &c. &c.

Robert Inveddell.

4.

Answer.

LEVANT COMPANY'S HOUSE,
Jan. 25, 1814.

SIR,

YOUR letter of the 10th instant, addressed to me, was laid before a general court holden on the 20th—and I have the pleasure to inform you that it was then ordered that the Consul-general of

Constantinople be directed to "inquire into the disposition of the property of JOHN TWEDDELL, Esq. who died at Athens in the year 1799," agreeably to the prayer of your memorial, dated 10th November last. I am, &c. &c.

George Liddell,
Secretary.

To the Rev. ROBERT TWEDDELL.

[THE Editor, in subjoining the official returns of the LEVANT-COMPANY'S consul-general at Constantinople (in obedience to the instructions issued by their Worships), cannot do less than acknowledge the honorable promptitude and humane attention with which his appeal to that worshipful body has from the first been entertained, and subsequently enforced; and for which he is happy in this opportunity of making sincere profession of his cordial and respectful thanks.]

C C.

Copies of Official Documents received from Consul-General MORIER at Constantinople,* &c. &c.

A Letter addressed to the Right Honourable the Governor and Right Worshipful the Company of Merchants of England trading into the Levant Seas.

CONSTANTINOPLE, Sept. 10, 1814.

MY LORD, AND RIGHT WORSHIPFUL SIRS,

CONFORMABLY to the directions your Worships were pleased to give me by your letter of the 3d February, to institute a formal

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* The Editor thinks it right to state that, for the sake of brevity, and from no other view, he has not given insertion to the letter of inquiry sent by Mr. MORIER to Athens, because from the nature of it (consisting entirely of questions proposed to Mr. LOGOTHETI) it presents actually no information, and would have tended to increase the pages of this

official examination of persons, papers, and records here, at Athens, and elsewhere touching the disposition of the property of JOHN TWEDDELL, Esq. who died at Athens on the 25th July, 1799; I have the honour of transmitting herewith the information I have hitherto obtained thereon, which your Worships will find detailed in the enclosed documents.

(1.) Examination of Mr. B. PISANI, Mr. JN. CARTWRIGHT, Mr. JAS. BARBAUD, and Mr. PRÉAUX, french artist.

(2.) Declaration of Count de LUDOLF (late Neapolitan ambassador) from whom Mr. PRÉAUX had heard that he had seen those effects. As Count de LUDOLF constantly resides at Buyukdéré, I addressed a note to him, requesting he would have the goodness to inform me of all he knew or could remember concerning these effects, which he did in the inclosed declaration.

There is no further mention made of these effects in the cancellaria registers since that of their reception on the 2d of December, 1799. As no list of the contents of the trunks was made then, it is impossible to ascertain whether they contained all the articles specified in the inventory made at Athens, and there is no docu-

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Appendix, already too numerous, without offering any thing to compensate for the inconvenience. For precisely the same reason, the Consul's letter to the Company of 25d November 1814, complaining of the delay which Mr. LOGOTHETI was chargeable with in making the official returns (and which has since been satisfactorily explained to have been owing to the illness of *Papa* SIMEON) has in like manner been excluded, as incapable of illustrating the subject of inquiry, though needful and proper at the time when it was written to account for the non-appearance of the returns from Athens. The latter were received by the Editor at the moment when these sheets were going to press; namely, on the 9th of March 1815: and this fact the reader will please to have in mind, as it explains the omission of any reference which might otherwise have been made in some places, to the deposition of *Papa* SIMEON. (ED.)

ment on record whereby to ascertain whether the trunks and cases were sealed when they arrived here, and to whom the keys were entrusted.

It is stated in the register of the cancellaria, that the ship *Lord Duncan*, Captain THOMSON, arrived here the 8th September, and departed for Smyrna the 5th October, 1800; but there is no memorandum of those effects having been loaded in her. I therefore wrote to Consul WERRY the 23d April, desiring him to cause the manifest of that ship to be examined; because, if she had been loaded for England, those effects must have been specified; but that was not the case, as your Worships will see, by Consul WERRY's answer, which I beg leave to inclose. (C.)

It appears from the memorandum here annexed, (A.)* that Mr. CARTWRIGHT was appointed pro-chancellor, the 24th December, 1799, under certain limitations, which continued till the 30th October, 1800; when the offices of second dragoman and cancellier being separated by order of the company, Mr. PISANI ceased to be cancellier, and Mr. CARTWRIGHT continued to hold the office as pro-cancellier, but without limitations, till the 6th March, 1801; at which date Mr. STEPHEN MALTASS entered the office of cancellier.

I have been expecting an answer to a letter I had written to Mr. LOGOTHETI, our pro-consul at Athens, of which I have the honor to enclose a copy; and, owing to the difficulty of obtaining for some time the attendance of Mr. PRÉAUX, french artist, the transmission of the above informations has been unavoidably delayed. But although as yet I have not received Mr. LOGO-

* (A.) This memorandum was not among the documents transmitted to the Editor.

THETI's answer, and considering that it is not likely he can furnish any information respecting the disposition of those effects after they were once received here and deposited in the cancellaria, I have thought it advisable not to delay any further to transmit to your Worships the result of my researches into that business. I am sorry to say that owing to the lapse of fifteen years since Mr. TWEDDELL's death, and the dispersion of the persons named in the Rev. Mr. TWEDDELL's letter to me, I cannot flatter myself with any hopes of obtaining more satisfactory circumstantial information; unless I should receive any from Mr. LOGOTHETI, in answer to another letter I am going to write to him on the business.

Mr. B. FRERE, Secretary of embassy, being mentioned in the Rev. Mr. TWEDDELL's Memorial to your Worships as a person he should wish to take a part in the inquiry, and being a gentleman of the most respectable character, I thought it advisable to request of him to be present at the examinations, in which he acquiesced.

I have the honor to be, with great respect and deference, my Lord, and Right-Worshipful Sirs,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

Isaac Morier.

1.

AT the house of H.M. consul-general, ISAAC MORIER, Esq. at Péra, the 1st day of June, 1814.

EXAMINATION of persons, papers, and records, touching the disposition of the property of JOHN TWEDDELL, Esq. [who] died at

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* The writer of this letter is a gentleman of Swiss extraction—formerly a merchant at Smyrna and in London. His eldest son was private secretary or *amanuensis* to the Earl of ELGIN during his embassy at Constantinople. (ED.)

Athens, on the 25th July, 1799; which examination is instituted by order of the R. W. the Levant Company, by their letter dated 3d February, to ISAAC MORIER, Esq.

Present,

Messrs. ISAAC MORIER, Esq. consul-general.
BARTHO. PISANI, first dragoman.
JOHN CARTWRIGHT.*
GEORGE WOOD, Canc. *ad interim.*

The consul-general administered an oath to Mr. B. PISANI and Mr. JOHN CARTWRIGHT, to answer to the truth, and nothing but the truth, to the following questions :—

Reference to the register, No. 29. Extract, p. 180. December 2d, 1799. "This day were consigned into the chancery the effects of the deceased JOHN TWEDDELL, Esq. sent hither from Athens, consisting in four cases, locked, two english saddles, a mattress, one quilt, and a small carpet."

The following Questions, put to Mr. B. PISANI.

Q. 1st. Were the trunks sealed and in good condition?

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* Mr. CARTWRIGHT.—For the satisfactory and valuable communications which the Editor has received from this gentleman, who, with so much credit to himself and advantage to his employers, formerly officiated as chancellor of the Levant-Company, he is forward to record his respectful and sincere acknowledgments. The freedom, ingenuousness, and spirited character of Mr. C.'s correspondence, evince the "*conscia mens recti*" in a manner the most decided; and make it abundantly certain, that the unprecedented irregularities committed in the removal of the effects from the chancery, could not only have received no sanction from principles so pure and honorable as those by which he is evidently governed, but are, in truth, virtually condemned by the scrupulous regard to official regulations which marked his own public conduct. (ED.)

A. I do not recollect; but they must have been in good condition, otherwise it would have been noted in register.

Q. 2d. Was an inventory taken of their contents when deposited?

A. No inventory was taken.

Q. 3d. When and by whose orders were they taken away from the chancery?

A. I do not recollect.

Q. 4th. Were the trunks ever opened whilst they were in the chancery?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. 5th. Why was not the delivery of them registered, as customary?

A. Because I had no knowledge of their removal, and I did not keep the office register after 24th December, 1799.

Q. 6th. Did you ever see the trunks after they were deposited in the chancery?

A. I may have seen them up to the 24th December, 1799.

Q. 7th. Did you ever see them elsewhere than in the chancery?

A. No; never.

Q. 8th. Was Lord ELGIN informed of the arrival of the above-said trunks?

A. Yes; he was informed of their arrival.

Q. 9th. Was any order given by Lord ELGIN for an inventory to be taken of the contents of the trunks?

A. I do not recollect of such order having been given by Lord ELGIN; and no such order is found in register.

Q. 10th. Do you recollect to whom the keys of the trunks were delivered?

A. No; I never saw any keys belonging to them.

B. Pisani.

The foregoing questions to Mr. B. PISANI were also put to Mr. CARTWRIGHT, who, in answer upon the whole, made the following deposition:—

"It cannot be expected that, at this distance of time, I should recollect very minutely the circumstances concerning which I am questioned, when I entered the office as pro-cancellier under the limitations expressed in the memorandum of 24th December, 1799. I recollect that certain effects received from Athens, which I understood were the property of the late Mr. J. TWEDDELL, were in the building in which the office of the cancellaria was held, and to the best of my recollection they were shortly afterwards removed to Lord ELGIN's house. No order was given to me, nor do I know that any was given to Mr. PISANI for the removal or examination of them either by Lord ELGIN or Mr. SPENCER SMYTHE. I conceive that the cancellier could not with propriety have acted in either case without an order from the minister or ambassador; but as the office at that time was under the absolute control of Lord ELGIN, perhaps a formal order was not thought necessary. I do not recollect precisely in what manner they were removed—they were not delivered over by me, and no memorandum appears in the register of their delivery. The building in which the cancellaria was held, belongs to the french palace in which Lord ELGIN lived. Some part of his Lordship's effects were generally placed in it, and I believe that he had a key of it. Mr. PISANI had his office in the building for several months after my admission as pro-cancellier, and occasionally superintended and assisted me in the office.

"I recollect hearing that Lord ELGIN intended having the trunks opened, and I think Mr. THOMAS THORNTON, a member of the factory, told me that he was requested to attend at Lord ELGIN's house, to witness the examination of the contents. I was not

requested to attend, nor do I know that Mr. PISANI was, though the attendance of one of us would have been regular. I afterwards heard that the effects had been examined in one of Lord ELGIN's apartments. If they were afterwards shipped on board the *Lord Duncan*, the shipment was not made by the cancellaria; for the *Lord Duncan* sailed after my regular *ad interim* appointment to the office, and I must then have been acquainted with the transaction. I do not recollect that Lord ELGIN called for the assistance of the office at all in the business; either to take note of the contents of the trunks, to ascertain their condition, or to forward them to England. I think that Mr. THORNTON may be able to give further information on the subject; and so may Mr. BARBAUD, as I have heard the latter gentleman say, that he recollects having seen some effects belonging to the late Mr. TWEDDELL at Lord ELGIN's house.

John Cartwright."

Mr. JAMES BARBAUD,* merchant and member of the factory having been requested to attend, he made the following deposition:—

"I declare to have seen, in a room of the palace in which Lord ELGIN lived, at Péra, a case, or trunk, containing drawings, which I understood at the time belonged to Mr. TWEDDELL, deceased at Athens.

James Barbaud."

* Mr. BARBAUD—a respectable merchant, and member of the english factory at Constantinople, who has, for many years, been a resident there, where he is holden in general and deserved esteem. His letters to the Editor merit his thankful notice, and attest the writer's humanity and integrity of mind: in the last of those letters, recently received, Mr. B. sufficiently discovers his opinion on the principal question here concerned, and expresses a confident hope of the recovery of Mr. TWEDDELL's property. (ED.)

28th July, 1814. Mr. PRÉAUX, artist, having been requested to declare what he knows as to the effects of the late Mr. TWEDDELL, declared that he never saw them since they were brought from Athens; but that he had heard Count LUDOLF say, at the time, that he had seen some drawings, books, and papers, in the house of the Earl of ELGIN, which he, Count LUDOLF, was told were the effects of the said Mr. TWEDDELL.

Preaux."

"I, the under-written cancellier *ad interim*, declare the above interrogatories made to Mr. BARTHO. PISANI; and the depositions made by Mr. JOHN CARTWRIGHT, Mr. JAMES BARBAUD, and Mr. PRÉAUX, to be true copies, taken from the originals, existing in the office of this british cancellaria. In faith whereof I have hereunto set my hand, in Péra, of Constantinople, this 20th day of August 1814.

George Wood,
Canc. ad interim.

[Here follows the official attestation of the consul-general.]

2.

Déclaration de S. E. Monsieur le Comte de LUDOLF, *ancien Envoyé extraordinaire et M. Plen. de S. M. Sicilienne, près la P. Ottomane.*

JE soussigné déclare, que feu Mr. JOHN TWEDDELL voiageur Anglois, avec qui j'ai eté très lié pendant son séjour dans cette capitale, etant parti pour Athenes en 1799, je lui ai prêté quelques livres dont il avoit besoin dans ses recherches en Grece. Etant mort à Athénes j'appris, que tous ses effets avoient été envoiés à Constantinople, que le batiment sur lequel ils étoient

embarqués aiant naufragé dans la mer de Marmora, ces effets furent cependant sauvés, et que les coffres qui les contenoient se trouvoient chez Lord ELGIN nouvellement arrivé en qualité d' ambassadeur de S. M. Britannique auprès de la Porte Ottomane. Aiant reclamé, plusieurs jours après, de son Excellence, les livres que j'avois prêté au défunt, Lord ELGIN ordonna à son chapelain Mr. HUNT, de me conduire dans une chambre du palais, qu'il habitoit alors, où je vis, épars, sur une grande table, des livres, des dessins, des manuscrits, &c. qu'il me dit avoir appartenu à Mr. TWEDDELL, et qu' ayant été mouillés par l'eau de la mer, étoient confusément exposés à l'air pour etre séchés: comme l'écriture de feu mon ami m'étoient parfaitement connue, je vis en effet plusieurs papiers écrits de sa main. Je ne fis cependant qu' y jeter un coup d'œil pendant la recherche de mes livres, que je retrouvois parmi plusieurs autres, et que Mr. HUNT me remit, apres les avoir vérifiés par mon nom qui y etoit imprimé. Depuis cette époque je n'ai plus entendu parler des effets, papiers, dessins, &c. que j'ai vu dans cette chambre.

En foi de quoi j'ai remis à Mr. I. MORIER, consul de S. M. Britannique à Constantinople, et à sa requisition, la présente déclaration, signé de ma main, pour etre enregistrée dans la chancellerie Britannique à défaut de chancellerie Sicilienne.

Péra de Constantinople, le 3 Aout, 1814.

Comte de Ludolf.

[Here follow the attestations, as before, of Mr. Cancellier WOOD and Consul-General MORIER.]

2.

(Translation.)

The Declaration of his Excellency Count de LUDOLF, *heretofore Envoy-Extraordinary and Minister-Plenipotentiary from the King of the Two Sicilies to the Othman Emperor.*

I, THE undersigned, make declaration, that, the late Mr. JOHN TWEDDELL, english traveller, with whom I was in close habits of intimacy during his residence in this capital, having proceeded to Athens in 1799, I lent him certain books which he was in want of to aid his researches in Greece. He having died at Athens, I learnt that his effects had been sent to Constantinople; that the vessel in which they were embarked having been wrecked, in the sea of Marmora, those effects were notwithstanding saved, and that the chests which contained them were in the possession of Lord ELGIN, who had just arrived, in quality of ambassador from H. B. M. at the Othman Porte. Having some time afterwards reclaimed from his Excellency the books which I had lent unto the deceased, Lord ELGIN ordered his chaplain Mr. HUNT to conduct me into an apartment of the palace he then inhabited, where I saw, scattered on a large table, books, drawings, manuscripts, &c. which he told me had belonged unto Mr. TWEDDELL, and which having been wet by the sea-water were promiscuously exposed to the air, for the purpose of being dried. As the hand-writing of my deceased friend was perfectly familiar to me, I saw in fact many papers written by himself. I only, however, cast my eye transiently among them in the course of my search for my own books, which I found amongst many others, and which Mr. HUNT restored to me, after I had verified them by my name which was

printed therein.* Since that period I never heard any thing of the effects, papers, drawings, &c. which I saw in that apartment.

In confirmation of which I have transmitted to Mr. I. MORIER, Consul of H. B. M. at Constantinople, at his requisition, the present declaration, signed with my hand, for the purpose of being registered in the british chancery: no sicilian chancery at present existing at this residence.

Péra, of Constantinople, 3d August 1814.

Count de Ludolf.

3.

A Letter from FRANCIS WERRY, *Esq. H.B.M.'s Consul at Smyrna, addressed to* ISAAC MORIER, *Esq. &c. &c.*

SMYRNA, 17th May, 1814.

SIR,

IN reply to the letter you did me the honour to write under the 23d past, I am sorry to say, we cannot trace the effects of the late JOHN TWEDDELL, Esq. which you supposed were shipped on board the ship *Lord Duncan.* That ship was engaged here in the service of government; and supposing, if she had brought any articles for England from Constantinople, they were given in charge of Messrs. LEE and Sons, to whom she was addressed, I wrote to Mr. JOHN LEE on the subject, and he assures me he has no recollection of any baggage having been landed. The manifests of all the ships despatched from this place in the years 1799, 1800,

* It is worthy of notice, that not the least intimation is given by Count LUDOLF of any difficulty in decyphering the signification of words—so that the leaves of the books at least were not "reduced to pulp." (ED.)

1801, and 1802, have been carefully examined; nothing therein appears.—It is strong in my recollection that the trunks had been received at Constantinople in a very damaged state, and neglected there—the person who told me this I do not recollect.

Mr. SPENCER SMYTHE was at Constantinople at the time, and may know more about them.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Francis Werry.

4.

A Second Despatch from ISAAC MORIER, *Esq. to the R. W. Levant Company.*

CONSTANTINOPLE, Dec. 10, 1814.

MY LORD, AND RIGHT WORSHIPFUL SIRS,

I HAVE the honour to inclose the duplicate of my last communication, dated 25th past, on the subject of the late Mr. TWEDDELL's effects, to which I have taken the liberty to add the copy of a letter I finally received from Mr. LOGOTHETI, our Pro-Consul at Athens; from which it appears that those effects were in a deplorable condition when they arrived here, and that owing to that circumstance, as well as to there not having been any inventory made of the contents of the trunks when they were consigned in this cancellaria, it is now still more doubtful whether the trunks contained all the articles specified in the inventory made at Athens immediately after the death of Mr. TWEDDELL, the more especially as it appears that the trunks were thrown on shore by the sea in a shattered state, after having laid during three days under water; and that the keys had been intrusted to *Papa* SIMEON with whom the effects were sent; whereas common sense and prudence ought

to have dictated to Mr. LOGOTHETI to affix a public seal upon the trunks, and to send the keys in a separate parcel properly sealed to our minister.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Isaac Morier.

5.

(Inclosure in the preceding.)

ATHENES, 14 Oct. 1814.

MONSIEUR,

J'AI l'honneur de vous accuser la réception d'une lettre en date 13 Sept. dernier échu qui m'est parvenu ces jours-ci. L'unique objet qui m'a empêché de vous répondre à la première est, qu'à cette époque *Papa* SIMEON (le seul qui étoit à Athenes et qui pouvoit me donner des renseignemens, tels que vous desirez) avoit une très forte fiévre maligne et se trouvoit dans le couvent de Pantaleone. Je l'ai fait venir en ville et voici sa réponse.

1mo. Le bateau où étoit embarqué *Papa* SIMEON avec les effets de feu M. TWEDDELL a naufragé dans l'Isle de Coutali.* Les coffres ainsi que le miel du couvent ci-dessus dont le bateau étoit chargé resterent trois jours couvertes par les ondes, et aprés que la tempête cessa furent poussées à terre brisées par les vagues. *Papa* SIMEON ayant prévenu les Primats de Coutali que ces coffres appartenoient à la mission Britannique, ils s'empresserent avec toute l'attention pour sauver tout ce qu'étoit possible, et délivrerent aussi un certificat au dit *Papa* SIMEON concernant les effets sauvés, et qui a été remis dans les propres mains de Mr. SPENCER SMYTHE par le dit *Papa* à son arrivée à Constantinople.

* See chart, page 448.

Parmi les autres effets, papiers, costumes, &c. y étoit aussi une montre d' or; *Papa* SIMEON ajoute au surplus l'avoir vue sur une table dans le palais, ainsi que des manuscripts, des costumes qu'on avoit deployés dans le dit palais pour les faire dessécher de l'humidité. En outre *Papa* SIMEON a reçu 700 piastres de Mr. SMYTHE pour une lettre de change que je lui avois délivré à la charge du dit Mr. SMYTHE, savoir, pour les frais des funerailles, loyer du logement, &c. et qui lui fit signer en idiome Grec une déclaration d'avoir reçu pour mon compte les dits 700 piastres. Les clefs des coffres ayant été renfermées dans une caisse où le dit *Papa* SIMEON avoit un peu de provisions, telles que de l'huile, du vin, furent perdues, et on n'a pu sauver du naufrage la dite caisse.

2do. Le Medecin Zizelli se trouve maintenant à Tripolitza capitale de la Morée.

3mo. PIETRO TRANDAFILO domestique de feu M. TWEDDELL n'est pas à Athenes, et je ne pu's decouvrir où il est; je suppose pourtant qu'il doit être dans quelque isle de l'Archipel.

Mr. FAUVEL consul de France, à qui j'ai communiqué votre lettre me répondit, que parmi tous les manuscrits se trouvoit prés du Sieur PRÉAUX son artiste, " Le Journal ou Itinerairq du Mont Athos," lequel on a eu soin d'expédier avec les autres effets, ajoutant au Sieur PRÉAUX qu'il ne le pouvoit pas retenir, cet article appartenant à Mr. TWEDDELL, dont il jouissoit de la pension. Mr. FAUVEL a reçu aussi à Constantinople 1500 piastres dont le feu Mr. TWEDDELL lui étoit débiteur pour des costumes, dessins, &c.

Voilà ce que j'ai pu relever avec exactitude comme vous le desirez.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c. &c.

Spiridion Logotheti.

5.

(Translation of the above.)

ATHENS, 14th October, 1814.

SIR,

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from you, dated 13th September last, which has reached me within these few days. The sole cause of my not having answered your former one, was, that at that period *Papa* SIMEON, the only person at Athens who could give me such information as you desire, was confined by a severe malignant fever in the convent of Pentaleon. I have had him fetched to town, and his answer is as follows:—

1st. The vessel in which *Papa* SIMEON was embarked, with the effects of the late Mr. TWEDDELL, was wrecked on the isle of Coutali.* The packages, as well as a cargo of honey from the convent above-mentioned, remained three days covered by the waves; and, as soon as the storm had subsided, were driven on shore, broken by the surf. *Papa* SIMEON having apprized the magistrates of Coutali that the chests belonged to the british mission, they exerted themselves with the greatest attention to save every thing possible, and delivered to the aforesaid *Papa* SIMEON a certificate, touching the effects saved, and which was delivered into the hands of Mr. SPENCER SMYTHE by the said P. SIMEON on his arrival at Constantinople.

Amongst the other effects, papers, costumes, &c. there was also a gold watch; *Papa* SIMEON further adds, that he saw it on a table in the palace, together with manuscripts, drawings of costume, which were spread about in the said palace for the purpose of being dried. He moreover testifies having received 700 piastres

* See page 448.

from Mr. SMYTHE for a bill of exchange, which I had given him on the said Mr. SMYTHE, (namely, for the funeral expenses, rent of lodging, &c.) and who made him sign a declaration in the greek tongue of having received on my account the said 700 piastres. The keys of the trunks having been inclosed in a chest in which the said *Papa* SIMEON had some provisions, such as oil, wine, &c.—were lost, as it was found impossible to save the aforesaid chest from the wreck.

2d. The physician ZIZELLI [*Cicelli*] is at present at Tripolitza, the capital of the Morea.

3. PIETRO TRANDAFILO, servant to the late Mr. TWEDDELL is not at Athens, nor have I been able to discover where he at present is; I suppose, however, that he must be in some island in the Archipelago.

Mr. FAUVEL, the french consul to whom I imparted your letter, says in return, that amongst the several manuscripts of [the deceased] there was in the custody of the Sieur PRÉAUX, his artist, "The journal or itinerary of Mount Athos;" which care was taken to despatch with the other effects, with an additional notice to the Sieur PRÉAUX, that he had not any right to retain it, as it belonged to Mr. TWEDDELL, from whom he enjoyed a stipendiary allowance.

Mr. FAUVEL also did receive at Constantinople 1500 piastres, which the late Mr. TWEDDELL was indebted to him for the purchase of certain costumes, designs, &c.

This is what I have been enabled to collect, with all necessary exactness, according to the tenor of your desire.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c. &c.

Spiridion Logotheti.

D D.

From the "*Naval Chronicle*," Vol. XXIII. 1810, pp. 48, 51, and 52, under the head "*Naval Literature.*" Art. "*Present State of Turkey, &c. &c. by* THOMAS THORNTON, *Esq.*" 1809.

THE reviewer makes the following extract from Mr. THORNTON's work:—

"I hope it will not be imputed to vanity that I record the melancholy satisfaction which I received from the expression of gratitude, the last effusions of a heart glowing with every virtue, of a mind enriched with various branches of learning, connected together by principles of the most enlightened philosophy.

"The name of TWEDDELL is dear to many who knew his worth: he distinguished himself at the university of Cambridge by the elegance of his genius: he had visited the northern courts, and had travelled over some of the most interesting countries of Europe: if he had lived to complete his tour, his name would have descended with honor to posterity; and, although the materials which he left were dispersed and unconnected,* those which remained were still sufficient, if collected and arranged by the hand of friendship, to form a monument which might rescue his memory from unmerited oblivion. He died at Athens, and was buried in the temple of THESEUS. Three days before his death [illness] he wrote me the following letter, which I value from my respect for its amiable author, and preserve the more carefully, as it is the last which he ever wrote:—

* It is with real regret that I feel myself called upon to animadvert on this very vague and unsatisfactory statement. Mr. T. could have given an account much more full, and much more correct: but motives of policy or prudence seem to have restrained him. See the 4th Letter of Mr. THORNTON to the Editor. [*Appendix.*] (ED.)

" ' 14th July, 1799.

" ' I write to you, my dear Sir, on board of a ship in the harbour of Piræus, which, in half an hour hence, will transport Mr. NEAVE to Smyrna, from whence he will proceed to Constantinople. I am desirous that he should not set sail without taking charge of half a dozen lines for you, because I recollect with continued satisfaction the resources which I derived from your society during my residence at Péra, and promise myself, at the same time, that you will thank me for having procured you the acquaintance of this gentleman. I do not add a syllable upon any other subject. There is so much noise ' above, around, and underneath,' that I do not know whether the few words which I have written will be intelligible to you. I hope, at least, you will understand, even though you should not be able to read it, that my best wishes attend you and Mrs. THORNTON, and that I am, my dear Sir, ever very truly your's,

J. T."

The following are the remarks of the reviewer upon the preceding quotations:—

To the eulogium on the late Mr. TWEDDELL we do not object, (except, indeed, as a sample of *fine* writing); but here we must also remark, that after informing us so minutely where that traveller's mortal remains are laid, we felt some disappointment at the author's stopping short, without a syllable more to revive our hopes or confirm our fears as to the fate of his friend's literary relics, than merely taking leave of them by saying they were "*dispersed.*" Can Mr. THORNTON be entirely unacquainted with the following incidents? That Mr. TWEDDELL's baggage, after salvage from shipwreck on the voyage from Athens, was conveyed to Constantinople on or about the same day that the Phaëton frigate arrived with the Earl of ELGIN.* That those effects were immediately,

* This nobleman was sent with the splendid character of ambassador-extraordinary, to exchange the ratifications of the treaty we have already alluded to, and at the same time to supersede the minister by whom it had been negotiated; who was not, it seems, considered in Downing-street, of sufficient consequence (we suppose in a *parliamentary* sense) to solemnize the completion of his own work. (*Rev.*)

in his Excellency's name (as executor and administrator-general, we presume) stopped *in transitu* to the consignee, and placed in other custody. That a considerable delay thereby ensued in opening the packages, wetted by salt-water; one notorious consequence of which was, encreased deterioration of the contents. That, nevertheless, they turned out to be in a recoverable state. That certain persons attached to the ambassador's retinue, and more particularly two of the clerical order, were employed to make copies of the journals and sketches; which so far is matter of good tidings to lovers of learning and of the arts, and we can hardly bring ourselves to believe could be either unknown or matter of indifference to Mr. TWEDDELL's correspondent and panegyrist, then (if we mistake not) upon the spot. Our solicitude, after this, is awakened by the rumor, that notwithstanding these materials, (which we agree with Mr. THORNTON constituted one of the most classical portfolios formed by any modern traveller, perhaps, since the days of POCOCKE) were so far safe, as we have stated, in 1800, they have not, or at least had not, at no very distant period, found their way to the family of the deceased in the north of England, and remain to be accounted for, as we had some hopes Mr. THORNTON might have attempted to do.

E E.

Two Letters from the Reverend PHILIP HUNT, *S. T. P. to the Editor.**

1.

COCKSHOOT-LYDIAT, near Ludlow,
April 12, 1813.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE the honour of acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 7th of this month; and I regret that my absence from Bed-

* The Editor is requested to state that these letters were not written with a view to publication.

ford to which it was directed, on a visit to my family at this place, prevented me from receiving it till this morning. I therefore lose no time in sending you such information as I recollect concerning your late amiable and accomplished brother; reserving to myself the pleasure of writing to you in greater detail on a subject so interesting to you, as soon as I shall reach Bedford; which I purpose to do in a week or two—as I can there refer to papers and letters connected with the information you request.

On my arrival at Constantinople with the Earl of ELGIN, Professor CARLYSLE, and others in the Ambassador's suite, at the close of the year 1799, we heard with deep regret that your lamented brother had recently died at Athens of a pestilential fever, caught in some of the unwholesome marshes of Greece, through which he had travelled. In the course of a few months (possibly four or five) information reached us that Signor LOGOTHETI, the consul of England, resident at Athens, had paid every attention to your brother during his illness, and procured every assistance that the place furnished—that he had fulfilled your brother's wish in burying his remains in the centre of the Temple of Theseus, which has long been consecrated to the christian worship; and that he had packed up and forwarded to Constantinople such papers, drawings, books, medals, and clothes, as had belonged to the deceased: and I think some doubts were insinuated* of the

* By whom such "doubts were insinuated," it is not for me to express an opinion: that they were imaginary and absolutely groundless, I take upon me to assert. Mr. TWEDDELL's greek servant conducted himself with fidelity throughout the whole of his servitude, and possessed his master's confidence, as appears sufficiently from letters in the Editor's possession. If he had even had the inclination to be dishonest, at the time of Mr. T.'s death, the precautions instantly adopted by Mr. LOGOTHETI, the host of the deceased, precluded the possibility. Seals were instantly placed by that gentleman on all

honesty of the greek interpreter or servant who had accompanied your brother from Péra through Greece to Athens, of having purloined some of the property, such as drawings, &c. The remaining effects were by Signor LOGOTHETI put on board a greek or russian ship, in the Piræus, bound for Constantinople, which unfortunately was wrecked or stranded in the Sea of Marmora, near Heraclea, or Rodosto. The English vice-consul† in that neighbourhood

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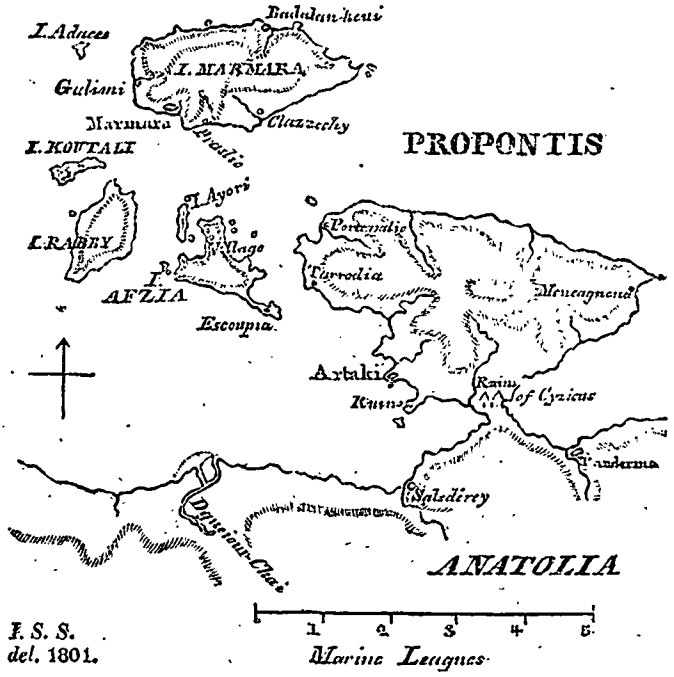
the trunks and boxes, and it appears from a formal examination taken the day after, with official authority, in the presence of Consul MACRI and several witnesses, that those "seals were whole and untouched." [Letter to ABR. MOORE, Esq. A. *Appendix.*] (ED.)

† ENGLISH VICE-CONSUL.—The personage here alluded to, if the general idea be correct, could be no other than Mr. GREGORY KESSEK, who had the consular agency at Rodosto: for at Heraclea there existed no such responsible agent, or, at least, no official person who was recognised at the seat of government. In consequence of the surmise thrown out, the Editor has felt it his duty to address particular inquiries on that point to Mr. SMYTHE; who, both from his ministerial situation and accurate information in every thing connected with the british establishments in the Levant, and the geography of Turkey, could not fail to have cognizance of a proceeding so essentially involving the exercise of official prerogative, and to be able to determine the locality of the shipwreck. Mr. SMYTHE, however, although in habits of regular intercourse with Mr. KESSEK, not only disclaims having ever received any intimation of the supposed transaction from Rodosto, but has given the Editor permission to say that the letters of that agent to him do not contain a single allusion to any circumstance of such a description. Mr. SMYTHE accompanied his answer to the Editor by a graphic delineation of that portion of the Propontis where the vessel conveying Mr. TWEDDELL's effects was wrecked; which demonstrates that that disaster did not happen near Rodosto or Heraclea on the european shore, but among the islands on the opposite coast of Anatolia. A wood-engraving of Mr. SMYTHE's chart is subjoined to this note, as well because of the illustration it affords to the text, as for the sake of the light it incidentally throws upon the topography of a classical spot mentioned in Mr. TWEDDELL's *Correspondence,* page 253, and but rarely visited by european travellers. (ED.)

claimed such of the effects that were saved as were directed to the



CYZICUS.—"When this city withstood the utmost effort of MITHRADATES, it was distinguished by wise laws, by a naval power of 200 galleys, and by three arsenals of arms, of military engines, and of corn. MITHRADATES besieged the place with 400 galleys, 150000 foot, and a numerous cavalry. In later times it was still the seat of wealth and luxury; but of its ancient strength nought remained except the situation, in a little island of the Propontis, connected with the continent of Asia only by two bridges. From the recent sack of Prusa the Goths advanced within 18 miles of the city, which they had devoted unto destruction; but the ruin of Cyzicus was delayed by a fortunate accident: the season was rainy, and the lake Apolloniates, the reservoir of all the springs of Mount Olympus, rose to an uncommon height. The little river of Rhyndacus, which issues from the lake, swelled into a broad and rapid stream, which stopped the progress of the Goths. Their retreat to the maritime city of Heraclea, where their fleet had probably been stationed, was attended by a long train of waggons, laden with the spoils of Bithynia, and was marked by the flames of Nice and Nicomedia; which they wantonly burnt. Some obscure hints are mentioned by SYNCELLUS, of a doubtful combat that secured their retreat. (See PLUTARCH *in* LUCUL.; APPIAN *in* MITHR.; CICERO *pro lege manilia*; STRABO; POCOCKE;

care of the english embassy at the Porte:* among these were some of, if not all the chests belonging to Mr. JOHN TWEDDELL: but the persons employed about the wreck appear† to have broken open the

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ZOSIMUS.)—Cyzicus, now represented by the modern Artaki, on the site of *Artace*, about five miles distant westward, was one of the first grecian cities that submitted to the Persians, opening its gates to OLBARUS, son of MEGABYSUS.

"MARMARA, the ancient *Proconnesus*, is an island about 20 miles in circuit, and has a town of the same name as the island, besides two others called Gallioni and Castro, together with five or six small villages. According to PAUSANIAS, its ancient inhabitants paid a particular worship to CYBELE. The principal adjacent islands are named Afzea, or Avezia (antiently *Ophiusa*), Gaïdoro, *Koçtalli*, &c."—*(Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.)* The island of Cyzicus is now become a peninsula, being joined to the continent by an isthmus, evidently formed by alluvial operation. (ED.)

* The whole of the packages were addressed "To Mr. SMYTHE," individually, and not generally "To the english Embassy." (ED.)

† By what document does this "appear?" No such information is upon record at Constantinople or elsewhere. Could the vice-consul on the spot, if any such there were, be ignorant of such a proceeding as this, if it took place, or, knowing it, not have felt it his imperious duty to communicate it to Mr. SMYTHE, to whom the packages were consigned, and with whom he must have been in the regular habits of official correspondence? Mr. Consul MORIER says expressly, in his letter to the Levant Company, that there is no document in the cancellaria touching the nature or particular condition of Mr. TWEDDELL's effects. It is also deserving of notice, that the property in question was (during the whole of the voyage from Athens to Constantinople), under the responsible care and inspection of *Papa* SIMEON, who is designated in Signor LOGOTHETI's despatch as "a faithful and well-known friend." (ED.)

Since this and the preceding notes were written, and just at the moment of these sheets going to press (9th March), the Editor has received the 2d part of the despatches from the Levant Company, containing the official returns from Athens by Sig. LOGOTHETI: 1. That no consul or vice-consul was at all forthcoming at the place of shipwreck, or concerned in the measures which thereupon ensued. 2. That the chests containing the effects were washed on shore by the sea; consequently no divers, or other persons of that descrip-

packages, and to have taken out a watch, the gold and silver medals, the gold setting of a miniature or locket, and whatever was easily to be secreted and turned into cash. The vice-consul of Heraclea or Rodosto repacked them and forwarded them to the english chancery at Péra: and in that state they reached Lord ELGIN. The sea-water having penetrated into the trunks, it became necessary to open them; when the books, manuscripts, and drawings, were found to be materially injured, and some of them sticking together, and reduced to a state of pulp. Lord ELGIN and Mr. CARLYLE used every precaution in preserving them, and in drying each sheet and scrap of paper: and Mr. BARKER, who was then at Constantinople, making drawings for his panorama, was employed to separate the drawings, which were in water colours, and to dry and preserve them: but they were too much spoiled for the operation to be very successful. In such an employment, to which I lent my aid, it was impossible to avoid seeing the nature of the writings and memoranda:* and as far as I can at this distance of time recollect their nature, they consisted of a fairly transcribed relation of a tour in Switzerland, written, I rather think, in the form of letters: there were also some packs of cards, covered with small but most beautiful writing, each containing the heads of conversations, or anecdotes that had been related in the society where he had spent the day—they were rather political,

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tion, could have been necessary, or employed. 3. The magistrates of the island took all possible care of the wrecked property brought to shore by the sea, and restored the packages to *Papa* SIMEON, with a certificate thereof, who proceeded with the recovered effects, and delivered them at Constantinople. 4. It is particularly stated, that a gold watch was a part of the aforesaid property, and that *Papa* SIMEON deposes to having seen that watch on a table in the palace of the ambassador, amongst the *MSS.* and drawings which were spread abroad to be dried. (ED.)

* It seems they were sufficiently legible.

and connected with the modern state of Europe, than of classical allusion. There were also some memorandum-books, containing desultory remarks, apparently not transcribed, but written on the spot during his tour on the Troad, one or two islands of the Archipelago (I believe Tenedos, Tenos, and Zea), at Thessalonica, Pharsalia, Tempe, Thermopylæ, Lebadea, Orchomenos, Lake Copaïs, Thebes, Marathon, and Athens, and its neighbourhood. There were also some observations and remarks on the scenery on the banks of the Bosporus and the vicinity of Constantinople. Such of the papers as were at all capable of preservation, were carefully repacked, and directed by Professor CARLYLE for your family to the care of Mr. LOSH, at Newcastle or Carlisle.* I saw them put on board an english vessel, lying at Constantinople, but I do not recollect, positively, at what period. Its name, I think, was the *Lord Duncan*, a transport bound to London.† I also recollect that there was amongst the papers a small volume of MS. inscriptions in greek capitals, most exquisitely copied from ruins in the neighbourhood of Lebadea, (Orchomenos, and the Lake Copaïs), Delphi, and Athens.

I am, &c. &c.

Philip Hunt.

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* See Mr. CARLYLE's letter to Mr. LOSH, and the result of Mr. L.'s personal interviews with the professor, on his return to England, page 459.

† It appears from the letter of Consul WERRY (See *Levant Company's despatches*), as well as from various other authorities, that this vessel's destination was the coast of Egypt. (ED.)

2.

From the Same to the Same.

BEDFORD, July 23, 1813.

REVEREND SIR,

I HASTEN to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th of this month; and to apologize for not having sooner redeemed my pledge of sending you any further particulars, I might be able to collect concerning the papers and effects of your late brother, by referring to such memoranda as I have at this place: almost incessant occupation both in public and private business, which required immediate attention, has been the cause of this delay.

With respect to the journal written during your lamented brother's tour in Switzerland, I can only repeat that it appeared to have been fairly copied, as for the press; that I do not think any person at Péra either perused it, or made the extract of a single line from it; and that I most firmly believe it was transmitted with whatever else was thought likely to be interesting, to your family, by the order of Lord ELGIN, and under the superintendance of Professor CARLYLE,* whose connexion with Mr. LOSH, and with the north of England, rendered him the fittest person in the embassy to fulfil that duty.†

* Professor CARLYLE, in his letter to Mr. LOSH on this subject, does not acknowledge any such superintendance; and in his personal communications with that gentleman, he uniformly *disclaimed it.* [See Mr. CARLYLE's letter, &c. subjoined.] (ED)

† The obligation of "*duty*" certainly attached *elsewhere.* [See page 377.] (ED.)

I also believe that Mr. THORNTON,* a merchant at Péra, who enjoyed your late brother's confidence, was consulted by Mr. CARLYLE, as to the best means of forwarding the whole of the writings and drawings which had been saved, to England; and that the *Lord Duncan*, an english transport, was the ship to which they were, in consequence, consigned. The drawings, which were almost entirely† of the modern costumes of Attica, and sketches of dances and ceremonies of the present inhabitants, were, in many instances, so much damaged, as to defy the attempts of Mr. BARKER, the panorama artist, to preserve them. Many of these sketches, and of other papers in the trunks, were really in such a state of mould and rottenness (from being so long soaked) that they might be called pulp. Every fragment, however, was, I am convinced, forwarded from Péra. Medals, and other articles of precious metal, seem to have been taken, either by his servant during his

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* The *whole* of what did actually pass on the subject between Mr. CARLYLE and Mr. THORNTON will be best learnt from what the latter gentleman has stated in his letters to the Editor: which, for the convenience of the reader, is here extracted—"Meantime Prof. CARLYLE called upon me to say, that as he was about returning to England, and as he was acquainted with Mr. TWEDDELL's family, he would tell them any thing I might have to communicate respecting the state of his papers and his other property. Prof. C. *already knew most of the circumstances that I have mentioned in this letter* [namely, the transfer of the property to Lord ELGIN, return of some boxes by the latter, *and withholding of the MSS. and drawings, &c.*], so that I had only to shew him what was again put into my possession (by Lord E.), namely, the remains of your brother's wardrobe." (See Letter of Mr. THORNTON to the Editor, dated 11th May, 1813. *Appendix.*) Again: Mr. T. thus speaks:—"I never heard of Prof. CARLYLE's having had any thing to do with the shipping of your brother's property; and I am pretty certain I have said so to you before: therefore I know nothing on this point, not even enough to authorise me to form any opinion about it. [See Letter dated Nov. 10, 1813.] (ED.)

† Excepting only *one hundred drawings* of Constantinople and its environs, and *about as many more of the antiquities of Athens*, with views taken in the Crimea, and representations of the costume of that country. (ED.)

last illness at Athens, or were purloined by the persons who saved the boxes from the wreck at Rodosto.

There was no detailed journal of your brother's travels in Greece,* the Archipelago, or Asia Minor; but a collection of desultory notes, written, generally, I believe almost entirely, in the french language. And, amongst them I recollect a hint that he only intended to note down a few of the impressions made on his mind at different places in his tour, to aid his future recollections of interesting scenery, and for his own private satisfaction: as he did not intend to make a book on Greece.† As to the information

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* It is only necessary to consult the inventory of Mr. TWEDDELL'S *grecian* effects, to ascertain how far this idea is correct;—

Extract from the inventory;—

" 1 Little red journal, with 38 leaves, all written.
1 White ditto, with 35 leaves written.
A little writing-box, with the contents (that is to say),
1 Journal, covered with red paper, with 14 leaves written.
1 Journal, covered with white paper, with 36 leaves written.
60 *Sheets* of paper, with annotations, &c. &c."

So that the details of Mr. T.'s travels in Greece appear to have been neither small nor unconnected. Indeed, it was impossible it should be otherwise: for it is well-known to his family and intimate friends, that it was his stated and invariable custom to devote the concluding hours of every day to the recording of whatever information had been obtained in the course of it, that was valuable and authentic. Mr. SMYTHE can say with what punctuality this practice was pursued during the several months that Mr. TWEDDELL was his guest in the english palace at Constantinople. (ED.)

† The sentiment here imputed to Mr. TWEDDELL, is most certainly at direct variance with all that is known of his views and intentions, and is contradicted in fact by express assertions in his correspondence, both published and unpublished. It may suffice for present illustration to quote the following passage, from Letter LIX. " Should I ever give any thing to the public upon this country, it is important that this city, especially Athens,

you received, of his journal having been seen by some late traveller* in Turkey, I can only observe, that in looking over his memoranda, which the damaged state of his papers rendered unavoidable, some particulars could not escape being noted by those who inspected the remarks of so celebrated a scholar;† but I may venture to say, not one line was detained. I regret that I can give no clue to their history, after having been put on board ship by Mr CARLYLE; except that if the destination of the ship was changed at Smyrna, they might have been landed there, and some accident caused their loss, either before or after re-shipping them for England.‡

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should be examined with the most rigorous detail; and that every object of interest should be illustrated by engravings, from drawings made upon the spot." [See also Letters LIII. and LV. &c.] (ED.)

* The gentleman alluded to, is the late Colonel SQUIRE; who (as the Editor had been credibly informed), in reporting some details at or near Orchomenos, makes mention of an opinion known to have been entertained by Mr. TWEDDELL on the subject under research, and understood to have been recorded in his journal. How the opinion referred to got into circulation, otherwise than by the *MS.* containing it having been in other hands, naturally excites speculation. One thing, however, is certain, and the Editor notices it with grateful feelings, that Colonel SQUIRE, in thus avowing ingenuously the source of his information, gives a pleasing proof how the principle of honour and integrity evinces itself, even in the smallest instances, in honorable minds, and makes them disdain to take clandestinely so much as a floating appendage the most minute, which should go to embellish the plume of another man's learning. (ED.)

† The late Mr. THORNTON appears to have been of the same opinion. [See a letter from that gentleman to JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, Esq. dated Galata, 29th May, 1800, *Appendix.* p. 465.] (ED.)

‡ This imagination receives no support from the official returns from Consul MORIER. [See the letter of FRANCIS WERRY, Esq. H. B. M.'s consul at Smyrna, *Appendix.*] (ED.)

During three years I remained in Turkey after their being sent off, I heard no news of them: I was, subsequently, detained two years as prisoner in France; and neither then nor since have I heard any intelligence of their fate, except your statement of their not having reached you. As I was not a party in the transmission, I cannot speak with so much certainty as I could wish on the name of the ship, &c.

When, in a former letter to you, I mentioned that a *part* of Mr. JOHN TWEDDELL'S effects was put on board an english transport at Péra, I meant *all that part* of it that could be preserved from the unfortunate accidents it had sustained—merely excepting some clothes and linen, which were not thought worth the expense of carriage to so great a distance. I again repeat that I am convinced that not one legible fragment of the journals or notes, or one trace of the drawings were withheld at Péra; and that their mysterious detention or loss must have arisen from the fault or negligence of the master of the ship, the consignee at Smyrna, or the custom-house: but surely Mr. CARLYLE must have written to Mr. LOSH from Constantinople, on the subject;* and conversed with him on it after his return to England.

The only architectural delineation I recollect among the papers, was the measurement of a porch or door-way to what your brother supposed was the treasury of Minyas, at Orchomenos. On mentioning to Mons. FAUVEL at Athens some of the circumstances detailed here, he assured me that great depredations must have been made on the property† before it reached Constantinople,

* See the communications of that gentleman to Mr. LOSH, immediately subjoined. —(ED.)

† It is almost needless to remark, that this opinion of Mr. FAUVEL was *wholly* grounded on the statement which was made to him. It has been sufficiently shewn already, that there

particularly as to drawings. In my excursions in Turkey, I passed some time at Thessalonica, at Lebadea, and at Athens, in the same families where your brother had been a guest. Every individual in them spoke of him in terms of the warmest affection and highest admiration. Poor LOGOTHETI of Athens wept bitterly when he spoke of his last hours; he was convinced your brother's death was caused by incautious use of JAMES's powder, and by exposing himself to the cold air when under their operation. He never tasted any food except that of a vegetable kind, during his travels in Greece. The natives of the country attributed this rigid pythagorean abstinence to some religious scruples; but he declined to satisfy the enquiries made by LOGOTHETI of Lebadea on that point. I am, Rev. Sir, &c. &c. &c.

Philip Hunt.

F F.

Extract of a Letter from the late Professor CARLYLE *to* JAMES LOSH, *Esq.*

BOYOUKDEREY, near CONSTANTINOPLE,
July 25, 1800.

MY DEAR LOSH,

YOUR letter respecting poor TWEDDELL's papers, &c. reached me at Cyprus; but as I could give you no satisfactory account concerning them, till my return here, I deferred answering it till that time.—All the letters, notes, and memoranda, belonging to him are at present* in the British Chancery, at Péra, where they

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is nothing whatever to sanction the idea so industriously protruded, that "depredation" was committed on this property *previously* to its arrival at Constantinople. (ED.)

* It may not be unimportant to observe, that at the time when this letter was written,

will be safely preserved until they are transmitted to England. I understand Mr. TWEDDELL's father wishes to have them kept here, until they can be sent by a ship of war.—I fear the papers will not be found to contain any thing that can be made of much general use; by the accounts of them which I have received,* they consist more of hints and trains of reflection than of any detailed relations respecting actual *visa* vel *facta*. The writings were much injured, and the sketches† almost totally spoiled by the sea-water—all of them were, however, separately dried with the greatest care before their being consigned to the chancery. I am all this time speaking of Mr. TWEDDELL's papers, which he wrote in this country and Greece—his former ones, being, I believe, an account of his travels previous to his arrival at Constantinople, were left by himself in Mr. THORNTON's hands, where they now safely remain,‡ having been preserved by that gentleman from the fire

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Mr. TWEDDELL's effects from Athens had been very nearly eight months in the custody of Lord ELGIN, how much was then known concerning the disposition of them may be judged from the Extract. (ED.)

* The scanty and incorrect information presented here, and in other parts of this letter, offers evidence in itself of the truth of what is intimated, namely, that the writer "received the account" he gives from others. (ED.)

† The greater part of Mr. TWEDDELL's drawings were highly finished performances, executed by the first artists in the countries where he travelled—those descriptive of the Crimea, principally by an able painter in the service of Professor PALLAS; whilst the athenian drawings were many of them on the largest scale, and the whole of them (with the exception of a portfolio, purchased of Mons. FAUVEL), were painted by Mr. PRÉAUX, an artist of consummate skill, remarkable for the extraordinary accuracy and beauty of his architectural designs. (ED.)

‡ They had been transferred, six months before, into the custody of Lord ELGIN. [See Mr. THORNTON's letters to the EDITOR. (ED.)

which almost destroyed Péra about a year ago. If I can be of any use, with respect to the papers, you know you may command me.

I have just returned from a most interesting tour of six months, &c. &c. Believe me to be, &c. &c.

J. D. Carlyle.

G G.

Extracts of Letters received from JAMES LOSH, *Esq. in reply to the Enquiries of the Editor, with reference to the personal Communications of Professor* CARLYLE, *on the subject of* Mr. TWEDDELL'S *effects.*

1.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE,
Dec. 2, 1813.

I HAVE a distinct recollection, that in the many conversations I had with CARLYLE, he never considered himself as responsible for any of J. T.'s property, having merely seen packed such papers, (observe, nothing but "papers,") as Lord ELGIN thought proper. In particular he told me, that "he knew nothing of the things which came from Athens," except that he saw some papers which were dried, and, I think he told me, deposited in the chancery at Péra.

2.

August 3, 1814.

I SEND you the only letter from Professor CARLYLE, on the subject of JOHN TWEDDELL'S papers. I had many conversations with the Professor after his return, but none from which I could

obtain any material information. I recollect his saying that he did not think Lord Elgin would steal papers, unless he could convert them into money; and he always expressed himself in terms of contempt when speaking of his Lordship. I never had any correspondence with Lord ELGIN, the late Dr. RAINE having undertaken to see or write to him on the subject.

3.

Nov. 16, 1814.

YOU know I sent you the only letter which I ever had from Professor CARLYLE on the subject of your brother's papers; and as I did not keep a copy of it, I am very unwilling to speak positively as to its contents.—In the frequent conversations which I had with this gentleman on the subject, he certainly disclaimed having had any of the property entrusted to his care, beyond what is stated in his letter.—Of Lord ——— he certainly spoke freely, as I am sure I have already mentioned to you; and I recollect in particular his saying that "he thought his Lordship would not take the property in question, because he did not see how he could convert it into money."

II H.

*Declaratory Vote of the Right Worshipful the Levant Company.**

At a General Court of the Levant Company, holden 30th January 1801.

THE Levant Company having chosen† the Earl of ELGIN to be their ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, whereby all the functions

* See page 433.

† Probably at this same court.

with which JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, Esq. was vested by the Company (at the time his Excellency ROBERT LISTON, late his Majesty's ambassador, resigned the management of the Company's affairs) do entirely cease:

Resolved unanimously,

That the thanks of this Court be given to the said JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, Esq. his Majesty's Plenipotentiary at the Ottoman Porte, for his eminent services, and unremitting zeal, diligence and attention to the interests and concerns of this company, during a residence of six* years at the Porte.

It was further resolved unanimously,

That JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, Esq. be requested to accept of five-hundred pounds towards defraying his expenses to England, as a small token of the company's respect, as well as in consideration of the sudden manner in which this company has found itself called upon to dispense with his further services.†

Thomas Browne,
Secretary.

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* This term of six years comprehends Mr. S.'s residence in a superior capacity: he having originally arrived in the Levant towards the close of 1792, passed nearly two years in travelling, principally in countries adjacent to the Black Sea; and from the period of Mr. LISTON'S appointment as ambassador, served under him as secretary, succeeding that gentleman in the charge of British affairs eventually. (ED.)

† Meaning the determination of the then secretary of state to support Lord ELGIN. (ED.)

II.

Some Account of the conflicting Jurisdictions existing at the Porte, at the Period of the Transactions referred to in this Work.

To the right understanding of the principal case it seems necessary to particularize, that the various treaties by which the political relations of european powers with the Ottoman Porte are regulated, reserve to their national representatives the right of government over their subjects settled in Turkey respectively, without resorting to the territorial judicature or police.* These treaties are called "*capitulations*," and *that* subsisting with the court of England was

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* These extraordinary municipal privileges, amounting to a sort of *imperium in imperio*, appear to be derived from a peculiar state of things in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, thus described in the *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*:—

"In the division of the greek provinces, the share of the Venetians was more ample than that of the latin emperor. In the treaty of partition, most of the names are corrupted by scribes: they might be restored; and a good map suited to the last age of the byzantine empire, would be an improvement of geography.—The venerable DANDOLO ended at Constantinople his long and glorious life; and if the prerogative was personal, the title [*despot* of Romania] was used by his successors till the middle of the fourteenth century, with the singular though true addition of lords of one-fourth and a half of the roman empire. (Their style was *Dominus quartæ partis et dimidiæ imperii romani*, till GIOVANNI DOLFINO, who was elected doge in the year 1356). The doge, a slave of state, was seldom permitted to depart from the helm of the republic; but his place [at Constantinople] was supplied by the *bail* or regent, who exercised a supreme jurisdiction over the colony of Venetians; they possessed three of the eight quarters of the city." [lxi.]

The title of *bailo* continued to distinguish the ambassador of the venetian republic at the Othman-Porte, down to the period of its subversion by the French, and the consequent cessation of that office in the person of Mr. VENDRAMIN, in the year 1797. (ED.)

definitively concluded in 1675, by Sir JOHN FINCH, Knt. His britannic Majesty having, in a great measure, tranferred his sovereign right to the Levant Company by charter, the practice has usually been, for that Company to elect the king's ambassador into the office of their municipal magistrate, on receiving a sort of recommendation from the crown, resembling the nature of a *congé d'élire*: so that the british representative at Constantinople had thenceforth a two-fold appointment and salary. It appears from the public correspondence of the Company that Lord ELGIN was recommended by his Majesty's most gracious letter, dated 30th January, 1801, and not till then: on which the Company elected him their resident agent, *vice* Mr. SMYTHE, in the usual form. The anomaly in this particular case is, that Mr. SMYTHE, who served as secretary under Mr. LISTON (whose title was what may be styled ambassador *in ordinary*, as above described) succeeded that gentleman, with inferior rank in the king's service (*videlicet*, that of minister-plenipotentiary), but was confirmed by the Levant Company, with authority and pay equal to his predecessor in their employ: whereas, when Lord ELGIN came out with still higher diplomatic rank, as king's ambassador-extraordinary to the sultan, no such election took place: he received no power at all from the company to exercise jurisdiction in their name. Thus the two characters usually united, became in this instance divided. The ambassador was the sole accredited organ of communication with the Porte; while the minister remained as the Company's municipal magistrate for the regulation of the different factories, and in the exercise of consular powers as to trade, navigation, &c. &c. Lord ELGIN was, therefore, but titular ambassador *quô ad* the Company, whose ambassador *de facto*, though not in name, was Mr. SMYTHE; and it follows from the above in regular course, that to Mr. SMYTHE, and to him only, it immediately and officially appertained to superintend the management of Mr. TWEDDELL's effects: it follows, also,

that Lord ELGIN's interference on this occasion was both unauthorized and irregular; nor, indeed, could his Lordship have any official power, right, or ostensible reason, to interpose imperatively, previously to the date of the Company's declaratory vote. The ambassador, however, did interfere, with plenipotentiary power, immediately on his arrival at the Porte, which was about the end of November 1799; whereas the vote of the Right Worshipful Company, whereby alone such interference could be authorized, did not take place for more than a year afterwards.

J J.

Extracts of Letters from THOMAS THORNTON, *Esq. to* JOHN SPENCER SMYTHE, *Esq.*

1.

GALATA, 19th May, 1800.

SIR,

I RECEIVED your letter while I was at the palace, this morning, for the purpose of acquainting Mr. HUNT* with the contents of a letter I had received from Mr. TWEDDELL (senior). To-night I shall wait on Lord ELGIN, and deliver both letters to him.——"

* Chaplain to Lord ELGIN.

2.

From the Same to the Same.

BELGRAD, 23d May, 1800.

——"I purpose riding over to Boyoukderey before I return to town on Sunday, and shall not fail to wait upon you; meantime, I have only to acquaint you that Lord ELGIN has Mr. TWEDDELL's* letters to me and to yourself; which I delivered into his hands.

Mr. TWEDDELL (senior) has also written to his Lordship; but as yet he has said nothing to me on the subject—he will, perhaps, this evening.

I shall attend to all the other subjects of your letter; and remain very respectfully, dear Sir, yours, &c. &c.

Thomas Thornton.

3.

From the Same to the Same.

GALATA, 29th May, 1800.

SIR,

THE missions, civil† and military,‡ are constantly employed in the country, and although there is a concert every evening, the

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* The father of Mr. JOHN TWEDDELL.

† The Earl of ELGIN's embassy-extraordinary. (ED.)

‡ Brigadier-general KOEHLER's detachment of artillery and engineers. (ED.)

business of the *bureau* suffers no interruption. I generally pass the evening there, and am well received: but although I delivered Mr. TWEDDELL's letters some time since into Lord ELGIN's hands, he never mentioned the subject but once, and then so slightly that I could not continue it. The "*fin mot*" of the business is this—the whole hive (I shall not determine whether wasps or bees) are extracting from poor TWEDDELL's papers whatever is worthy of his Lordship's patronage; and the petition of Mr. TWEDDELL, the father, will lie on the table *sine die*.——

I am, &c. &c.

Thomas Thornton.

K K.

[The following portrait of an english minister (frequently named and referred to in this book), known to have been sketched by the hand of BUONAPARTE, is a curious specimen of the unprincipled policy of the french government; which disdained no artifices to procure the disgrace and dismission of an able and zealous servant of H.B.M. at a foreign court.*]

1.

"Mr. SPENCER SMYTHE, pendant le cours de la dernière guerre, fut ministre de son gouvernement in Turquie: la Porte étoit en guerre avec nous, et le ministère de Mr. SPENCER SMYTHE n'avoit

* It is comprised in a publication of the french government, relative to the operations of the english missions on the continent in 1804. [See *Miroir de la France, &c.* No. VIII. Tubingue. 1804, p. 11—13; 51, 52.] (ED.)

à cet égard aucun devoir à remplir;* mais il y avoit sur toute la surface de ce vaste empire, des propriétés françoises, des citoyens françois, il y avoit des liens d'habitude et de besoin qui partout tendoient à modérer entre les individus, les sentimens d'animosité, de jalousie, que la guerre fait naître.

Mr. SPENCER SMYTHE se crut spécialement chargé de rompre ces liens, d'exciter les Turcs à la spoliation des propriétés, à la ruine de commerce, au meurtre des citoyens.† Dans cette malheureuse guerre qui, sans doute, sans les instigations de SPENCER SMYTHE, se fût bornée à diviser les gouvernemens,‡ toutes les lois, tous les sentimens de l'humanité ont été foulés aux pieds. Tous les biens ont été ravagés, les maisons ont été incendiées, les François ont été exilés dans des contrées sauvages, ou incarcérés dans des cachots; ils ont été outragés, torturés, massacrés, et soit qu'on considère ces horreurs dans leur ensemble ou dans les details, il faut le dire, le gouvernement Ottoman n'eut jamais l'initiative, et rarement la connoissance des rigueurs exercées en son nom. Le ministre Anglois est seul comptable de tout ce que nos citoyens ont souffert. Il ne s'est pas commis un vol, un pillage, un assassinat en Turquie, que SPENCER SMYTHE n'en ait été coupable."

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* Mr. S.'s employment at Constantinople, in the different ranks of the diplomatic line, dates from the year 1793-4. The Porte declared war against France in 1798; and became the ally of England in 1799. The author's restricted definition of the duties to be performed by an english minister at a foreign court, in counteracting adverse politics, is novel and convenient.

† With respect to the first members of this *triad*, such diplomatic hostility seems to fall very conceivably within the province of belligerent ministry: as to the last, it is sufficient to observe, that *no "citizens"* were murdered. (See Letter LXXV. p. 336. *note*.)

‡ Or, in other words, a nominal war; with all the disadvantages of a state of warfare on one side only.

2.

Extract of a Report to the First Consul BUONAPARTÉ, *by the Grand Judge and Minister of Justice,* REGNIER.*

PARIS, 20 Germinal, an. XII.

——— LA diplomatie Anglaise se compose de deux espèces d'agens que tout le continent sait très-bien distinguer. Des ministres tels que les CORNWALLIS et les WARREN ne sont jamais accrédités que pour d'honorables missions, pour maintenir la bonne intelligence entre les nations et régler les grand intérêts de la politique ou du commerce; tandis que les WICKHAM, les DRAKE, les SPENCER SMYTHE, sont connus de l'Europe entière pour des artisans de crimes dont la lâcheté se met à couvert sous un caractère sacré.

Je dirai plus, la présence de ces méprisables agens est pénible

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* The document from whence the above is extracted, was officially promulgated in the *Moniteur*, &c. and acted upon, by circulating it diplomatically among all foreign ministers at Paris; by presenting it at every court where France entertained diplomatic relations; and by detaching *gens-d'armes*, and civil agents of French police, both ostensibly and disguised, upon all the principal routes in Europe, to seize the persons of Mr. SMYTHE, and of Mr. DRAKE. Not less than 60 of the former class crossed the Rhine for that purpose at one time: which rendered Mr. S.'s journey home very hazardous and circuitous. Thus the First Consul's "high wisdom did the rest." Surely, men whose lives have thus been jeoparded, and their characters publicly and grossly defamed, owing to the hostility excited by their tried ability and devotion in the service of their country, are entitled to expect from their own government something better than neglect, in return for the hardships and risks to which their pre-eminent services exposed them, during the late calamitous and dreadful æra! (ED.)

pour les princes amis de le France; et les cours de Munich et de Stutgard ne pouvoient supporter qu'avec dégoût DRAKE et SPENCER SMYTHE. Qu'ils repoussent ces artisans de conspirations, dont la mission n'a d'autre but que de ranimer les dissentions intestines en France, et de semer de noveau la discorde sur le continent.

Je demande donc avec instance, et tous mes devoirs envers vous, citoyen premier-consul, m'en imposent la loi, que le cabinet prenne des mesures afin que les WICKHAM,* les DRAKE, les SPENCER SMYTHE ne soient reçus ches aucune puissance amie de la France, à quelque titre et sous quelque caractère que ce puisse être. Les hommes qui prêchent l'assassinat, et qui fomentent les troubles civils, les agents de la corruption, les missionaires de la révolte contre les gouvernemens établis, sont les ennemis de tous les états, de tous les gouvernemens: le droit des gens n'existe pas pour eux. Votre haute sagesse fera le reste.

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* Mr. WICKHAM had not set his foot upon the continent since the late war, when he was minister to the swiss cantons, but returned to England before the peace of Amiens; and, at the time of this philippic, was either employed in Ireland or in domestic retirement; but solecisms, anachronisms, or misnomers, go for nothing in the diplomatic style of modern France. The defamatory libels published by the french government (particularly under BUONAPARTE) against the individual officers of powers in a state of hostility against France, and whose zeal or talent, in the discharge of their duty, became inconveniently felt, would form a curious volume. The countenance and support given by those powers to individuals so persecuted, compared with the energy exhibited by the French in upholding their agents of every degree in all situations, will afford some explanation of the very different manner in which their affairs have in general been managed respectively. (ED.)

L L.

WAHEBITE ARABS.

THE following account of these enterprising schismatics may be considered as an imperfect continuation of the able and interesting letters of NEARCHVS in the *Naval Chronicle.** The Editor must, however, express his sincere regret that the same ingenious hand which traced those historical details in a style so masterly, as to obtain the high commendation of the accomplished and venerable author of the "*Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*," could not be prevailed with to put the finishing hand to his work: hence the materials which his oriental skill would have embellished with illustrations equally novel and important, and modelled into a form the most complete, are presented to public notice under an aspect so vastly inferior to what they would otherwise have assumed, as to make it necessary to subjoin apology to explanation, and request the indulgence of the reader of the account subjoined.

In addition to what has been observed concerning the chief of this powerful sect in Mr. TWEDDELL'S "*Correspondence*," † it may not be unsuitable to introduce the particulars which follow with a brief sketch, from the first letter of NEARCHUS, of their religious tenets, so far as the same can be ascertained:—

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* Vol. XXIV. pp. 293, and 371. † Letter LXXIV, page 3.

"ABD'EL WAHEB presented to his countrymen a religion freed from alms, ablutions, and puerile ceremonies. He preached the pure and simple belief of one God, all-just, all-good, and ever ready to pardon faults committed by the infirmity and imperfection of human nature in this world of sin and sorrow. A dispensation from long and painful abstinence could hardly fail to suit men in a state of poverty, doomed to wander through arid deserts; whose aliments were neither varied nor abundant. He declaimed against the invocation of any other name in prayer than that of the Supreme Being; declaring that, although MOSES, JESUS, and MAHOMMED, &c. were, in truth, inspired men, yet that praying for their mediation was derogating from the godhead; and pilgrimage to their shrines idolatrous. That no book, however holy, was ever literally dictated by the angel GABRIEL, nor by any other celestial being. That vows made in cases of peril were of no merit, and did not impose obligation. In fine, that every institution not warranted by the closest adherence to the primitive text of the sacred code was to be condemned as detestable."

We know, on the authority of Dr. CLARKE (vol. iii. p. 24), that at the period of his visit to Egypt (1800), the Wahebites had occasioned by their hostile attacks, and especially by having destroyed all the wells which should supply the caravans with water, "the total cessation of pilgrimages to Mecca:" and it appears, by later intelligence from Constantinople, that they had soon afterwards advanced, to the number of 120000 men, to Bassora, in the persian gulph, and although driven back by the pasha of Bagdad, at the head of 40000 men, were still in possession of the cities of Mecca and Medina, which they had plundered and laid waste. This profanation excited, at length, the sleeping energies of the pasha of Bagdad, who despatched a force against them, under the sheikh of Montufij, who had distinguished himself some years before by the

capture of Bassora. This force penetrated as far as Lahsar, which is at no great distance from Dury-yu, the capital of the Wahebis. The fort of Lahsar was taken, and the sheikh of Montufij was resolved on destroying the capital of the infidels. To avert the impending danger, ABD'OUL had recourse to the policy, if such it may be called, so often exemplified in the practice of his enemies: employing the enthusiasm of his followers to forward his purpose, he selected a favorite slave, and promising him eternal happiness if he succeeded in destroying the object of his fears, the sheikh was speedily assassinated in his tent; and SAAHUD, the son of the Wahebite chief, being posted, with some troops, in the vicinity, and taking advantage of the tumult which the event had created, attacked and made dreadful havoc among the invaders. Thus ended the first expedition against the Wahebis. The Turks, defeated and disgraced, prepared themselves for a second effort with much display of force. The pasha of Bagdad assembled at Bassora an army of 40000 men, well provided with all equipments, and penetrated as before to Lahsar; where, with the accustomed inactivity of his nation, he remained quietly posted for some months. ABD'OUL WAHEB was not negligent to improve the delay, and by advantage of negotiation and bribery, prevailed on two of the principal commanders to withdraw with their contingents, and falling on the remainder of the turkish army, gained a complete and easy victory. The warriors of the desert, a second time victorious, do not appear to have been molested again for a considerable period by their defeated opponents: this repose they employed in augmenting the means of future annoyance, and associated in their cause one of the most powerful of the Arab states on the sea-coast, the Utobees, thereby acquiring a controul over the navigation of the persian gulph. This has caused just alarm to the persian government, and much warfare has, in consequence, ensued, with variable success, and still subsists between

the united hordes and the troops of the persian monarch. But of this more hereafter, in the proper historical order. That which we are now to observe is, that at the juncture above referred to the Wahebis had attacked Kurbulu, celebrated among the persian musulmans as the burial place of the sons of ALI, had there destroyed the tombs, and plundered the place and the pilgrims. They had also pushed their aggressions so far as to gain possession of the cities of Mecca and Medina, which they had in like manner plundered and laid waste, in agreement with a maxim of their religious creed, which enjoins the destruction of ostentatious tombs, as a necessary act of devotion. This profanation of their venerated places aroused all the indignation of the followers of the prophet, and, on the 9th October, 1803, the ulémas of Constantinople, or learned of the law, headed by the mufti, presented a petition to the othman emperor, as supreme khalif, praying him to declare a religious war against ABD'OUL WAHEB, and to erect the standard of MOHAMMED. The heretical chief, emboldened by his successes, was at this time in full march for Damascus, when he was met by JEZZAR, pasha of Acre, and an obstinate engagement ensued, which ended in the defeat of the arabian army, and, as a consequence of the victory, in the recovery of the holy cities out of the hands of the infidels, whose numbers being considerably reduced, they retired into the desert to procure reinforcements, having abandoned, meanwhile, the whole of the province of Hidjaz.

Some idea may be formed of the daring character and extent which the usurpations of these reformers had reached previously to that event, from the following circumstances, communicated through the channel of private correspondence from Aleppo, of the most respectable and authentic character. It is beyond a doubt (says this intelligence), that at this moment many thousands, perhaps some millions, of semi-barbarians are enrolled under the

banner of a daring innovator, led by a blind devotion to his will, and allured by the hope of being conducted to the plunder of cities, which the long use of the arts of peace has sunk into effeminacy, and must render an easy prey to their more hardy and necessitous neighbours. Equally true it is that last year they pillaged the rich shrine dedicated to Immam HUSSEIN, grandson to MOHAMMED; and, after massacreing, without distinction of age or sex, all who fell in their way, loaded 10000 camels with spoils that, perhaps, the greatest victories have seldom if ever conferred. It was a short time subsequent to this that, during the sojourning of the pilgrims at Mecca, SAAHUD EL WAHEBI (who had succeeded to the supreme command) appeared in the city, with a numerous band of followers; and, no doubt being entertained of his hostile intentions, after the recent proceedings at Immam HUSSEIN, negotiations were set on foot by the conductor of the pilgrimage *(Emmir-ul-Hadsh)*, who was ABD'ULLA pasha, governor of Damascus, to obtain the Wahebi's forbearance. This negotiation was effectual, so far as the inviolability of the pilgrims was concerned; SAAHUD promising not to molest them on their quitting the city. This was attributed by intelligent persons to that pasha's having, the preceding year, embraced, in secret, the tenets of the Wahebean schism, which now enabled him to provide for the safety of 10000 musulmans, committed to his charge; who, but for the casual circumstance of this connection between the two chiefs, would have been reduced to the alternative of apostacy or martyrdom. The third day after the caravan had marched under this safeguard, it was overtaken by fugitives from Mecca, who related, as eye-witnesses, that EL-WAHEBI had entered it the day after the pilgrims had departed; had seized and put to death the chief judge of Mecca, named MUNIB EFFENDI; and that, after the execution of the mufti, and some other public officers of inferior note, he had proceeded to demolish all the buildings, and destroy

or confiscate every utensil dedicated to the sacred uses of the Kaaba. The shureef (or sovereign pontiff) of Mecca was said to have saved himself by timely flight.

A private letter from the mufti of Damascus to his colleague at Aleppo further stated, that a certain ADEM EFFENDI, an ecclesiastic celebrated for his skill in the canon law, and high in the confidence of the Othman government, who had been sent to Mecca on a special mission to gather information concerning the proceedings, views, and resources of the Wahebis, was on his return to Constantinople with the karavan: but that on hearing the preceding information, the Effendi, inspired by zeal or incited by vanity, undertook an embassy to the heresiarch, with a design of converting, or at least mollifying him. Besides his own adherents, he was accompanied by some of the pasha's officers, forming altogether a considerable retinue. The consequence was his immediate arrest; the news of which was brought back to the pasha by his officers, who were dismissed with the unwelcome intelligence of the jeopardy in which they had left his friend.

To the preceding facts were subjoined by the writer the following speculations. The consequences of the events which have been narrated are of a very important nature. The othman Sultan is the only mohammedan prince, for whose preservation a particular form of prayer is used in all churches, under the title of "Defender of the sacred cities of Mekkeh and Medinneh"—a character to which the title was supposed to be forfeited by neglect in procuring them the accustomed veneration, or inability to afford them adequate protection. Therefore it is not unreasonable to consider the downfall of the late Sultan SELIM III. as one of the consequences that has been alluded to; for the syrian Turks talked without disguise of the catastrophe of the *Kaaba* as an event that released them from

the duties of allegiance; and the discontent every where expressed among all ranks of people was fomented by the currency of a popular prophecy, that "The Turkish empire began with a SELIM, and would end with a SELIM." This prediction was expounded by its application to the name of the reigning sovereign, and produced a superstitious belief that the political existence of the Othmans, like that of their religion, was drawing to its period.

Certain it is, that half a century ago a much less important sacrilege would have convulsed the empire to its remotest extremities; but political connection and commercial interests have abated the religious fervor of the turkish nation, particularly in the capital; and probably nothing but half measures will be resorted to for propping up the declining fabric of Islamism, particularly by a government whose grand standing maxim is temporization.

The Turks of Syria are to a man strongly imbued with sentiments such as have been described; and the best informed amongst them are convinced that e'er this generation passes away, the Wahebis will pour myriads of spoliating barbarians into Damascus and Aleppo. What is certain is, that the contagion has spread with astonishing rapidity all over the arabian peninsula, from the Red Sea to the Persian gulph, and from within 10 leagues of the gates of Aleppo and Damascus to those of Bagdad and Basra, and has even partially tainted some of the inhabitants of those cities. It is allowable, however, to suppose a more remote period for the realization of such apprehensions, and adjourn that crisis till the arabian hordes shall have acquired more military knowledge, particularly in the attack of strong places, than falls to the lot of any oriental warriors from the Bosporus to the Ganges, unaided by european science. Meanwhile the two prominent traits in the character of the *Bedawi* (or desert Arab), namely, voracity of gain

and indifference to religion, justify the idea that immediate personal advantage is the *primum mobile* of the sectaries, and that the Wahebis of the desert, impelled by lucrative motives even more than the pride of propagating their opinions, are prepared to rifle the treasures accumulated at the tomb of Mohammed, when circumstances shall favor the attempt, however that stale pretence—the removal of abuses to produce a reform--may be held out to the multitude from motives of policy.

It is to be expected that the course of a warfare of such a complexion and extent, the materials of which are so multifarious, rude, and imperfectly organized, will be marked by successes and reverses occasionally sudden, and at other times so absolute as to present the appearanceof a triumphal issue in favour of each of the parties alternately. It appears tolerably certain at present, that the ascendancy is on the side of the Turks and Persians. Native advices of respectable authority, received from Muscat by way of India, by an Arab vessel arrived from that part at Bombay, give account of a considerable victory which had been obtained by the troops of the Immam of Muscat, aided by a small body of the Persians, over the Wahebis. It is stated that the latter had approached close to the town of Muscat, and had plundered and burned Muttra and Arbuk, two villages in that vicinity, massacreing the inhabitants with indiscriminate fury. A few days afterwards the Wahebi horde were attacked in their turn, near Burka, a place about one day's journey to the northward of Muscat, by a party of the Immam's forces, with a small body of auxiliary horse from Persia: they were completely routed. Mohammed Benassar, their commander, son of the present chief of the Wahebi nation, was among the slain; 700 of his soldiers were left dead on the field; the heads of 60 officers were brought in triumph to Muscat,

and seven hundred camels belonging to the enemy had also fallen into the possession of the conquerors.

Intelligence of a still more recent nature from the gulph of Persia, which reached this country only a few months since, and obtained full credit in Calcutta, adds to the above the following details—: "MOHAMMED-ALI *Pasha*, the *Hakem* of Egypt, in the service of the Emperor of Constantinople, having come to Mecca on a pilgrimage, in the month of *Zecaudah* 1228 (*A. D.* 1813.) formed a design to seize the person of the Sherif GHALIB, who maintained a correspondence with Saahud Wahebi, and whose letters to the rebel chief had been intercepted on the road to Durisah and came into the possession of MOHAMMED ALI. Associated with him in this purpose was another pasha who, with numerous adherents, had been despatched to Mecca by the sultan. They watched the opportunity of the Shuref attending his devotions in the house of God, and as he was coming out of the mosk with his three sons, they were seized by the pashas, who instantly sent them off to Egypt, to be conducted to Constantinople. OSMAN MUSAUFEE, of Taëf, who was the principle sirdar in the service of the Wahebbi, had also been taken and sent under custody to the ottoman Porte. Subsequent to the above period, accounts have reached Muscat by the way of Bassora, which report that SAAHUD WAHEBI, the chief of that people, died on the 9th of Suffer 1229 (1814); that the ceremonials of his funeral had been performed at Durisah, and that his son ABDOOLAH had been raised to his father's dignities.

M M.

Topography of Modern Attica.

The topographical sketch which faces page 288 may be considered as, in some degree, representing those corrections in the map of the environs of Athens by the *Abbé* Barthelemy, which Mr. Tweddell flattered himself with being able to introduce. It also (as being derived from Fauvel) may be deemed an extract from that very topographical sketch of the country, which the artist alluded to is said to have engaged to furnish for Mr. Smythe at page 279. The original of the engraving in question, which was obtained by Dr. Clarke from Mr. Tweddell's greek servant, is a mere pen and ink outline, with written travelling directions, by the hand of Fauvel, and carries with it the internal evidence of having been drawn to serve as heads for Mr. T.'s recollection in his tour around the coast of Attica, by Sunium and Marathon: the line continued from Mount Parnes to Brauron marks the track of our lamented traveller, as the directions form his itinerary. These are here given, in the idea of their becoming an useful and acceptable guide to future athenian tourists: viz.—"To Vari; to Elimbo; to Alegrana (and there sleep); to Cape Colonna; to Thoricon; to Marcopoulo; to porto Rafti; to the tombs of the Athenians [at Marathon] thence to Vrana; to the bottom of the valley, where are entrenchments, the remains of a triumphal arch, and fragments of statues; to the cavern, by the fountain of Marathon; thence to the village of the same; and so by Duouza to Pentelicus and Athens."

PROLUSIONES

PROLUSIONES JUVENILES

PRÆMIIS ACADEMICIS DIGNATÆ.

PRAEFATIO AD PROLUSIONES.

LECTORI S.

QUOD nonnulla te, L. B. in limine hujusce libelli monitum velim, id vel pudori meo, vel periculi, in quo me intelligo versari, insolentiæ, tribuas necesse est. Me quidem ipsum parum fallit, nihil, quod sit omnibus numeris absolutum et perfectum, in lucem me proferre posse; nihil debere, nisi quod industria elaboratum sit. A meo igitur arbitrio si res stetisset, diu inter scrinia mea penitusque abdidissem, quicquid, cum adolescens essem, et litteris humanioribus meam qualemcunque operam navarem, chartulis meis aliqua cum laude illeveram. Id autem ne fieret, in causa fuit summa nonnullorum virorum auctoritas, quorum apud me et gravissimum de re litteraria judicium, et benevolentia in me ipsum jam olim spectata, plurimum ac merito valuerunt, et semper valebunt. Horum itaque consiliis permotus, prelo ausus sum committere hæc opuscula; idque, delectu omni et discrimine amoto, utrum singula relegenti mihi plus an minus arriserint; utrum Græca, an Latina, an etiam Anglica essent; utrum numeris poëticis, an pedestri sermone fuerint conscripta.

At vero nihil est, cur quis moleste ferat, me veluti saturam quandam lancem lectoribus meis apposuisse, siquidem facti illius mei rationem cordatioribus omnibus facile probandam censeo Nimirum, quicquid viri non solum a doctrina egregie instructi, verum etiam summos dignitatis locos inter Cantabrigienses meos adepti, quicquid,* inquam, tales viri præmiis Academicis dignum putavissent, id ut ego mea existimatione prorsus indignum judicarem, nullo modo ferendum erat. Illud porro mihi religioni fuit, ne, cum hoc vulgandum statuerem, illud abjiciendum, multis qui me amice et quidem magnifice laudassent, de meo ipsius acumine viderer nimis confidenter sentire.

Eorum, quæ in hoc volumine continentur, quo quæque ordine scripta sint, quibus de causis suscepta, quo denique vel loco vel tempore recitata, breviter et, qua potui, dilucide exposui.† Quare hoc sive commodi, sive incommodi, liber hic meus habiturus est, ut, quo partes ejus ab incepto longius processerint, eo minus indignæ, quæ legantur, ab intelligentibus et æquis harum rerum æstimatoribus judicari possint.

Neutiquam me fugit, ea omnia, quæ juvenis quispiam aut insolentia inscitiaque corrigendi, aut negligentia quadam forsan non ingrata, exaraverit, sub acumen styli sæpe et sæpius subire oportere. Quod autem ad me attinet, etsi, cum Cantabrigiæ degerem, ab honesta hac contentione animi, vel liberali oblectatione, tempus

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* Monendus est lector, septimam harum prolusionum, etsi in Publicis Scholis recitata esset, nullo tamen præmio Academico ornatam fuisse, neque ornari, per rei ipsius naturam, potuisse. Sed monitu cujusdam amici locum ei in hoc fasciculo opusculorum meorum concessi.

† V. catalogum harum prolusionum, pag. 11.

meum non omnino omne abhorruit, nec voluptatis illecebris totum me irretiri passus sum, minime tamen dissimulaverim, fuisse in illo curriculo studiorum meorum, ubi inter carceres et metas interdum hæserim. Enimvero piget me pudetque meminisse, quot ego horas, bonas illas quidem et nulla arte revocabiles, inter nugas et ineptias male collocaverim. Sæpe, quod potui, non volui. Sæpe, si quid paulo feliciùs tentatum vellem, id ut votis aut conatibus meis responderet, efficere non potui. Inde factum est, ut maculas nonnullas hic illic nuper deprehenderim, quas vel fuderit incuria, vel animus inter studium et desidiam alternis vicibus divisus et distractus parum caverit. Limæ igitur moram non defugi, quo una et altera harum prolusionum paulo emendatior prodiret. Alia quippe lente et fastidiose probavi—Aliis, quæ mihi parum sana viderentur, medicam admovi manum—Nonnulla, quæ nimis ambitiosa, ut fit, et quodammodo calamistris inusta existimarem, transverso calamo notavi, penitusque resecui—Pauca, prout res ferret, hic illic addenda statui. Atqui vix, aut ne vix quidem, spero fore, ut quæ in variis scribendi generibus verecunde et timide tentavi, omni ex parte satisfaciant superbissimo aurium judicio Porsoni, Parrii, Burneii, Burgessii, Wakefieldii, Huntingfordii, aliorum.

Verum enimvero labores, quos in corrigendo subinde exantlavi, non tanti sunt, ut lectori suspicionem injicere debeant, similitudinem, quæ exigua sit, intercedere inter ea, quæ Cantabrigiæ olim scripsi, et ea, quæ publici juris nunc facturus sum. Profecto, "facies est" iis, si minus "una," at "nec diversa tamen;" imo talis, qualem deceret esse, non sororum, sed unius et ejusdem puellæ, in qua jam inde a teneris annis species aliqua pulcritudinis illuxisset, et quæ virgo jam adulta facta sit, atque adeo plus concinnitatis et veri etiam roboris præ se ferat. Humani animi vis et motus utcunque et ad excogitandum celeres sint, et ad ornan-

dum uberes, nemo unquam tam bene subducta ratione ad scribendum accessit, quin ei vel ætas vel usus aliquid perfectius apportaverit. Me igitur, qui unus sim quotidianorum horum scriptorum, quid est, quod pæniteat "cædere vineta mea?"

Quod si quis sit, qui propositum illud meum hæc in lucem emittendi, tanquam ab ætate mea et ab ingenio, non solum mediocri, sed exiguo et tenui, alienum putet, is, pervelim, facere me sciat, quid ab aliis Academiæ meæ alumnis factitatum sit. Scilicet prolusiones suas pro re nata primo affectas inchoatasque, et postea, ut opinor magis accurate cogitateque ad umbilicum perductas, oculis legentium subjicere non dedignati sunt, Gulielmus Roberts, Collegii Etonensis haud ita pridem Præpositus, Joännes Hallam, Ecclesiæ Bristoliensis nunc temporis Decanus, et nuperrime Gulielmus Cole, Collegii Regalis socius. Neque vero hic loci oblivisccndus est Thomas Clarkson, amicus ille humani generis, qui tunc cum Cantabrigiæ viveret, præmiumque propter optimam de servorum mercatura orationem reportasset, laborum suorum isto in genere primitias judicio hominum permisit. Horum ego a doctrina et excellenti ingenio longe me abesse sentio, ita tamen, ut diligentiam eorum in limandis vulgandisque operibus suis maxime imitandam existimem. Hos cum habeam auctores, ne in gravissimum illud novitatis crimen ipse offendam, non est, cur reformidem.

Equidem non defuturos esse scio, qui ea, quæ de rebus politicis vel ex aliorum scriptis hauserim, vel de meo deprompserim, pejorem in partem interpretari non erubescant. Atqui convitiatores isti, per me licet, nimium quantum se admirentur, imo parcant erroribus suis, et fautoribus ipsorum, quam velint, inepte aut insidiose indulgeant. Quid, quod divitiis male partis inhiant? Quid, quod honores aucupantur; et laudibus suis in cœlum tollunt

artes istas inhonestas, per quas ad dignitatem et famam ipsi obrepserint? Minime is ego sum, qui in *talis* gloriæ societatem me offeram. Illis cedo—Illorum hæc esse tota et propria confiteor. Absit vero illud, ut quam sibi et cogitandi et scribendi licentiam satis arroganter vindicent, eam aliis a se dissentientibus ne tantillum quidem concedendam esse contendant. Hanc tamen spem, etsi libero quoque et liberali homine apprime digna sit, vereor ut in hoc seculo fovere debeam. Etenim in raram illam temporum *infelicitatem* nos Angli nuper incidimus, cum nec sentire nobis integrum sit, quæ similia vero videantur, nec loqui, quod sentiamus, sine gravissima offensione improborum et insulsorum homunculorum. Id vero ut ut se habet, mei ut juris egomet sim in veritate investiganda, sedulo enitar. Quos in aula volitare viderim, et purpura splendescere, et per metum aut ambitionem mussare, eos ego omnes cum istis phaleris suis plorare jubeo. Si ad nutus regum suorum assentatores isti aiunt, negant, seque totos fingunt et accommodant, non idcirco meum est committere, ut exemplum adulatorii dedecoris ipse in me edam.

Præfationi huic meæ antequam coronidem imponam, nonnulla habeo, quæ de mea nescio qua felicitate plane aperteque et quidem prolixius commemorem. Qui cum in fæce Romuli sese versari intelligant, oculos tamen mentis ad commentitiam illam Platonis civitatem attollunt, ii fere omnes experiundo norunt, quid causa sibi agenda ipsa ferat, quid error solcat ei affingere, quid invidia contra eam ex industria conflare audeat. Mecum igitur actum est præclare, quod arbitros illos nactus fuerim, qui, cum toto cœlo a mea de rebus politicis sententia discreparent, nulla tamen ira, nullo odio, nullis præjudicatis opinionibus, passi sint se transversos abripi. Enimvero, cum ad prolusionem illam, quæ de æqua in magno imperio libertate stabilienda agit, primo me

accingerem, ne labor iste meus omnis effunderetur, vehementer extimui. Præmia quidem ipsa haud nescius fui ita in medio posita esse, ut latinitati et argumentis scribentium, non sententiis, quas de quæstione subobscura amplexi essent, deferenda viderentur. Sensi porro, opus, quod esset periculosæ aleæ plenissimum, et mihi et aliis fuisse ab ipsis arbitris consulto propositum. Huc accessit, quod veritatem pro comperto habui nullis unquam partibus famulari, nulli magistro se addixisse, nullis vel regibus, qui superbe dominarentur, vel civibus, qui temere turbulenterque novis rebus studerent, fœde et abjecte inservire. At vero in mentibus hominum tot sunt latebræ et recessus, tam proclives sunt ii, qui " metuunt cupiuntve," ad deteriora quæque arripienda, tanta in libertatis vindices jam diu inveteravit invidia, et in dies gliscit ut qui suas aut aliorum opiniones ad veritatis normam exigat, unum et alterum ægre reperias. Quocirca, vitio mihi nemo dederit, quod in animum induxerim, fieri vix potuisse, quin is, qui se ab Harringtono, aut Lockio, stare profiteretur, ad certamen parum æquis conditionibus comparatum descenderet. Quod igitur præmium ne in somniis quidem optare ausus fuissem, id ego ut reportarem, fortunæ meæ, vel potius obstinatæ aliorum ad officii sui rationem tuendam sententiæ, acceptum refero. Atqui ingratus essem quam qui maxime, nisi judices tam singulari integritate præditos mearum, qualescunque sint, laudum præconio ornare cuperem. Equidem unum ex iis, honoris causa, nominatum vellem. Gaudebit is quidem, etiam me tacente, egregia illa moderatione animi sui et æquitate. Quin tum amore Cantabrigiensium suorum, tum natura et moribus suis diutissime fruetur. Sed, ne optimum hunc virum ultra placitum collaudare videar, manum, ut aiunt, de tabula.

Hæc sunt, quæ de me et meis opusculis, spem inter metumque

dubius, præfari habui. Tibi autem, L. B. meos hosce juveniles lusus dico. Scilicet blandiri parum scio: Te autem unum agnosco patronum, qui nullas blanditias requiris. Quin alii cuipiam libellum huncce in clientelam commendare minime collibuit, quamdiu incertus eram, an gratia esset omnino aliqua dignus. Tu autem, cum penes te ipsum sit, manusculo huic meo pretium, quod velis, imponere, succensere mihi non potes, si parvi æstimetur. Vale.

J. T.

Dabam Londini:
Calend. Junii A. D. 1793.

PROLUSIONUM CATALOGUS.

Page

No. I. BATAVIA REDIVIVA:

Uno aureorum numismatum, quorum tria Academiæ alumnis, qui in statu pupillari essent, pro tribus carminum generibus quotannis deferenda legavit Gulielmus Browne, Eques, Græcum hocce Carmen dignatum est, et postea in Comitiis Maximis, Calend. Julii A.D. 1788, recitatum in senatu..... 13

No. II. BATAVIA REDIVIVA:

Secundum eorundem numismatum hæc Ode Latina præmium suum tulit, et in senatu recitata est, eodem, quo Carmen Græcum, die..... 19

No. III. QUID NOVI?

Tertio numismate hæc Epigrammata dignata sunt, et una cum præcedentibus carminibus in senatu recitata..... 25

No. IV. LUCIUS CORNELIUS SYLLA, ABDICATO MAGISTRATU, IN JUS VOCETUR:

Oratiunculum hancce in sacello Collegii Trinitatis habitam, A.D. 1788, præmio librorum, quod alumnis ejusdem Collegii singulis annis dari solet, amplificavit Prælector illius anni Primarius, THOMAS JONES,* vir apprime doctus, et a bonis omnibus nunquam nisi perhonorifice memorandus..... 27

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* THOMAS JONES:—was born at Beriew in Montgomeryshire, A.D. 1756. He received his education principally at the grammar school of Shrewsbury; and in 1774 commenced residence at the University of Cambridge. Such was the rare superiority of his talents and acquirements, when he proceeded to the degree of *A. B.* that the honor of Senior Wrangler, in all other instances so much contested, was conceded to him without examination. In that same year, 1779, Mr. JONES was appointed assistant-tutor of Trinity College; in 1781 chosen Fellow; and in 1787 elected to the office of Head-Tutor; which he held to the day of his death,—to the eminent advantage and credit of that *truly noble* Society: ["*Virtus vera nobilitas.*"] and it is not, perhaps, too much to say, that to the influence of his example may be owing somewhat of its present character—somewhat of the elevated tone of its principles, the liberality of its policy, disdaining every petty and selfish object with a generous scorn and a brave neglect, and breathing the genuine spirit of hospitality and magnificence, of liberty, and of honor. With how much ability, gentleness, probity, and zeal, Mr. JONES discharged the arduous trust of Tutor—with what singular felicity of illustration and propriety of language he communicated and recommended knowledge—with what address the faithful discipline of the guardian of youth was blended with the patience and indulgence of the Parent, the numerous pupils formed to learning and virtue under his auspicious care will never cease to testify with an unanimous sentiment of gratitude and veneration. In that number was Mr. TWEDDELL; whose more intimate friends will not fail to remember the terms of reverence and love in which he was wont to speak of his admirable and highly-valued instructor. As to Mr. JONES's practical benevolence—not unknown, perhaps, to any Student who needed such a friend—suffice it to state, on the authority of his friend and biographer, "that the subjects of his private bounty were, in truth, so numerous, that he was himself often distressed in the midst of affluence:" and he remained at the last in moderate circumstances, after exercising a lucrative function during a long course of years. To render his character yet more attractive, there was in his manner an originality and a simplicity of the most interesting kind; and his countenance at once bespoke a genuine simpleness and benevolence of heart, and a native superiority of mind. In the lighter conversation of mixed society, his smile had all the playfulness and vivacity of a school-boy—in the graver cast of contemplation or argument, his eye reflected the sagacity and profoundness of a NEWTON. Mr. JONES died in his 52d year, on the 18th of July 1807. This imperfect sketch will, at least, attest the sincere respect for his memory in which the Editor of the "*Remains*" cordially unites with the Author of "*Prolusiones*;" and, he may add, with every good member of Trinity. (See a Memoir by Dr. HERBERT MARSH in the *Athenæum*, vol. 3. p. 260.)

PROLUSIONUM CATALOGUS.

Page

No. V. In Joannem Lockium Oratio Panegyrica:

Prolusio hæc ex præcedente nata est, cum solenne sit, eum, qui præmium illud, cujus novissime memini, reportaverit, in Collegii sui sacello nominis alicujus magni viri memoriam concelebrare 33

No. VI. The merits of Henry the Seventh were greater than his demerits:

A Prize Declamation, delivered in the Chapel of Trinity College, A.D. 1789. 43

No. VII. Id unum quod expedit hominibus, homines obligat:

Hæc Oratio, sive, ut aiunt, Actio habita est in Scholis Philosophicis, quinto Calendas Junii A.D. 1789..... 55

No. VIII. Juvenum Curas:

Carmen hoc simili numismate dignatum est, ac prima harum prolusionum, et in senatu recitatum in Comitiis Maximis, Non. Julii A.D. 1789..... 63

No. IX. Ludentis speciem dabit, et torquebitur:
In Ventriloquum:

Hæc Epigrammata simili numismate dignata sunt, ac tertia harum prolusionum, et in Comitiis Maximis, Non. Julii A.D. 1789, recitata in senatu.. 69

No. X. Utrum ad magnum poetam effingendum magis accommodata sit ætas omnibus elegantiis oratissima, an ætas elegantiarum rudis:

In Comitiis Posterioribus, decimo quinto Calend. April. A. D. 1790, hæc Oratio in Scholis Publicis habita est, cum Pro-cancellarius istius anni alterum duorum *classicorum* (uti aiunt) numismatum, quæ ab Academiæ Cancellario quotannis dari solent, mihi adjudicasset..... 71

No. XI. A Speech on the Character and Memory of King William the Third:

This Speech was delivered in the Chapel of Trinity College, Nov. 4th, 1790, and rewarded with the prize of books annually appropriated to that commemoration by the will of Mr. Greaves 81

No. XII. Quid pure tranquillet?

In Comitiis Maximis sexto Nonas Julii A. D. 1791, hæc Oratio in senatu, ut moris est, recitata fuit, cum primum tulisset præmiorum, quæ *mediis*, qui dicuntur, *Baccalaureis* ab Academiæ legatis quotannis dari solent. 113

No. XIII. Utrum magnum imperium cum æqua omnium libertate constare possit?

Præmium simile, ac præcedens, hæc Oratio tulit, et in Comitiis Maximis, pridie Calend. Julii A. D. 1792, in senatu recitata est..... 139

PROLUSIONES.

No. I.

BATAVIA REDIVIVA.

Τις ποχ' ἁγήτωρ μελέων ἀοιδὰν
Θέσπιν ἐμπνεύσει φρεσί; πῶς κιχείην
Καλλίπεπλον Ἁρμονίαν, δίκαν τεῦ,
Αἰολὶ Σαπφοῖ;

Τῶς γὰρ, ὦ δέσποινα, βρότειος οὔτις
Χρυσέῳ φόρμιγγα δίωξε πλᾶκτρῳ,
Τᾶν βοᾶν ἰεὶς, πυκνά περ φρονῶν, ἀ-
δύπνοον αὔραν.

Δεῦρ' ἴθ' ὦν· γνώμᾳ τ' ἐπὶ μωσικῆς χεῦ'
Ἀνθεμόῤῥυτον γάνος, ὑγρὰ καίπερ
Τῶ πόθῳ φιλάματα, Κύπριδος τε
Πυρφόρος ἴυγξ,

Καὶ φρανῶν στέργηθρα νέων ἐν ἀμοῖς
Οὐ βρύῃ πίναξιν—Ἔα, πρόσω τί;
Οὐλίων ὅπλων κτύπος οὔλιος; τί
Φρὰν ἀλίαστος

Φρίξεν; Οἶδ' ὁρῶν σκοτίας Ἐρινῦς,
Θεοὺς ἀβάκχευτον θίασον λαχούσας,
Οἶδ' ὁρῶν Ἔριν τε, Φόνον τε, κ' Ἄταν
Ἀνδρολέτειραν.

Δῆλον οἰμωγῆς νέφος· ὦ ΒΑΤΑΙΑ,
Κλῦθι, τοῦτο γὰρ σὲ πέριξ ἔχει· στέ-
νω σε, δύσπολις, πάθες ὡς μεγίστων
Ἄξι' ὀδυρμῶν!

Νοῦς φλέγει χρείας ὑπὸ, καρδίᾳ τε
Ἀμφιπίτνει δεῖμά με· Φαίνομαι νῦν
Σὰν παθὼν ἀλκὴν, μελανοπτέρων, Γᾶ,
Μᾶτερ ὀνείρων*.

Ἃ δοκῶ τὸν παῖδ' ἐσορῆν ῥέοντα
Φοινίᾳ δρόσῳ, περὶ μαστὸν ὑγραῖς
Ὠλένησιν ὡς ἔτι βάλλετ' εὐζώ-
νοιο τιθάνας!

Φρίσσομαι βλέπων, ἵνα περ τὸ θᾶλυ
Πᾶν γένος πρόῤῥιζον ἔκυρσε μοίρας·
Τὸ ξίφος νύμφαν πολέμων ἄπειρον,
Ἄνθεϊ δ' ἄβας

Ἀδέως θάλλοισαν, ἀναιδὲς ὠμῶς
Ηὐχένιζ· οἴμοι, ξίφος οὐκ ἐς ὥραν
Ἐκκεκώφωται· τὲ λέλογχεν οἷος
Νύμφιος Ἅδης!

Ὡς δ' ὁ πράν τοι νύμφιος ἴαχ', εὐθὺς
Ἐκ θεᾶν μάστιγος ἐοῖσι πᾶχυν
Ἐμβαλὼν στέρνοις· ἔπος (ἆ, κλύω) φύγ'
Ἔρκος ὀδόντων·

* Eur. Hec.

" Χαῖρε, τᾷ λαχεῖν ἴσον ἂν θέλοιμι
" Ζῶν, θανὼν, χαῖρ' αὖ! Φάος ἔσβεσεν τίς
" Μεῦ, τίς ὤν; ἆρ' ἦν φόνιος θεῶν, ὃς
" Ἦν τάδε πράξας.

" Πτῶμ' ἐοῖσ' ἀωρὶ, παραγκάλισμα
" Ταρτάρω! Ζώναν ἄφαρ ἀμπλακοίσας
" Σοῦ βρέφος τι μάτερος οὐκ ἐν ἀγκά-
" λῃσιν ἔθρωσκεν.

" Βᾶθι τὴν κατ' οὖρον! ἔγων σε κλαύσω,
" Σῶμ' ὑφεὶς ἀλγήδοσι, μέσφ' ἂν αὐτὸς
" Ἐκπέσω φίλας κραδίας, βίον δα-
" κρυτὸν ἀμέρσας."

Ὡς τις εἶπ', ἄρᾶτο δ' Ἄρηϊ. καὶ μὰν
Ἦν τεννακότων ἅλις, ἦν περισσῶς·
Πλειόνων τ' ὀδὰξ πάρα γῆν ἑλόντων
Πτώματα λεύσσειν.

Πᾶ δὲ φράν ἐμοὶ φοράδην ποτᾶται;
Νοῦς τί δὴ τοξεύσε μάτην; φλυαρῶν,
Στάθεος φῶς, λῆγ'·—ἀποπέμπομαι δο-
-λοπλόκον ὄψιν.

Σὰν γὰρ Εἰράνα, χαρίεσσαν ὥραν
Τέρπομαι φιλοστεφάνους τε κώμους
Εἰσιδών· κακοῖο δ' ἔρωτος εὔφρων
Ἐκβάλες ἀρχάν.

Ἀμὸν ὡς θάλπεις κέαρ! Ἀσφαλὴς γὰρ
Ἁ πτόλις, καὶ σῶς ἔτι λαὸς, αἴάν τ'
Εὐτρεφεστάτην δόσις αὖ τρέφει γᾶς
Ἀκριτόφυρτος.

Οἰκτρὸν ὡς, τᾶς ὠγυγίας πόλιος
Ἐν πύλαις τροπαῖον ἰδεῖν Ὀλέθρω!
Οἰκτρὸν ὡς, ὑπ' ἀλλοδάπων τραπῆναι
Κύματι φωτῶν!

Οὐ δὲ σὸν, πρέσβιστα, λάπαξε κάρτος
Ἡ γυνὴ ἐρασθεῖς·—ἄρ' ἴδεσθ', ἄνατταν
Ταινίᾳ ξουθᾷ Χάρις ὡς ἀγάλλει
Χρυσεόμιτρον;

Τίς τ' ἄγαν Σ' ἄμυνε; μέγα φράσω τι·
Δύσβατον τοῖς ἠμιθεοῖς τὸ πόρσω·
Σοὶ μόνῳ, ΒΡΟΥΝΣΟΥΧΕ, τοιοῦτον ἀνδρῶν
Ἔπλετο κῦδος.

Ἀλλὰ τίς δίκα σε, τίς αὖ σε μίμνει,
ΓΑΛΛΙΑ; κακῶν σὺ γὰρ αἰτίη τῶν δ'
Ἔσθ', ὅμως τ' ἄλλων ἴδρις ἐκπέφυκας·
Ναὶ μὰ Διὸς τὰν

Ὁρκίαν Θέμιν, σύγε κερδανεῖς σὸν
Κέρδος. οὐ γάρ σοί τι μελίσδετ' ἀδὺ
Ἁ πνοὰ Μοισᾶν· καπυρόν τ' ἐρώτων
Τέρψιν ἰαύειν.

Οὐ μέλει· φθόνου, στασέων, μέλει σοι
Σοὶ μέλει μάχης, ἔριδος μέλει σοι,
Καὶ φόνων.—Εὐδαίμονες, οἷσι πατρὶς
Ἔπλετ' ἄγευστος

Τῶν κακῶν! πᾶ δ' ἔντι τὸ φέρτατον πᾶς;
Ὦ ΑΒΙΟΝ, Γᾶ μᾶτερ, ἔχοντι τὸν νοῦν
Οἷον ἐσσὶ κτᾶμα ποθεινόν! εἴην,
Μεῦ βιότοιο

Ὅττι περ λελειμμένον ἐντι, πρόφρων
Τιν σύνοικος· εἰ γὰρ ἔφυ χάρις τῳ,
Τιν μόνᾳ λάμπει χαρίτων ἔαρ, καὶ
Πάντα τέθηλεν.

Ταλόθεν δέδορκε τὸ σὸν κλέος·
Ὠκυπόμπω ἐξετάνυσσε νηὸς
Ἔυπτερον πόδ' ἱστί'· ἐπίτροπος, νά-
σων κορυφὰ, γᾶς,

Μήδεται τεαῖσι Θεὸς μεριμναῖς,
Αἴ σε μήπως δεσποσίᾳ κιχάνοισ'
Ὕβρις εὔδουσαν, χαλεπᾶς ἀνάγκας
Στυγνὰ λέπαδνα

Ἐμβάλοι! μᾶλλον δ' ἐπίσημον ἔνθα
Σὸν βλέποιμ', Ἐλευθερία, πρόσωπον!
Ὦ φίλα δέσποινα, καλῶς ἐφίεις
Σόν μοι οἴστὸν

Ἰμέρῳ χρίσασα.—Σὺ ναὶ, BATAIA,
Σῆς τύχης τὰ δῶρα δέχευ προθυμῶς
Ὄλβιος γὰρ μοῦνος, ὃς οἶδ' ἀμύνειν
Δούλιον ἆμαρ.

No. II.

BATAVIA REDIVIVA.

AN ille divini halitus ætheris,
Anhela vitæ vis, abit in putrem
Glebam, neque antiquos renata
Sentit adhuc meminitve amores?

An feriatis Manibus Elysî
Inter virentes est siluäs domus,
Nec credulas gentes fefellit
Ludibrio Mahumeda vano,

Sed quisque festis uvidus in rosis
Producta blandæ virginis oscula
Libat, neque humanæ querelæ.
Sollicita bibit aure murmur?

Sint ista nocti tradita. Sed tuæ,
Ni te vetaret sæva necessitas,
Bataviæ non vocis expers
Audieras gemitus, Wilhelme!*

* Wilhelm. I. Princeps Auriacus.

Solebat olim scilicet hic tibi
Ridere felix angulus—En! tuam
Plebem ingravescenti tumultu et
Strage nova Nemesis fatigat!

Torrentium illic ira minacium
Fraudare ruptis objicibus preces
Agrestium, et lætas ruenti
Sternere aqua segetes parabat,

Nudum immerentis dum latus imperî
Transiret ictus. Rotterodamios
Vidi paventes, percitumque
Horrisono Amstelodon fragore.

Vidi, oppidorum sceptra gerens Haga
Tumultuoso qua populo fremit,
Cædemque Terroremque late
Sollicitos agitare vicos.

Videsne, rerum qua facies nova
Surgit? Flagelli Tisiphone immemor
Compescit iras, et cruoris
Jam satura in Stygiis tenebris

Alte recondit vipereum caput.
Sic rursum, aquosi filia Nerei,
Te, terra, septemplex beabit
Copula conjugiumque lætum.

Sopita flamma est, quam gremio in tuo
Nutrix alebas, Gallia, dissidî.
Hac missa tempestas ab ora
Terruit Oceani nepotes.

Sed cur Britannorum socias manus
Ciere vis in bella? Patent viæ
Plures ad Orcum, nec Britanni
Fœmineos agimus triumphos.

Tuum decorat casside gratior
Superba mollem tænia militem.
Ah! membra ne ferro fatiges
Apta magis lepidæ choreæ.

Inter puellas ludere doctior,
Et, cuique vestis quæ mage rideat,
Suadere, ne lusu protervo
Prœlia pulverulenta mutes.

Conturbat ensis nos neque Ibericus,
Nec fastus aulæ pompaque Gallicæ,
Non Indico qui stridet arcu,
Oceanive superbientis

Minæ.—Sed iris fige modum tuis,
Sed parce victis, Musa: Jocus tibi,
Lususque rident, et lepores,
Et tacita requies in umbra.

Fruaris ergo quæ dederint tibi
Optata Parcæ munera. Nam neque
Per dirutas jam sævit urbes
Sanguineis rabies in armis:

At fidus auras per liquidas Amor
Unaque nexis Pax manibus, jugum
Cæleste, labuntur ferentes
Compositæ studia alma vitæ.

Quin et sodali nunc vacuus puer
Inter Lyæi pocula Lesbiæ
Dolusque, risusque, et loquacis
Mille refert veneres ocelli.

Injecta sed quis fræna licentiæ
Tenet cruentæ? Non ego, Bronsvici,
Te laude inornatum Camenæ,
(Si quid id est) bone dux, silebo.

Tu, cum rapinas plangeret impotens
Crimenque læsæ femina feminæ,
Et criminis vindex, et idem
Pacis eras mediusque belli.

Te laurus ergo tempora vestiet,
Te myrtus. Omni munere te beat
Fortuna, cui Gradivus acer,
Et placido Venus ore risit.

Quin cum peribis, mollior imprimet
Cippus repôstas relliquias; neque
Tecum occidet divina virtus
Funereo tumulanda busto.

Sin pacis artes, juraque civium,
Tandem fugatis victor ab hostibus
Redux fovebis, fama cunctis
Usque recens juvenescet annis.

No. III.

QUID NOVI?

Εἰ πάλιν ὄμβροιο φλέβες οὐρανίοιο λύοιντο,
Γῆ τ' ἀπὸ κλυζομένων πᾶσ' ἀπόλοιτο μυχῶν,
Οὔτι σύγ' αὖθ', (οἶμαι) Πύῤῥη, κατόπισθ' ἂν ἔβαλλες,
Δευκαλιόν τ', ἀνδρῶν λαΐνέους γονέας·
Καινὸν ἴδεσθε γένος! Νῦν Χὴν ἐνὶ γράμμασι κεῖται,
Πρὶν ἄλογος, κλήροις *Εἰκὼ, ὅπλοισι Λαγώς.

QUID NOVI?

Puella loquitur.

Sum tibi *Bella:* Viden'? Vetera et vulgaria temno,
Nec levis in laudes ars fuit illa meas.
Mos *olim* (et memini) proprios pendere capillos;
Sunt falsi: Quæris, quî fit, inepte? Novum est.
Mos olim (et sensi) propriam submittere clunem:
Quî potior clunis subere facta? Novum est.
Me soror alta humilem spectabat desuper hostem;
At lignum fulto subdere calce novum est.
Quid deceat, quid non, sic collige. Quæ decet, illa est
Res nova, quæque nova est res, mihi crede, decet.

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* Automaton.

No. IV.

LUCIUS CORNELIUS SYLLA, ABDICATO MAGISTRATU, IN JUS VOCETUR.

CREDIDERIM esse neminem adeo expertem misericordiæ, quem non fortunæ rerum Romanarum mœrore aliquando affecerint; neminem, qui non vices defleverit civitatis toties labefactatæ qua civium, qua principum, licentia. Quippe in utramque partem diu vehementius incitata, sæpenumero ultima ab utraque experta est. Hinc populares discordiæ, et tæda seditionis tribunitia manu prætenta; hinc vulnera reipublicæ inusta, et importunum tyrannorum scelus.

Nec vero quenquam inter hæc populi Romani dissidia magis eminere videmus, quam Lucium Cornelium Syllam; quem propemodum per totum vitæ suæ curriculum cernere licet in rapinis, sanguine, et ferro versatum; qui virtutem in superbia posuit, in audacia, in contemptu Deorum hominumque; qui denique victam armis patriæ libertatem in dominationem vertit. Quoniam autem

a primis persæpe conatibus, quod reliquum sit, licet ominari, moremur paululum, de vita et moribus hujusce hominis nonnihil quæsituri.

Syllæ primus gradus honoris quæstura fuit; quæ tamen quid aliud habet in se, quam captivum regem in manus traditum? Ex hac tamen re omnino levi facile videas, homo quam natura fuerit promptus, ut impar fortunæ insolesceret bonis suis. Nimirum, hanc in sigillo deditionem exprimi curavit, quo deinceps arrogantiæ testimonium suæ secum ubique portaret. Mox petiit prætúram; ubi quod virtutibus adipisci non potuit, adeptus est auro. Missas facio res in Cappadocia gestas, utpote quæ ab alio quopiam pari successu geri possent. Post reditum tamen expilationis direptionisque sociorum reum postulatum esse nequeo oblivisci. Verum de mediocribus hisce et quodammodo quotidianis criminibus cum Sylla neutiquam acturus sum. Prætermittam minora omnia et vulgaria, majora tantummodo et singularia reprehensurus. Illa autem vereor ne nimis multa sint, quam ut oratiuncula hac nostra comprehendantur; satis horum, quod statuto orandi spatio sufficiat.

Hactenus Syllam vidimus alienæ ministrum potentiæ, vixdum sui ipsius juris, sua nondum cupiditate abreptum. Nunc eundem conspicimus trabea consulari ac fascibus ornatum. Hic autem, ne forte ex multis præclaris rebus gestis Lucii Syllæ, rem unam, quæ sit præclarissima, transiliat oratio, exquiramus, qualem novus ille Consul primam patriæ gratiam rependerit? O hominem religiosissime nequam! Adeone sibi conscius fuit, quam ipsi ab urbe immerite honor iste delatus fuisset, ut, tanquam pretium delicti, eandem urbem incendio purgârit? Verum enimvero vetus ac jam pridem insita huic homini potentiæ lubido cum ipsa in dies crescente potentia crevit una et erupit. Prioribus igitur septus

honoribus majora adhuc molitur, et Mithridaticæ expeditionis procurationem sibi flagitat deferri. Trajicimus igitur in Græciam istum suapte auctoritate ducem. Ibi sub primam statim rerum faciem satis conspicuum eum superque (credo) cernimus. Indignum facinus, honorum omnium, siqui fuerint, dehonestamentum! Nihil cunctatus prædo iste antiquissimo templo intulit sacrilegas manus, signa diripuit; quo impietatis ne Persis quidem ventum erat, qui toti Græciæ, et tantum non Diis, bellum indixerant. Indixerat Diis Sylla, et nequaquam sacer apud illum locus, ne ille quidem, quem nulla unquam barbaries violârat. Cæterum, frustra quæsieris, quosnam alios flagitiorum luxurie superaverit is, qui in horas ipse se superaret.

Videatis autem, quam debita laude congestus fuerit probus ille civis et aliquanto modestior. Scilicet una voce clamitant Syllæ fautores, nullam eum ex hac expeditione gloriam sibi arrogâsse, nullos efflagitâsse honores; moris fuisse omnia ipsius facinora ad Fortunam referre. Admirabile plane hominis ingenium! Famam, quam omnes tibi invidebant, ipse Fortunæ tribuisti!

Interea in animum involabat cupido redeundi in patriam; nunquam enim defuturus erat, qui contra rempublicam duceret, modo non, qui ducerentur. Venit igitur cætu fœdissimo stipatus, et multitudine retinentium ex civili bello præmiorum spem. Devicto, qui intercessit, hoste, perventum est Romam.—"Fumo vincitur urbs, velut examen apum;" neque; armis ultra opus. At cito omnes invenerunt, bellum magis desiisse, quam cæpisse pacem, neque; exitii solatium, nedum salutis spem, esse quærendum.

Egregiam victoris modestiam in Sylla prorsus nolo: ne tantum degeneraverit a pristinis moribus. Ne ille sicariorum princeps ad unum modo ictum vigeat; ne ille aculeo torpeat emisso. Magnum

profecto jam nunc et memorabile fecerat facinus; gloriæ vero ejus cumulus adhuc amplior erat accessurus. Iste (ut Livianum illud usurpem) 'victoriam eam crudelitate, quanta in nullo hominum fuit; inquinavit.' Exinde facta est deformis ubique rerum facies; clamor, vulnera, sanguis, palam; non sexus, ætas, miserationem afferebat; providere poterat nemo, quod cædis initium, quæ finis. Fuitne aliquis locuples? Fuit idem nocens. Criminis enim sui testimonium et exitii mercedem in arca habuit. Nihil tutum præter ignotum, nihil honorificum præter exquisitam nequitiam. Quid potuerit summa lubido cum summa ferocitate mirabiliter conjuncta, nunc primum hominibus insigni documento compertum est. Ausus est et ipse (quid vero est, quod non sit ausus Sylla?) amplecti nomen multo quam ipsorum regum libertati infestius. Quanam in re turpem se et flagitiosum præstitit? Plane in omni. Quanam in re vocaverim eum probum atque integrum? Plane in nulla. Quid est, per Deos immortales! quid, inquam, est, quod a verecundo inimico addi possit? Piget enim dicere crudum illum helluonem bonorum omnium copiis semet ingurgitantem: piget dicere Romanam civitatem, velut Asiaticam prædam, fœdissimis ejus satellitibus datam. Quid, quod socium adscivit sibi latronem istum et reipublicæ pestem Catilinam, quem scilicet unum reperire potuit similem sui? Hos simul furantes habuit dies, simul bacchantes nox. Illud profecto fuit: Tanquam alter Nessus idoneo cuidam tradere cupiebat fatale pignus, mox in medullis populi Romani ac visceribus flagraturum. Quid proferam impurissimas libidines, et pudorem cum pudicitia perditum? Stupra tantummodo aut histrionum cœtus volvens animo, totus in balneis tepet, in cauponulis delitescit. Negotiine aliquid cum Sylla habes? Eas igitur, domicilium est illi in fornicibus. Tune etiam cum Sylla? Moreris tantisper, dum ex popina redeat. Hæc autem omnia sine nocte socia, sine ullo dedecoris integumento, quæ Tartaro abscondi præstitisset, "aut si quid ultra Tar-

tarum est." Ut verbo denique complectar omnia, tam erat privatim degener, quam in publicum exitiosus.——Inauspicatam urbem! Eone beneficia tua evadere, dux tibi ut esset, ut fuisset Consul, is, qui se primus accinxerit in libertatem tuam!

Contemplans denique quivis vitam Lucii Cornelii Syllæ, quid tandem magni excelsi in illo inveniet, præter crimina? Quid, inquam, inveniet, nisi prædonem et confectorem patriæ—imperatorem, contra senatum populumque Romanum, contra Deos patrios arasque et focos, assidue bellantem—labem atque perniciem seculi sui? Quam rempublicam contempserat adolescens, ejusdem in funeribus triumphavit senex. Fuit tamen, neque inficias iverim, qui miles aliquando bene meruit. Attamen, quicquid per annos sequentes a civibus regnum ejus affectantibus, quicquid ab iis, quos Sullaturire Marcus Cicero dicit et proscripturire, unquam peccatum est, hoc omne, si recte ratiocinabimur, uni acceptum referemus Syllæ. Syllæ, in quo patriæ præsidium inesse decebat, inerat ejusdem (id quod non decebat) causa exitii.

Nec vero sententiæ meæ aliquantillum repugnat, quod ille, cum nihil jam flagitii reliquerat, quo corruptior ageret, tum demum 'privatus altum dormire" voluerit, et abjecerit ultro regales excubias et fortunæ suæ molem. Fuit incredibile (puto) modestiæ exemplum, in eo potissimum, qui dictatorium illud munus per tres antea annos gesserat, tanquam insigne quoddam vindictæ, procacitatis, invidiæ. At, O beatum illum! quem, tanta dignitate relicta, nemo privatum erat lacessiturus! Ecquis enim Syllanas passus injurias ad Syllam vel exprobrandum vel puniendum superfuit? Scilicet egregie misericors vitas civium una cum bonis ademerat.

Quæ omnia cum ita sint, si quis dubitet, quin in jus debeat vocari Sylla, eat idem ac dominationis oppressorem, libertatis vindicem, salutet, imo patrem urbium statuis subscribat.

Nos vero tibi, Corneli, partam tandem immortalitatem, qualiscunque sit, gratulamur: et hoc jam solatio sit Manibus tuis, sparsisse te ac disseminasse nomen tuum in orbis terræ memoriam sempiternam. Quæ autem suum cuique decus rependit posteritas, Felicis nomen tibi minus invidisset, si modo in pace sustinuisses gloriam, quam bello paraveris, aut si tunc, cum vincere desieris, desiisses etiam vivere.

No. V.

IN JOÄNNEM LOCKIUM ORATIO PANEGYRICA.

CUM hunc diem antiquitus quasi sepositum viderem ad prodendam virtutis memoriam, contemplanti mihi quod in suo genere esset perfectissimum, nomen obortum est viri præclarissimorum simul facinorum et optimarum artium famam adepti. Me tamen non fugit, quanta ornatus a doctrina, quantis præditus ingenii viribus debeat esse is, qui Lockium sibi laudandum susceperit. Profecto, eandem sæpe dicenti difficultatem subjiciunt rerum, de quibus dicturus est, exilitas et magnitudo. Illinc alta et quasi exaggerata oratione opus est in iis amplificandis, quæ nullum in se pondus habent, atque adeo veritatis præ se ferunt non expressam imaginem, sed fucatam quandam et inanem speciem. Hinc obrutus atque oppressus rerum abundantia et amplitudine animus fatiscit, et sibi diffidit, atque, ut cum poëta loquar, inopem se factum ipsa copia persentit. Posterius hoece vel in primis ad eum pertinet, qui Lockium velit collaudare. Illo enim in viro princeps omnium virtutum sapientia eluxit, et quidem ita eluxit, ut arte vix ulla, nedum mea, pro dignitate sua predicari possit.

Mihi tamen ipsi de eo gratulari licet, quod nec perscrutanda sunt vetustatis rudera, nec longo ordine recensendi avi proavique, nec stemmatum, in quibus magna pars hominum stupet, e tenebris eruendæ origines. Fuit enim Lockius, id quod Horatius præ se fert, nullis ortus majoribus. Quicquid habuit, id omne habuit suum & proprium. Et quidem is ego sum, qui eum non minoris sim existimaturus, eo quod parentibus, qui nec fama eximii neque opibus abundantes essent natus fuerit.

——————— meritum, non quæ cunabula quæro,
Et qualis, non unde satus.

CLAUD.

Putidum, mehercule, et insulsum esset loqui de nutricum fabulis; neque est, cur me vel tantillum moveant ea, quæ semestres infantuli, quos æquus Jupiter præ cæteris amavit, ipsis in crepundiis facere præter solitum et loqui vulgo creduntur. Festinat igitur oratio mea ad eas artes, quibus ætas juvenilis informatur ad humanitatem.

Me vero Academia hæc mater mea, cujus in gremio me foveri lætor, animi parum grati ne idcirco arguat, quod, cum ipsa etiam filios habuerit præclaros multos & sapientes, "non nostri" tamen ego "generis juvenem," sed sororiis potius imbutum artibus, ad laudandum selegerim. Satius erit recordari, clarorum virorum facta non ita angustis coërceri finibus, quin eorum omnium illud proprium esse, ut non urbis alicujus, vel regionis, sed totius orbis terrarum cives habeantur. Sin autem alicui loco carum & sanctum esse debet Lockii nomen, est ea laus vel in primis nostra: si quibus de eo præcipue gloriari licet, est ea nostra gloria. Ecquis enim alius in senaculo nostro plus auctoritatis habet? Ecquis in scholis nostris sæpius est in ore juvenum eruditorum? Profecto,

solent hic loci Lockium laudare, qui, ut ipsi laudentur, sunt dignissimi.

Hoc vero ut ut se habet, Lockium Oxonii nunc cernimus in Ædibus Christi alumnum. Cæpit autem protinus explicare sese & expandere ingenium illud, cujus ope celeriter anteivit omnibus, qui in eodem famæ curriculo unquam versati fuerant. Minime enim fefellit eum, quæ & quantæ sibi in Academia partes essent apud æquales agendæ. Tot porro curis & vigiliis cum animus inter studia angeretur, insedebat in eo virtus illa, quæ noctes & dies gloriæ stimulis eum concitabant. Enimvero hominum, quos natura finxit vel ad poësin vel ad philosophiam excolendam magnos atque excelsos, quodammodo proprium est jam inde ab adolescentia, multum in posterum providere; ita tamen, ut intra penetralia mentis suæ propemodum latentes, nunquam aucupentur vulgi plausus, neque bullatas nugas pro solida doctrina venditent. Contra ea, præcocium et quotidianorum horum ingeniorum est, celeriter se effundere, & inanibus aristis ante messem flavescere.* Lockii autem animo suberat vera vis, penitusque immissis radicibus innisa est.

Notum est eum ad artem medicam, neutiquam quæstus causa, primo animum adjunxisse; qua in arte eoüsque tandem profecit, ut qui tunc temporis medicorum facile princeps† erat, Lockio placuisse summæ laudi sibi duxerit. Hic autem animadvertamus licebit honestam eam ac priscæ integritatis mentem, cui curæ fuerint in primis salus vitæque hominum sine mercede ulla, nisi quatenus ipsa sibi virtus sit merces sua. Cæterum non uno in nomine ad artes Apollineas incubuit, quinimo multum diuque

* V. Quintil. L. 1. Cap. 3. † Sydenham.

meditando effecit, ut qui ad corpora hominum sananda instructissimus accessisset, idem etiam medicinam, quæ cupiditates & errores sanaret, mentibus eorum adhibere posset. Profecto, splendidius ei quiddam & utilius videbatur, ingenio suo condere ἰατρεῖον ψυχῆς, quam operam collocare in locis visendis, ubi valetudo ægra curaretur. Itaque adeo intra Academiæ spatia ex profundissimis sapientiæ fontibus ea cogitandi hausit principia, quæ cum religioni tum etiam patriæ suæ tantum erant utilitatis ac præsidii mox allatura.

Hac de causa cum in sua quisque arte celeberrimus, tum cæteri, qui aliquid de ingeniis poterant judicare, cognitione eum et hospitio dignum existimarunt. Mox etiam Regiæ Societati adscriptus est. Quin Ashleio cum antea fuerit notus, jam intimus eidem consiliorum esse cæpit, ita ut vir ille tam sapientia quam nobilitate insignis vix alium sibi in rebus gravissimis adjutorem & socium habuerit. Sed ex hoc fonte ut honor plurimus derivatus fluxerat, sic ex eodem & nonnihil infortunii. Cum enim una & eadem utrique fuisset ratio propositi, unus diu idemque vitæ tenor, altero jam cadente, stare alter nec potuit nec quidem voluit. Piget igitur referre artes istas inhonestas, et scelerata aulicorum virorum studia, quibus effectum est, ut vir, si quis alius, innocens et patriæ amans ad exilium, tanquam ad perfugium quoddam, se reciperet.

Tuam, mehercule, Oxonium! doleo vicem, cui proditi a te Lockii crimen subeundum sit. Alia multa cum præclare et pro dignitate tua feceris, nunquam tamen non flebunt et erubescent tuæ Camenæ, quoties hanc in nomine tuo insedisse maculam meminerint. O miseram gentem, nec magis fortuna quam culpa calamitosam, quæ posset tyrannum istum execrabilem jam tum perferre, cum facinus illud atrocissimum mandaret! O cæcum et meticulosum

Academicorum gregem, qui mandatum illud tetirrimum exequi non dubitarint! Enimvero tecum, Batavia, melius actum est, cum tibi Lockium a patria ingrata profugum in sinu tuo amplexari et fovere contigerit.

Sed prava jam et in suspiciones propensior morum licentia, una cum insana illa, quæ mox secuta est, vi superstitionis, quicquid probitatis uspiam terrarum delitesceret, odio habuit et reformidavit. Lockium igitur Hagæ commorantem prehendi Jacobus voluit, cujus ut impias manus is effugeret, Deo visum est. Sed deferbuit tandem paulatim irarum æstus, quique ereptum aliena jura ierant, suis ipsorum exturbati sunt. Patria igitur de summis rebus periclitante, rediit Lockius in illa nave, quæ Gulielmum vexatæ et oppressæ libertatis vindicem vehebat.

Hujus autem rei mentio facit, ut in transcursu dicamus aliquid de illo tempore, quod centum annorum circuitu has terras in gravissimam malorum ærumnam detrusas fausto interventu erexit, patrum nostrorum colla eripuit ex superstitionis simul et servitutis jugo. Quod quidem sicut me moriæ literisque nunquam satis mandari potest, sic nunc temporis a me nullo modo prætermittendum arbitror, quippe quod video illum qui oratiunculæ huic meæ materiem præbet, præcipuum qua ad suscipiendam qua ad ingrediendam rationem horum studiorum extitisse.

Lockii autem reditum fieri nequit, ut vos, Academici, obliviscamini, quibus nuper hoc ipso in loco celebrare contigerit diem illum duplici nomine lætum, qui et optimo principi ortum dederit, et his terris optimum principem? Hoc nimirum tempus illud erat, in quo nobis licuit avertere oculos a contemplando vitia regnantium, eosque attollere ad eximia illa libertatis commoda, quæ, esti dies aliquantum ea minuerit, nunquam tamen, nisi nobismet ipsis

fœde consentientibus, penitus eripi possunt. Tempus hoc erat, in quo concussa, et fracta, et jam jam ruitura civitas confugit in sinum Gulielmi, qui sane ad id potissimum natus videbatur, ut quicquid in cogitando liberum ac generosum esset, in agendo excelsum, majoribus nostris in memoriam revocaret. Felix illud, quod hoc inceptum excogitaverit, ingenium; felix lingua illa, quæ persuaserit; felix etiam, quæ perfecerit manus. Laboris a Gulielmo et Lockio suscepti initiumne prius an finem mirer? Rem sane laudandam vos invicem præstitistis! Huic tu tua, Locki, consilia, tuos tu illi, Gulielme, honores impertiisti. Neque tamen commodo magis nostro consuluistis, quam vestræ ipsorum gloriæ. Quanto nunc gaudio uterque fruimini, cum tanto frui meruistis! Ut virtuti vestræ præmia sua in cœlis, sic sua in terris veneratio manet et manebit.

Quin veniam mihi dabitis, Academici, si libertatis acri amore percitus trans finem jaculum expedierim. Dabitur, inquam, venia mihi et hic et alias paulo liberius evaganti, siquidem de viro dicendum fuit, cujus in vita, ut fieri solet inter homines literatos, haud ita magna est rerum varietas. Ad unum Lockium redeo.

Adfuit jam aliquando tempus, quo ille ex omnium consensu gloriæ famæque fructus uberrimos percepturus esset. Nunc enim primum edere dignatus est celebre illud ac prope divinum opus de humano intellectu, quod ut auctori immortalitatem attulit, sic honorem patriæ, et humano generi maximam utilitatem. Nimirum absque hoc lumine litterarum esset, quicquid posteri cognovimus, in tenebris propemodum omne jacuisset. Quid mirum igitur, si omnes ii, quibus vel ex suis erroribus vel ex præjudicatis aliorum opinionibus aliquid commodi redundasset, scripta illa modis indignis adorti sint? Nobis satis est, quod veritas tandem aliquando errorem devicerit, deque ficta et falsa scientia triumphos egerit solida et sincera.

Primum in eo Lockius elaboravit, ut metaphysicorum spinosas et exiles ineptias refutaret; quod cum effecisset, ad ethicorum argutias refellendas se totum contulit. Ultimam vero manum operibus suis tum demum se impositurum credidit, cum solidis gravibusque argumentis infirmasset ac diluisset, hinc convicia veteratorum istorum, qui in religionem impetum fecissent, illinc deliramenta hominum male feriatorum, qui eandem prave defendendo prodidissent. Verum enimvero plerosque istiusmodi a Lockio perfectos labores, si quis est vestrum qui non legerit, ei egomet auctor fuerim, ut legat relegatque, ne diutius nesciat puræ sinceræque Christianæ fidei unum eum plus profuisse, quam alii omnes antea nocuissent. Non enim sibi solum, sed et hominibus vixit Lockius; vel, si brevius sit dicendum, sibi; quoniam sibi cum viveret, tum maxime vivebat hominibus.

Quid dicam super tractatibus illis de imperio civili? Non est, mediusfidius, cur dissimulem ea, quæ sentiam. Quicquid alii de iis existiment, ego quidem, si libertatem amem, uti ex animo me amare fateor, si oderim tyrannidem, ut impensissime odi, id omne me Joänni Lockio debere grato animo recordor. Ille scilicet me primus docuit, nihil aliud velle nomen regis, quam superiorem ministrum populi, non, ut vulgus damno credunt suo, sacrosanctam aliquam personam majestate mystica septam, sed a populo gubernatorem institutum et stipendio dignatum, quo leges a populo latas exequeretur, quas tamen si vel violare, vel etiam non exequi auderet, suo statim imperio populique obsequio finem esse. Quantum et fortunis et vitis civium parceretur, si hunc in modum omnes sentirent, vel, quod perinde foret, si fædorum commodorum spe minus corrupti, quærerent sibi aliquid otii ad res gravissimas indagandas! Hoc si fieret, ad studium universæ felicitatis nos conferremus, neque amplius meris nominibus caperemur, nec potentiorum

vitia veneraremur pro virtutibus. Quod ad me attinet, Lockium semper diligam et etiam amabo, eo quod, licet inter magnates ac proceres diu multumque versaretur, ingenium tamen suum nunquam, ut plerique, venale proposuerit, sed fidus populo, fidus opinionibus suis, sibi fidus permanserit.

Compertum habemus, sub ultimum vitæ spatium in rus secessisse Lockium, idque eo consilio, ut procul a molestis et tumultuosis negotiis abesse posset. Tandem quippe cum monuit senectus, et qui senectutem persæpe comitatur, morbus, imminere ei jam horam, qua mortem naturæ debitam esset obiturus. Quanta autem in Deum pietate, quanta animi constantia, quam stabili vitæ melioris expectatione animam efflavit! Nimirum, qui omnibus satis notus esset, is ut moreretur ignotus sibi, non est credibile. Hinc vitæ finis, gravis ille quidem plerisque nostrum et peracerbus, Lockio fuit quietis et tranquillitatis plenissimus.

Ecquis tandem vestrum erit, Academici, qui a me, cum hæc exaudierit, Lockius qualis fuerit, percontari velit? Satis, ni fallor, ego in oratione meâ exposui, satis superque, vel me tacente, virtutes illius ipsæ per se loquuntur. Intelligitis profecto, hominem fuisse igeniosum, acutum, acrem. Gravitatem in eo videtis, non illam tristem, et horridulam, et incomptam, sed candore animi et morum urbanitate suavissime conditam. Quod vero omnium est longe longeque maximum, in Lockio agnoscitis bonum civem, bonum virum, fraudis et tyrannidis inimicum, veræ denique et puræ religionis cultorem et defensorem.

"Felices ter et amplius" eos dixerim, quibus sit divinitus concessum, tali modo vel vivere, vel mori. Profecto ita vivunt, ut exiguam hancce vitam ab illa perpetua, quæ in cælis futura sit

prope abesse putemus. Ita moriuntur, ut non erepta iis a Deo vita, sed donata mors esse videatur.

Mihi autem de hac re dicenti suus est aliquis dolori, atque etiam indignationi, locus. Etenim qua in sede viri hujusce eximii ossa sunt condita, in ea lapidem, quem quidem ipse prædixerat 'brevi periturum,' de basi sua videas delapsum, et fædissime effractum, et virgultis ac vepribus tantum non obrutum. Certo equidem scio, Lockium in animis nostris vivere, victurum esse. At piorum fuisset hominum et benevolorum, reverentiam quandam adhibuisse vel ipsis cineribus eorum: ergo ignium, quos quondam foverint; dedisse aliquid mortuo, qui vivus tantum dederit. Profecto, ita nos ipsa natura comparavit, ut statuas summorum virorum et imagines, veluti quædam non solum corporum verum etiam animorum simulacra, studiose quæramus, atque attento et sancto animo contemplemur. Sed "ut vultus hominum," uti Tacitus ait, "ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis æterna, quam" quidem si quis "tenere et exprimere non per alienam materiem et artem," sed suis vel studiis vel "moribus" tentaverit, næ is ampliora, et Manibus Lockii ipsius longe gratiora, præmia persolverit, quam fieri solet per imagines, "quæ marmore aut ære finguntur."

No. VI.

THE MERITS OF HENRY VII. WERE GREATER THAN HIS DEMERITS.

THE page of universal history is, perhaps, unable to display to the eye of the most curious observer a change in itself more sudden, in its consequences more momentous, than that which resulted from the accession of Henry VII. to the english throne. To form a true estimate of this event, and its real importance, it is not sufficient that we simply take into consideration those weighty blessings, which ensued from the administration of this king, but that we also review those obstacles, which he had to encounter previously to their attainment, and thus contrast the subsequent good with the preceding evil. Human actions ought rarely to be estimated in the abstract. They are yoked with accident, and involved with circumstance. Their absolute merit is variable, depending on times and seasons, on relations and contingencies, on the order of nature and the caprice of chance. A vicissitude in the reigning families, which, from the politic pliancy of each new possessor, might sometimes have been productive of conciliatory measures, and, at least, of momentary indulgence to the people, had in England served only to debilitate the national

strength, and, by the most varied cruelties of ingenious despotism, to accumulate injuries and calamities. A pestilent fever had for ages been seated in the veins and humours of the nation, had raged without pause or interval, varying, indeed, in its intensity, but constant in its operation. But we are now about to behold the state recovering from its late disorders, general law substituted in the place of individual will, and a turbulent system of plunder and freebooting exchanged for the arts of civilization and of peace. We are to view the channel of commerce, long choaked and stagnant, now cleared from obstruction, and open to the returning inlets of affluence; and, in fine, new health infused into the sickly frame of a distempered constitution. But a fame, which, like Henry's, rests on the solid foundation of true desert, disdains the feeble aid of prepossession. We may venture, therefore, to look for his virtues, not in the words of an encomiast, but in the acts of his government.

To comment on each even of the more signal facts in this reign, would exceed both the intent and the limits of the present discussion. It will be more advisable to confine our attention to general circumstances, and to obviate general objections.

Of the several pretensions which this monarch had to the crown of England, he chose in preference that which devolved to him, as heir to the House of Lancaster. His adversaries on the other hand urge, that it became him to have engrafted his claim on that title which he obtained mediately by Elizabeth, who, as representative of the Yorkists, was the undoubted proprietor. For in those days the people were persuaded to believe, that the crown was property inherent in particular families, rather than, as they have since found, a voluntary boon from themselves on conditions of service.

Now, had Henry rested his claim on the right of his wife (I speak the language of ancient times) his immediate power would have been little more than nominal, and with regard to future possibility, either her death without issue, or, in case of issue, his son's maturity, would equally have deprived him of the sceptre. But without enquiring into the superior title arrogated by the respective claimants, or even after allowing the invalidity of Henry's pretensions, this objection would be of little avail. The propriety of his conduct cannot surely be denied in maintaining a distinct right of his own, if that claim more effectually tended to secure the peace and quiet of his new dominions, and to add stability to an unsettled government. Advanced as he was to the helm in a tempestuous season, his dubious prerogative yet struggling against the tide of party, it had been little matter of surprise, if the hardy adventurer had seen his bark founder amidst the waves of popular commotion. But such was the dexterous policy of this prince, such the happy presages of his early reign, that he gradually seemed to conciliate the affections of his new subjects, and this distracted kingdom began once more to wear the aspect of peace. The conqueror and the warrior now appeared less, the king and the legislator more.

In every scrutiny of this nature, truth is alike incompatible with the extreme of panegyric and of calumny. The attack and the defence should breathe one spirit of impartiality and candour. Now, it may fairly be questioned, whether this rule be adhered to, when we discover the enemies of this king, where they cannot vilify his measures, arraigning the motives which gave rise to them. Whence, then, I ask, that regular and unbroken chain of glory and prosperity? Whence flowed those rays of unexampled splendour, which illuminate his reign? On what foundation, or by what magic, was erected that comprehensive fabric of legislation,

so united and coherent, which a less degree of perspicacity might unwarily have attributed to intention? Did chance so admirably concur with passion, did accident so impregnate the pernicious with the salutary, the iniquity of the design with the blessings of the consequence? If an uniform system of good did not operate in the projection of his schemes, by what fatality was it invariably promoted in the completion? It were, surely, more candid to be guided in the inference by the nature of the effect, than to presume a cause with which that effect has neither remote nor immediate connection.

Is he accused of avarice? He is accused without grounds. It should be recollected, that profusion, whatever rank it may occupy among the vices of private life, is doubly reprehensible in a king. Whence does he derive the money which he squanders? From the people; who give it him to provide for the necessities of that office to which they have promoted him. If he represents those necessities as they really are, he cannot be liberal; if he would make them appear to exceed the just computation, he cannot be honest. It may, therefore, become those, who take occasion to extol the liberality of kings, to consider well the nature of their commendation; and whether they are not seeking to substitute a private virtue in the place of a public wrong.* Can that man be esteemed liberal, who lavishes the property of others, or who enriches the idle and the worthless at the expense of industry and merit? Be it observed, the royal coffers were

* Though this observation may be perfectly just, as applied to Henry VII., it cannot be extended to any sovereign, who, by parliamentary authority receives a fixed income, and who no longer is permitted to hold, what is called, the purse of the nation.—In the present day it would be as impossible to detach the idea of meanness from the parsimony, as of folly from the profusion, of an english prince.

at that time the fund of the nation at large, and the wealth of the people proportionate to the finances of the sovereign. Henry saw how severely the inconveniences of poverty were felt by the neighbouring princes, and was determined to provide against contingencies. That this was his chief aim, is apparent, from his having ever considered the public money as an inviolable deposit, and from his not having squandered it in the empty parade of regal magnificence, though he was never parsimonious in its expenditure, when it was required by the interests of his country. Yet after all, perhaps, it ought to be admitted, that "of nature he somewhat coveted to accumulate treasure, and was a little poor in admiring riches."*

It has been said, that he cherished a surly and ungenerous disposition. But this aspersion will be instantly wiped away by referring to one single act of most unequivocal and unrivalled magnanimity. After Perkin, that prostitute agent of a woman's malice, had for so long a period been the only disturber of his repose, yet, when he was at last defeated, Henry pardoned him three several times, and manifested the most tender concern in his provision for Lady Catharine Gordon, wife of this mischievous delinquent.

Much has been told us of his cruelty on other occasions, and unwarranted exertions of rigour. But, when we consider the peculiar predicament in which he was placed, we shall be inclined to question the validity of the objection. On his accession he had passed an act of indemnity to such of his enemies, as would then accept of his proffered clemency. Many accordingly submitted,

* Bacon's History of Henry VII.

were graciously received, and some even invested with employ. When, therefore, sedition and conspiracy, disguised under the prostituted names of liberty and zeal, were all the returns he met with for his numberless indulgencies, what wonder that the mediating voice of mercy should be lost amidst the cries of vengeance? It was indubitably no less just than politic to rid the nation of these missionaries of faction, to blunt the edge of treason, and to extinguish the latent sparks of future combustion. Yet be it ever remembered, that, notwithstanding the frequency of tumults and commotions in this reign, three only of the nobles suffered death. Nor will the most pertinacious encomiast of later kings venture to compare the severities exercised after the rebellions of Blackheath and Exeter, with the more outrageous cruelties which followed the battles of Culloden and Dumblaine.

It may not be unworthy of remark, that a measure suggested by the soundest prudence, has been ingeniously distorted by the arts of misrepresentation, so as to furnish a charge of political oversight. Why, they say, did not Henry prevent the annexation of Brittany to France? The experience of his predecessors in their unstable acquisitions of continental territory, had instructed him not to entice his subjects to dissipate their substance on ideal wealth and visionary grandeur, where success or failure in the pursuit was alike detrimental; the former productive of splendid poverty, the latter of unrequited bloodshed. The glare of conquest cannot dazzle the discriminating eye of reason. Henry's sagacity might in this instance have dictated an instructive lesson to succeeding princes, and have taught them, that the ambition for extensive domain ought then to be circumscribed, when it trespasses on the confines of domestic tranquility. Besides, had this accession to the court of Versailles been very material, it is highly improbable, that he, who had himself established the balance of power, should

have been a patient spectator of the overthrow of his own system.

But, since it is not in mortals to be perfect, and as our defects are then necessarily most conspicuous, when viewed upon the eminence of power, let us inquire, wherein this monarch seems to have deviated from the line of reason or of duty. His prejudice against the House of York is, perhaps, not entirely excusable—And yet, it is difficult for a king to divest himself of his feelings as a man; it is difficult for him to pay an implicit deference to the instigations of policy in a public station, who in a private capacity has witnessed the sanguinary revenges exercised by the most persevering and inveterate rancour on his nearest connexions, and not only to dismiss every sentiment of animosity, but to look even with an eye of favour on the projectors of his early sorrows.

It must be confessed, that the names of Empson and Dudley cannot here be mentioned, without being accompanied by some reflections not very favorable to the character of this monarch. We are naturally led to suspect, that several of the extortions which were practised by those rapacious servants of the crown, could never have taken place, had they not been in some degree countenanced by the king himself. If this be really the case, it shall not be my part to shelter oppression from merited obloquy. I would only wish to observe, in proof of frequent ignorance on Henry's part of his officers' iniquity and abuse of trust, that, on the representations of various complainants, he made restitution to such as had been aggrieved. Farther also, even where he appears to have been really guilty of unprovoked and undeserved severity, I would make this important distinction between the despotic acts of Henry and those of almost all other kings, that, whereas they have invariably appropriated the fruits of their exaction to

purposes of ambition or of personal gratification, he alone was content to treasure them for the benefit of that very people from whom they were extorted. To use the luminous language of Lord Bacon, "he was a good husband, and but a steward in effect for the public; and what came from the people, was but as moisture drawn from the earth, which gathered into a cloud, and fell back upon the earth again."

Having examined those points of his character, which have been subject to partial objection, we may now be permitted to contemplate those particulars, which meet with universal admiration. Since the days of Edward I. there never existed so able a legislator. In the enaction of all his laws, an earnest solicitude for the welfare of his kingdom happily conspired with the ability to promote it. But this truth is more powerfully aided by experience than assertion, and it were needless to illustrate the utility of measures of which we become daily more sensible.

How much he consulted the happiness and tranquillity of his people, those first objects of every wise administration, will be readily evinced to us by the earliest, and one of the latest, transactions of his reign. Its outset was signalized by the union of the two roses; its close laid the foundation of the union between the two sister kingdoms. Yet, though his conduct was invariably influenced by the love of peace, we never surprise him lulled in supine repose; though he did not eminently possess that unsparing and remorseless spirit of heroism, which delights in the devastation of the human species, yet we do not observe him disgracefully patient of insult, but occasionally blending the laurel with the olive in his wreath of glory.

I cannot be induced hastily to pass over this grand consideration.

Among all the mysteries and anomalies in the moral world, which at different times have led presumptuous man to question the benevolence, and distrust the dispensations of providence, there is none which so totally baffles conjecture, as the system of carnage and of war. That nation should confederate against nation, to sooth and gratify the distemper of a solitary madman; that the happiness of empires should be dependent, as it has been, upon the smiles and frowns of a capricious harlot, or the sordid treachery of an ambitious minister; that the great mass of mankind, the reputed pride of the universe, the nominal lords of creation, should themselves be as toys and play-things, to be broken and destroyed by the mischievous hands of an ideot or an infant; that all this should happen, day after day, and year after year; that it should happen, too, unheeded and unresented by the sufferers, appears to the view of a superficial observer, as the act of some over-ruling necessity unpropitious to the interests of man. Yet, let not man impiously inveigh against the order of the universe, but rather search for the cause of this evil in his own persevering indifference to the means of good: rather let him consider the calamities of war, as a just punishment for his voluntary acquiescence in it, as a merited return for his own share of a conspiracy against his own happiness.

But let those who reprobate the character of Henry VII., fix their eyes on this bright point of it. Henry was a pacific king. Whatever may be his defects, as defects he certainly had, herein may they behold an adequate atonement for them all. While the little governors of this little globe are busied in sacrificing to the paltry motives of private pique, or the airy projects of personal ambition, the treasure, and the blood, and the happiness of those infatuated millions that obey them, we have here an instance of an understanding, that rose superior to the grovelling ideas of

vulgar monarchs, and of a virtue, that scorned to wield a nation's folly to its own destruction. The groans and the pangs of dying victims had no charms for him, who was more intent on those arts which improve and embellish life, than on those which extend the horrors, and multiply the means, of death.

In this reign, therefore, an insensible change was wrought in the temper and manners of the nation. We now for the first time began to be considered as an agricultural and commercial people, and were content to bury our barbarous lust of foreign conquest in the grave of the departed Normans and Plantagenets.

But, however the efforts of malignity may be bent upon calumniating the government of this prince, still there will remain a consideration, which, as it will command the suffrage of every dispassionate reasoner on the operations of internal polity, so it will endear his memory to every zealous well-wisher of his country's freedom. That invaluable birthright bequeathed us by our ancestors, from Henry received a fuller and more perfect confirmation than from the unsolicited and gratuitous justice of any other king. Greatly as the third branch of our triple estate is still fettered by other influence than the creative voice of the people, yet to him we owe that portion of freedom which it now possesses. Before his time, the Commons acted alternately as delegates of the Peers, and tools of the Court; not, as now, neglectful of the people's rights, but unequal to the task of asserting them. There appeared, indeed, the form of our embryo constitution, but it was a form inanimate and devoid of energy. The unwieldy and uncouth mass of aristocracy crushed the subordinate frame, and contributed still more to its natural weakness. But Henry, by granting to the nobles the power of alienation, imperceptibly repressed that ruinous exuberance of the king her orders, and exalted in proportion

the influence of the commonalty. Thus did the arm of majesty break the shackles of aristocratic usurpation, and remove an ignominious yoke from the neck of an enslaved people: and thus, by a rare concurrence of wisdom and integrity in the monarch, was an avenue opened to that independence, of which, if the people do not now jealously preserve it, they are most unworthy.

In fine, to speak without prejudice of this prince, his merits seem to have been his own, his defects those of his situation, and of the times. For that some venial specks may chequer his administration has been acknowledged; but they are such as will not disfigure the transcendent beauty of the general system. The evils of his government were temporary, and confined to his own age; the benefits have been permanent; they are entailed upon remotest posterity; they are interwoven with the texture of British freedom, and can only perish with that constitution, which they have at once contributed to strengthen, to improve, and to adorn.

No. VII.

ID UNUM QUOD EXPEDIT HOMINIBUS, HOMINES OBLIGAT.

QUÆSTIONI, quam in me suscepi tractandam, tam pervulgatæ tantique momenti, vix sperandum est ut vel novitatis aliquid vel ornamenti ulla jam disquisitio afferat. Illud tamen usui fuerit, si ex variis variorum hominum sententiis ostenderim eos non tam opinione inter se quam verbis discrepasse, et quodammodo eandem metam diverso itinere attigisse.

Quid sit in agendo virtus, tum cum sigillatim agitur, satis inter philosophos convenit. Quale sit illud, quod virtutem generatim constituat, unde nomen suum atque indolem acceperit, id vero ambigitur. Celebriorum hominum ac scriptorum de hac re opiniones contulit, illustravit, atque ad eandem normam Paleius nuperrime revocavit. Hanc utique summam rei conclusionem esse compertum habemus: Obligari quemque, ut id faciat omittatve, quo in faciendo seu omittendo felicitate potiatur.

Moralis itaque, ut mihi videtur, obligationis quadruplex forma et ratio est pro variis, quibus ad aliquid vel agendum vel fugiendum

cogimur, modis. Prima dicitur pendere ex rerum natura, quæ factis quibusdam ex certis legibus præmia aut pœnas ipsa decrevit. Hanc autem nuncupare velim naturalem. Secundam cernimus, quæ in hominum judiciis ponitur, atque adeo ad facta, prout amorem merentur aut odium, videtur attinere. Hæc est, quæ apud vulgus nomen obligationis tanquam proprium ac suo quodam jure obtinet. Tertia est ea, quæ nascitur ex auctoritate magistratus civilis. Neque aliter ego eam quam civilem nominaverim. Quarta vero oritur ex auctoritate Dei; estque propria Religionis.

Quatuor autem hisce obligandi modis diligenter perpensis atque inter se collatis facile patet, plenam perfectamque obligationem, quæ cæteras complectatur, contineri tantummodo auctoritate Dei, utpote qui unus omnibus et locis et temporibus felicitatis ac miseriæ humanæ arbiter sit. Quoniam autem a Deo ad virtutem vocamur, quoniam porro, ni dicto ejus audientes simus, pœna ille nos afficere potest et infelices reddere, quoniam denique ab infelicitate in primis abhorrent homines, idcirco oportet virtutem colamus. Hinc sive ad principia virtutis, sive ad exitus, spectaveris, Dei ad voluntatem necesse est respiciamus. Hinc etiam colligimus, suæ quemque felicitatis spe impelli, Deique voluntatem, quasi ducem et magistram, nos edocere, qua potissimum ratione felices esse possimus.

De voluntate igitur illa inquirendum est, quæ quidem cujusmodi sit, res est minime obscura. Tot et tanta benevolentiæ vestigia nobis undique ob oculos versantur, ut Deo homines esse cariores quam sibi liquido pateat. Age vero, reputemus voluptates illas, quæ in nostros sensus perpetuo influunt. Reputemus illa, quibus in dies atque horas singulas utimur et fruimur. Videbimus profecto hunc orbem terrarum nihil aliud esse, quam multiplicem quandam machinam ad felicitatem humanam egregie

compositam cumulateque instructam. Liquet enim Deum, quo tempore orbem hunc nostrum creaverit, ea tum potentia fuisse, ut posset, tum benevolentia, ut vellet, incolas ejus orbis effingere felicitatis capaces. Quem in infantia, ut ita dicam sua creatorem terra agnovit, eundem est etiam provectiori jam ætate conservatorem experta. Quod si vis illa, quæ partes hujusce mundi compegit et coagmentavit, vel punctum temporis subduceretur, corruerent protinus omnia et in antiquum illud Chaos confunderentur.

Sed ut omittamus apertiora, quæ ubique scatent, signa numinis omnipotentis, contemplemur, illa magis subtilia et magis exquisita benevolentiæ divinæ lineamenta, quæ reperiri possunt in animo humano. Quanti est illa, quæ ex bona valetudine oritur, tranquilla ac lenis voluptas? At dixerit quispiam, causam hujusce voluptatis hinc petendam esse, quod "sano in corpore mens sit sana." Illud vero ipsum, quæ causa dicitur, suam sibi causam quam habet? Profecto Deum.

At malum Dei operibus inest. Haud negaverim. Inest autem, vel quia aliter fieri non potuit, vel quia bono inservit, vel (si ita vis) pars quædam est divini consilii, non ipsum consilium. Dei id consilium fuisse, ut hominibus benefaceret, quicquid ubique est, testatur. Quocirca, cum norimus Deum scire penitus cuncta, et eundem bene velle erga nos, quid tandem obstare debet, quo minus voluntati ejus in omni re pareamus, siquidem voluntas illa ipsa, quæ sit, ex eo colligitur, quod nobis ad felicitatem prænonstrat viam?

Divina autem voluntas, ut ad priora redeam, præcipit virtutem, quia virtus divinæ benevolentiæ, quantum hominibus fas est, perfectio et consummatio est. Ita homines obligati tantummodo, ut felicitatem quærant, frustra quærerent, nisi obedirent divinæ

voluntati; voluntati divinæ obedire non possent, nisi colerent virtutem. Virtus igitur non alio modo obligat homines, quam quo iis expedit. Scilicet quod honestum, idem et utile, eandemque esse utriusque honestatis atque utilitatis regulam compertum est.

At valere jubemus aureola illa quorundam insomnia quibus nescio quid garrientibus effutire placuit de innata quadam virtutis pulcritudine; quoniam, uti diximus, virtutem tanquam gradum unice conspicimus, cujus ope ad majus aliquid scandi potest, et modum potius quo res alia assequenda sit, quam ipsam rem. Nam quid tandem est virtus? Nonne ea omnia facta, quæ in singulis gentibus maxime laudabilia habentur? Quid igitur? Anne Mingrelianorum virtus amabile quiddam in se continet, qui liberos suos vivos sepeliunt? An Caribbæorum illa magis cordi est, qui quidem vivos liberos suos minime sepeliunt; id enim turpe esset; sed castrant, sed saginant, sed devorant? Hæc enim non abhorrent a virtute Caribbæorum. O innatæ Caribbæorum virtutis illecebræ, et exquisita pulcritudo! Quis tam hebes, tam insulsus reperiri potest, quin vitam degere velit inter Caribbæos, quibus sane virtus sua ejusmodi lenociniis blanditur?

Denique, si homo quivis probus sit, honestus, integer, si nihil temere faciat, nihil avare, nihil injuste, nihil incontinenter, hoc omne, si recte ratiocinabimur, uni acceptum referemus felicitatis cupidini. Profecto cupido illa in pectoribus nostris semper dominatur, et aliam quamque affectionem secum de victoria concertantem respuit, aspernatur. Talis, credo, est indoles humani animi. Parvas quovis tempore, brevesque eas, porro nonnihil ex ipso tempore pendentes, vices patitur. Qui affectus moverunt antea, jam jam movent, moturi adhuc, dum infelicitati inerunt sordes suæ ac terrores, illecebræ suæ felicitati.

De utilitate ea, quæ ad singulos spectat, hactenus sane egimus, de ea, quæ pertinet ad universos, dehinc aliquantulum acturi. Sed quoniam tracta ut quidam heri in manus venit, a viro* editus olim apud nos non nullius nominis, quo in tractatu quæstionem hanc nostram attingit, liceat mihi pauca atque ex re nata proferre, et Paleium nostrum pro virili defendere. Ea autem quæ objecit, ad duos fere locos referri possunt. Contendit etenim fieri non posse, ut nunc utantur hac regula homines in universum, aut non in vitii cuiusvis patrocinium perverse abutantur.

Quod ad ipsam regulam attinet, non videtur Criticus noster satis intellexisse illud, quod Paleius sui systematis caput et principium esse solicite ac disertis verbis confirmat: nimirum, ut facta, quæ hominibus prosint et obsint, jubeantur et vetentur omnibus, ut obliget singulos, quicquid universorum intersit. Æquus harum rerum æstimator quicumque est, statim videt, in rerum natura positum esse, ut prosit virtus, obsit vitium. Potest quidem accidere, ut illa obsit, hoc prosit, sed paucis, non pluribus, sed hominibus, non humano generi. Intelligi hæc, ne forte animus levi quovis momento huc illuc incertus impellatur, et probari debent: quo quidem facto, tanquam principia quædam et ἀξιώματα adhibenda sunt, ad quæ suam unusquisque vitam exigat. Sed ut de factis quibusque deliberans totam actionum utilitatem iterum et sæpius de novo disquirat, (id quod Critico nostro visum est) nec fert rei ipsius ratio, neque humani animi angustiæ patiuntur. Taceo de S. S., quarum tamen auctoritatem Paleius neutiquam negligendam esse ideo censet, quia ratio et religio "alterius altera poscunt opem, et amice conjurant," quia sese invicem ornant et illustrant, et ab eodem auctore profectæ idem volunt, atque ad eosdem loquuntur.

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* Gisborne.

Quæ autem de hujus systematis abusu objecit Criticus, eadem profecto omnibus humanis objici possunt; neque illud huic aut regulæ, aut auctori, sed rerum naturæ vitio vertendum est. Quomodo autem sæpe possit accidere, ut Paleii opinio perperam intelligatur, vel pravis animi affectibus famuletur, equidem non video. Etenim leges utilitatis, hoc est, virtutis ac vitii limites, consensus hominum et longus usus sanxerunt. Caveat is, ne et aliis et sibi noceat, quicumque ab istis legibus discesserit. Crimen, non error est, ubicumque aliquis de sui officii ratione temere et inconsulto et indicta causa statuit, ubicumque affectibus malis nomina benevolentiæ et virtutis prætendit. Erit, tamen, confitemur, erit in rebus humanis aliquando hic error. Erit, ubi tyrannus, aut fanaticus, per cædem et sanguinem Deo se placere, et hominibus benefacturum esse, revera sibi persuadebit. Quid autem? Annon aliis integrum erit eadem regula uti? Annon id quod expediat quærere ac facere? Si illis malum intendere, his repellere, utile atque e re humani generis videbitur. Sua utrisque officii ratio constabit. De summi opificis sapientia, de felicitate hominum, de nostræ regulæ laude, abunde erit consultum.

Verum utcumque de Gisbornii judicio statuamus, candorem tamen ejus non possumus non mirari. Indulsit aliis, Criticorum omnium æquissimus, eandem in se licentiam, quam sibi in alios prolixe indulget. Propositiones quasdam suæ philosophiæ moralis fundamina edidit, et hominum judicio permisit. Utrum istæ recte necne se habeant, non est hujus loci quærere. Hoc tantummodo notandum arbitror, eadem ipsa, quæ ille Paleii opinionibus objecit, suis ipsius objici multo etiam magis posse, ut quarum et ratio subtilior, et abusus verisimilior sit. Constant etenim ex principiis, quæ, si vera sunt, certe admodum in alto latent, quæque a consuetudine et usu communi quam maxime abhorrent. Permit-

tunt hominibus jura, quæ quisque in propria causa judex per fas et nefas quæreret ac vindicaret.

Sed de hac re satis—Hæc erant, quæ dicenda habui, ut ostenderem nihil esse, quod Criticus iste Paleio, aut regulæ a Paleio positæ, merito exprobraverit.

Erit forsan nostrum hoc systema odio iis, quotquot e Scotorum scholis philosophi evaserunt. Isti nimirum ægre ferent nugarum molem, magnificam illam et multo studio comparatam, sibi extorqueri. Ut ut hoc fit, nos Paleio nostro grates habeamus et agamus, qui operosum isthoc doctrinæ artificium dejecit, qui de subtilibus utiliter, subtiliter de utilibus disseruit, et philosophiam moralem ex dialecticorum argutiis in lucem communem ac celebritatem vindicavit.

Ex præmissis igitur concludo, id unum quod expedierit hominibus, homines obligare.

No. VIII.

Juvenum Curas.

Hor.

Χαιρε μοι, χαῖρ' αὖθι, νεᾶνις ὥρη,
Πορφυροῦν ἥβης γάνος, ὡς θέλοιμ' ἂν
Σὰς δρέπειν αἰὲν κορυφὰς, τόδ' εἴ τῳ
Μόρσιμον εἴη!

Ἰζάνει γάρ πλασίον Ἀδονά τευ,
Καὶ Σθένος τοι μακρὰ βιβᾶν, καὶ οὔρως
Ὀππάτεσσι τερπνὰ λαλῶν, Πόθος τε
Θυμὸν ἰανθείς.

Χὠ Γέλως φιλεῖ σ', ὁ χέρεσσι πλευρὰ
Σχῶν μόγις διπλῇσι, σαφές τ' ἀνοίξασ'
Ἧς φρανὸς κλεῖθρον Φιλία, σέ τ' Ἔλπις,
Φαντασίας παῖς.

Σὰν στέφει παρηΐδα, δοὺς ἐλαφρὸν
Τοὔναρ, Ὑγείας κάσις, ἐννυχεύων
Ὕπνος ἐν λάχνᾳ· Χαρίτων βρύει τιν
Ἄσπετος ἴλη.

Ὡς δέ σου μιμητικὸν ὂν, σφε κοσμεῖ
Εἶαρ, ἀκροθίνιά θ' (ὡς ποτοσδεῖ
Κύτριδος!) χέει προπάροιθε κόλπαν
Ἐκ ῥοδοέντων.

Πῶς σὰ φίλτρα μυρία, μυρίοισιν
Ἱμέρῳ βέλεσσι δαμεὶς, φράσαιμ' ἄν;
Οὐκ ἐγὼν οἷός τε· τί γάρ; πέφευγε
Ψάμμος ἄριθμον.

Ἄλλα μὰν ἄλλοισιν ἄρεσκεν· ὅς γ', ἐν
Ἱππικοῖς ἤθεσσι πολὺς ξυνοικῶν,
Εὖ γέγηθεν εἰρεσίᾳ τεθριττο-
-βάμονι πώλων·

Οὐδὲ τὼς μοναμπυκὸν ἴδρις ἄλλος
Τὰν δέραν ψήχειν, ποτε δ' αὖθ' ἐς ἄγραι
Βᾶν' ἴμεν, τῆς τ' Ἀρτέμιδος σὺν ὅπλοις
Ἐμπεπύκασθαι.

Ὅς δὲ, νήπιός τις ἄγαν! τέθαπεν
Ἐν κύσων μορφαῖσι, δεδημένος τε
Σχέτλιον τύχῃ κέαρ, οὐ βιώσι-
-μον βίοτον ζῇ·

Καὶ γὰρ ἐν ζάλῃ θολερᾷ σαλεύων,
Κἀγρίαν νοσῶν νόσον, οὐκ ἔδρεψε
Τίμιον Σιγῆς λέχος, εὐδίαν τε
Μειλιτόεσσαν.

Εὐφροῖς ταν ἀμπεχόναν ζόφοιο
Εἰμένης——Τί, Πιερὶ, τὸν λέγοις ἂν
Πρέσιον; τοιούδε μέμαλεν ἄλλοις
Γἀνδρὸς ἀοιδοῖς*.

Ἔντιν, ᾧ φίλον τι βαθεῖα τερψις
Ἀμπέλου, στέργει τε παναμερεύων
Εὐίαν χάριν, κυλίκων θ' ἁμίλλας
Οἰνοπλανήτους·

Ἔντι δ' ὁ τρέφων ἁπαλώτερόν τι
Ἠθέων ἐν στήθεσιν, ᾧ δρομαῖαι
Εὐπτέρω δῖναι ποδὸς, ᾧ λύρας με-
λίπνοος ὀμφὴ

Μαλθακὰν ὤπασσε χαράν!—Τίς ἴχνος
Θηλύπουν, στραφέν ποκ' ἐκεῖσε κἀκεῖσ',
Ὡς ἴδ', οὐ μέμηνεν ἰδὼν, ὅτ' ἐν γᾷ
Τὰν βάσιν ἁβρὰν,

Μειδιάσασ' ἱμερόεν, κροτεῖται
Χρυσέα νύμφη; τότε δ' ἐπτόασε
Τῶ νεανίω τάχ' ἐρωτύλον κῆρ·
Χεῖρα πιάζει

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* Fuit hoc argumentum Latinæ Odes, anno 1789.
——— "neque enim loculis comitantibus itur
Ad casum tabulæ, posita sed luditur arca."
Juv.

Χείρ· σαγηνεῦσα φράνας Ἀφροδίτα
Θέλξεν ἀξῶσας· κραδίαν φίλον τι,
Κἄτι μᾶλλον ἢ φίλον, ἀδύμαις ἔ-
-ζευξεν ἀνάγκαις·

Μικκύλος γὰρ μικκύλον οὔτι τραῦμα
Ἐκ χερῶν ἵησιν ὁ τοξότης παῖς·
Σφόδρα τε σθένει νεαρὸν τὸ θᾶλυ·
Ἄ, ῥόδ' ἐπιπνοῖσ'!

ἄ, μάρυγμα χείλεος! ἆ δέ τ', ὅσσων
Εὐσκόπων φαιδρὸν σέλας! Εὐλαβοῦ τὺ,
Ὦ νέος, Σειρᾶν' ὀλέτειραν· ἔνδον
Γὰρ πότμος ἀνθεῖ.

Ἔσπεται δ' ἐρῶντι νέῳ σφὸς αἶνος·
Τοῖος ἦν, ὃς ῥυθμὸν ἔπλεξεν ᾠδῆς
Πρᾶτος, ἧς κόρης βλέφαρον πτυχαῖς ὑ-
-μνων στεφανῶσας·

Δὶς μάκαρ· μάκαρ, φίλος ὤν γε Μοίσᾳ,
Καὶ μάκαρ, θείῳ φίλος ὢν Ἔρωτι·
Εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' Ἔρωτα φιλασέμεν, τὸν
Μοῖσα φίλασεν,

Ταλίκα τρίβει νεότης τὰ κομψὰ
Καρδίας ποικίλμαθ'. ὅμως σκιάζει
Ὄψιν ἀ βίοιο μελάμπεπλος νύξ·
Ἐς θαλάμους γᾶς

Ταμέρον πορθμεὺς νεκύων καλεῖ σε,
Πρὸν οὐδὲν φάρμακον, οὐθὲν ἄβᾳ
Φίλτρον ἐμπέφυκε. Σύ τ' ἴσθ', ὃς ἀκμῆς
Κύδεϊ γαίεις,

Θνατὸς ὤν—Μὴ δ' ἴσθι· τεὰν τί μοῖραν
Ἂν σκοποῖς; Μεῖον σκοπέοντι κέρδος·
Ὄλβος ὡς λέλογχεν ἀνοῦν, τίς εὔφρων
Ἂν φρονέειν λῇ;

No. IX.

Ludentis speciem dabit, et torquebitur.

Hor.

ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ ἐν Πίσᾳ τις ἐών ποτ' ἐτύγχανε, πουλὺς
Ὡς νέος ἰσχυρῆς παίζεν ἀγῶνα πάλης·
Ἔνθα τε κἄνθ, ἐνόησεν, ὅπως ἐπὶ δίζυγι καρπῷ
Συμπλέκον ἀμφοτέρας ἀμφότεροι παλάμας.
Καὶ πλευρὰς ἐνόησεν ὅπως, στόμα τε, ῥῖνας τε,
Δεὶν' ἀσθμαινόντων σκληρὸν ἔτυπτε πέδον·
"Ἡ δ' ἄρα," θώϋξεν, "τοίους ἢ παίζετ' ἀγῶνας;
"Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς τοίην οὐ μαχόμεσθα μάχην."

In Ventriloquum.

Salve! magna Tui, Britanniæque,
Salve! gloria temporum tuorum!
Qualis nemo fuit, neque est, eritve
Posthac — O utinam repente voces
Sint centum mihi, sint et ora centum, ut
Te, Tui similis, poeta laudem!
Audin? Nunc hominemve, fœminamve,
Juxta, nunc procul et remotiores,

Hac illac, puerumve ineptientem,
Credas multa loqui, simul diserta
Ac vox parturiit sonos in alvo.
Atqui nil tremit os loquentis. Atqui
Nil motum est labium. Quid ergo? Fallit
An verum est? Loqueris, tacesve? Certe
Et nusquam tua vox et est ubique.

No. X.

Utrum ad magnum poetam effingendum magis accommodata sit ætas omnibus elegantiis ornatissima, an ætas elegantiarum rudis?

NON deesse quosdam probe scio, qui cum in seculum, quod sit omnigenis litterarum elegantiis ornatum, ipsi inciderint, ingeniis tamen iis gratulandum arbitrentur, quotquot vetustatis situm inter et squalorem illuxissent. At mihi quidem isti videntur pariter ratiocinari, atque is, qui, etsi solem, dum sudum est, contueri sibi liceat, malit eum spectare aut tinctum ferrugine, aut nebulis aliquatenus obscuratum. Humanum ingenium, vel maximis auctum suppetiis, ægre tamen tardeque protrudi solet; diuque in animo delitescens et alte defixum, tanquam semina in solo sata, sensim et paulatim enutritur. Mox ubi vires suas paululum explicuerit, colore, ut ita dicam, temporum imbuitur, et rerum, quæ sunt extrinsecus, varias quodammodo in formas flexibile et sequax sese induit.

Quid igitur, clamat adversarius iste noster, si mens humana ad ætatis suæ indolem tantum in modum conformari solet, nonne ætas ea maximum poetam proferat, quæ ad excolendam poesin maxime

apta fuerit? Confugitur scilicet ad Homerum; de quo prius quam loquamur, e re fuerit pauca quædam præfari, qualis esse debeat is, quem magnum poetam nominaverim.

Si quivis materiem suam per omnem partium convenientiam accurate semper disponit, si acute idem presseque ratiocinatur, si pulcre et castigate eloquitur, si concinnius explet numeros, et versus dulcissime modulatos conficit, si omnes dictionis flosculos undecunque collectos carpit et delibat, si denique nihil inepte molitur, hunc certe dixerim poetam esse, magnum esse poetam—non dixerim. Verum enimvero mihi ille detur poeta, qui judicium mire comuniscuit cum urbanitate, in cujus feliciori luxurie gliscit ubique et incandescit vivida animi vis; ille, qui sive præpropere fertur et fervide et concitatius, seu mollius incedens sine salebris profluit leniter et canore, hinc usque in dulcissimam sensuum abalienationem legentium animos illecebrose mulcet irretitque, illinc secum derepente rapiens intima pæcordia ciet, turbatque et concutit; ille, qui nusquam in modum torris hac illac subsultim scintillat, sed ardet potius circumquaque flagrans instar cometæ: Ille denique detur mihi, qui sublimia insecutus, præcipitia devitat; qui amans simplicia, id quod tenue et inane est, aversatur, qui grandia, id quod turgidum: qui habenas tenens animorum nostrorum, nunc laxat eas, nunc adducit, et in quas velit partes secum nos volentes trahit.

Hic utique, si quis alius, magnus poeta est. Quin horum omnium fateor Homerum fuisse facile principem. Esto, quod in ætate barbara floruit. Si talis in barbara fuit, qualis idem fuisset in exculta? Si lapidem molarem exquisitius cælaverit, quid tandem fecisset e marmore?

Quæcumque res paucis vel uni debetur, et quacum cæteris homi-

nibus nulla intercedit cognatio, casui rectius, quam causæ alicui certæ, plerumque adscripseris. Cur Homerus Deo intus agitante id temporis incaluerit, extrinsecus nihil adjutus, tantum "scit genius, natales comes qui temperat astrum." Profecto, quod *tunc* vixit, fortunæ fuit, quod *talis*, naturæ: siquïdem ex doctrina ac litteris suum quoddam ingenio subsidium est, origo non item.

Equidem id esse ingenii puto, ut natum temporibus quantumcunque iniquis sua tamen vi prorumpat, morarum prorsus impatiens, et rerum, quæ se cingunt, externarum turbam atque colluvionem, veluti pontem Araxes, indignatum. Ingenii magni poeta quicumque est, non ille soli proprius, non temporum. Si inter fœdam barbariei noctem nascitur, nascitur quasi proles temporis præcox et præmatura. Nihil debet ævo suo, nihil cum eodem commune habet. Ipse ætatem suam augere et amplificare potest, non ipsum ætas. Suo denique mundo fruitur, sui cœli est.

Shakspearum, magnum illum dramaticæ nostræ poeseos patrem, illas naturæ deliciolas, ab adverso nobis stare prædicatum est. Prætermittam id, quod Shakspearus minime vixit in ætate elegantiarum rudi. At vero, si intra hos dies viguisset, nihilne eum commodi existimas ex ducentorum annorum intervallo hausturum fuisse? An, cum omnia animo obversarentur, quæ ingenium cliceret, elicitum promoverent, inficetius aliquid in hoc seculo quam in suo effudisset? Dicat is, qui opera ejus lectitaverit. Lusus isti verborum, dicteria apprime puerilia, sordidissimi sales, facetiæ contortulæ, imo omnia quotquot vitia scriptis ejus insunt, eadem et ætati inerant. Quotquot in eo venustates conspicimus, quicquid feliciter est ausus, quæcumque insignia, recentia, et alio ore indicta protulit, ea demum omnia vocaverim sua. Atqui, id quod de Homero etiam diximus, ingenia hujuscemodi ad normam ali-

quam exigere foret plane nefas. Suum illis penes se arbitrium est. Sui sibi omnino omnibus in rebus sunt juris.

Cæterum in universum potius quam speciatim interfuerit quærere, quid tandem sit id, in quo rudis ætas antecellat eleganti. Cum tanta librorum copia non ad manum sit, informari ad doctrinam minus *possis:* cum litteras non nisi unus et alter exerceat, minus *velis.* Neque illud quidem omittendum est, barbaras gentes, quamvis inertia gaudeant, quietem tamen respuere; eaque de causa, qui inter eas vixerit, carere illa vita tranquilla et umbratili, quæ artium fere omnium aut inventrix, aut saltem perfectrix, esse solet. Necessaria ad vivendum anquirentes, vel defendentes acquisita, id unum agunt; ita ut nullus dari possit contemplationi locus. Iisdem etiam, quod utilissimum inter mortales reperitur, deficit exemplar. Tardam maturitatem anticipare et antevertere ingenio datur. At citra ingenium positis, quales sumus plerique, prius exercenda est memoria, quam vivus illè animi ac vegetior impetus, et varietas versicolor, et rationis subtilitas, penitus evocari possit. Inde factum est, ut bonus operum artifex perraro extiterit, qui, quod sibi ad imitandum proponeret, non habuerit.

Objiciatur fortassis, quod ætas elegantiis ornata luxuriantis animi vires circumcidat atque amputet, eique spatium, in quo se effundat, perexiguum præbeat. Fuerit quidem, quod ita objicitur, gravissimum, modo sit verum. Nam si constet hujus ætatis esse, ut ingenii igniculos restinguat, poetamque eo deducat, ut in carmine condendo rerum et sententiarum exilitatem strepitu verborum inani, et ineptis styli calamistris compenset, mihi sane in ipsa Scytharum et Celto-Scytharum barbarie perfugium petam. Sed longe aliter se res habet. Ætas, qua de agitur, luxuriem non circumcidit, nisi nimiam. Ingenii illos igniculos non reprimit restin-

guitque, sed in temperiem quandam mitiorem emollit atque edomat. Quicquid enim est immodicæ illius exuberationis, quicquid curiose potius quam sincere et sane conscriptum, quicquid tumidius et jactantius, id tali in ætate adeo non laudari solet, ut sibilis et conviciis excipiatur. Sed detur aliquem poetam extitisse, qui, cum negligens et abnormis fuerit, æstimatori tamen harum rerum intelligenti valde placuerit. Eumne credibile est idcirco placuisse, quod negligens fuerit, an propter nativas illas veneres sermonis, quas ne ipsa quidem negligentia obumbraverit?

Illud jam videamus, quid scire oporteat magnum poetam, et utrum ætas elegantiarum rudis ei id suppeditare possit? Exploratum necesse est et probe perspectum habeat, quicquid in rerum natura vel formosum sit, vel terribile, quicquid magnitudine et immanitate sua venerationem cum horrore quodam conjunctum animis hominum incutiat, quicquid suo splendore eosdem percellat, quicquid partibus suis, minutulis illis quidem, sed apte inter se & concinne compositis, alliciat eos ac deleniat.* Hæc autem concesserim esse omnium temporum, omnium locorum. Plura tamen sunt, ne dixerim majora, quæ poeta, oportet, in animi sui penetralibus recondita habeat; omnes scilicet rerum cælestium ac terrenarum formas naturales, vicissitudinesque earum, et admistiones, et causas. Quin in ipsos terræ recessus, aliquando descenderit, et metallorum genera omnia oculis mentis suæ intentissimis perlustraverit. Animi affectus quam habeant vim, quantum aut felicitatis aut miseriarum secum afferant, quo sint modo vel coercendi vel excitandi, penitus intelligat. Multiplices porro vitæ humanæ consuetudines, et mores cum civitatis suæ proprios, tum hominum singulorum, persentiat. Alieni etiam soli incolæ quo

* V. Johnsoni Rasselas.

mundi latere jaceant, quid agant, quid meditentur, aut visendo necesse est experiatur, aut legendo cognoscat. Quin nulla est lingua, nulla ars, nulla disciplina, quarum etsi fontes ipsos minus adierit, rivulos tamen consectari non ausus sit. Tantam rerum sylvam cum comparaverit, stylo ei opus est, qui diu multumque sit industria elaboratus, qui ubertate et varietate et copia floreat, qui denique ad omnes res ornandas sit accommodatus, suisque omnibus numeris et partibus absolutus et perfectus. Atqui hæc fere omnia quæ ego poetæ vel decori fore vel plane necessaria esse contenderim, quotus est quisque, qui in rudi ætate reperiri possit existimet?

Meam autem hanc esse de tota hac re opinionem lubentissime fatcor; ætatem, quæ ad poetam informandum maxime sit utilis, eam videri, quam neque omni ex parte vocaveris rudem incultamque, nec vitæ elegantiis cumulatissme ornatam. Veritas in medio sita est. At vero frustra quæsivi, quid commodi insit rudi ævo, quod minus inesset eleganti, comperto tamen, quod inest eleganti, rudi nequaquam. Mihi quidem non latet, secula illa, quæ barbara sunt, multis sæpe laudibus a quibusdam scriptoribus efferri. Hi autem scriptores, ni opinio me mea vehementissime fallit, a communi hominum intelligentia et a communibus artis poeticæ præceptis ideo abhorrent, quod sapere se plus quam cæteros tum demum arbitrantur, cum præsentia quæque aspernari et susque deque de iis ferre profitentur. Vix, aut ne vix quidem, iniquum me futurum esse existimem, si cum hisce vel erroribus vel argutiis aliquantulum invidiæ conjunctum esse contendam.*

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* Τὸν γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα ἅπας εἴωθεν ἐπαινεῖν· καὶ μόλις ἂν καὶ ὑπερβολὴν ἀρετῆς οὐκ ὅμοιοι, ἀλλ' ὀλίγῳ χείρους, κριθείητε. Φθόνος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸν ἀντίπαλον· τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδὼν ἀνταγωνίστῳ εὐνοίᾳ τετίμηται. Thucyd. B'. μέ. Edit. Duk.

Quinetiam, ut a theoria paululum deflectamus ad experientiam contemplandam, utra, quæso, ætas plures, eosdemque magnos, poetas protulit? Possem equidem inter Atticos numerare cum gravitatem et cothurnum et sonum Sophoclis, tum Euripidem illum, qui mirus est in affectibus concitandis, et qui impetum sermonis habet vehementem fortasse minus sed multo, ut mihi videtur, ipso Sophocle dulciorem. Possem ex iis, qui Augustino in ævo floruerunt, sententiæ meæ gravissimum mihi testem Virgilium excitare. Possem in partes meas e Gallia vocare Boileauvium, Corneillium, Racinium, Voltairium, alios. Sed patriæ me meæ amor alio rapit. Fierine potest, ut silentio præteream, qua meum animum voluptate sæpe et sæpius perfuderit gravitas illa Drydeni cum suavitate mirifice conjuncta, et ubertas ingenii, et sententiarum pondus, et qui complet aures meas, tantus et tam dulcis sonitus verborum? Te vero, Popi, te, inquam, amicum Musis, te comitem Musarum, hac in causa perhonorifice a me gratoque accepio animo nominandum censeo. Neque enim, si belli quidam et putidiusculi ardelionos censoriam illam virgulam suam in scripta tua distrinxerint, tibi ego unquam defuerim vel patroni vel laudatoris loco. Nunquid auditis, Academici, ut infelix illa Eloisa miserabile suum carmen integret, et læsos amores quodammodo præsens lamentetur, et inauspicatum Abelardi nomen queribunda invocet? Nunquid raptis Belindæ crinibus cedit coma Berenices? O lautam illam sententiarum supellectilem, et flexanimos vocum concentus illitarum mystica dulcedine, et vix hominem sonantis loquelæ succum atque sanguinem! O querelas gemitusque, qui vel ex ferreis legentium præcordiis lachrymulas eliciunt! O sales illos urbanos, et facetias non tam in singulis dictis, quam in toto colore dicendi, redolentes ipsarum Athenarum proprium saporem!*

* Quintil. Lib. 6, Cap. 3.

Ecce autem animo meo obversatur Miltonus, non seculi modo sui, sed temporum omnium, non patriæ solum suæ, sed universi orbis terrarum, decus et ornamentum! Dederim profecto illum, vi ingenii sui fretum, in " altos nubium tractus" tendisse, dederim " ultra flammantia mœnia mundi" aciem mentis suæ conjecisse, dederim in sacra ipsorum cælorum penetralia " pennis non homini datis" ascendisse. Hæc tamen etsi concesserim, imo nondicus tenuerim esse verissima, ad alia tamen respiciendum esse arbitror quæ tanquam adminicula quædam se adhibuisse, ne Miltonus quidem ipse confiteri erubesceret. Quis enim philosophiam, procreatricem illam artium fere omnium et quasi parentem, diligentius aut exquisitius excoluit? Quis a doctrina omni liberali et quidem recondita ornatior? Quis ex illa luce veritatis et vitæ magistra, historia, ampliorem segetem et materiem gloriæ suæ comparavit? Quis ad gentium jura explicanda et tuenda instructior accessit? Quis libertatem intermissam et intermortuam gravioribus argumentis ab interitu vindicavit? Quis arcana illa et sancta religionis mysteria aut majori unquam subtilitate explicuit, aut studio acriori ad tutandum sibi proposuit? Hæc ille omnia, veluti thesauros rerum optimarum, in memoria sua habuit recondita. Hæc probe novit vel adjumento sibi fore vel ornamento in præclaris illis operibus conficiendis, quæ suo Marte ad umbilicum ducturus esset. Hos ille fructus ex ætate, in qua florere sibi contigerat, uberes et diuturnos percepit.

Hic profecto ille est, (cogit enim orationis hujus propositum excedere observantia mea in tantum virum) hic ille est, qui sæpenumero effecit, ut quod a Quintiliano de oratore scriptum sit, id ego hunc in modum parce detorqueam: optimum scilicet poetam esse optimum virum. Miltoni itaque Manes Paradisi fruantur lætitia sui.

Poetarum horum clarissimorum jure merito agmen claudit Grayius,

cujus quidem carmina cum natura tum arte facta esse laudabilia, nemo est vestrum, Academici, qui inficias iverit. Fremuerit licet et sævierit per hancce curiam Johnsonianorum cohors, Grayium tamen illum, tam in meam quam in vestram clientelam traditum, naviter et animose et fortiter defendam. Grayii ad ingenium si spectes, celeres fuerunt ejus motus, ad omne, quod novum videretur, arripiendum, ad omne, quod excelsum et magnificum esset, feliciter excogitandum. Novas ille quidem et inexploratas per semitas impavidus ruit, neque est qui audeat sequi. Egetne interprete?* Profecto, lucidum est illud poetices jubar, quod sensus percellit enerves, et profanorum oculorum aciem præstringit hebetatque. Videte modo, ut Suada labris ejus sessitaverit, ut bilinguis Musa melle dulcior fluat! At vero superbissimum illud aurium judicium, at delicatum, quod etiam in seipso inerat, fastidium, at Criticorum genus austerum et irritabile, vel pudorem ei vel formidinem injecerunt. Hac de causa nullam non impendit curam, quo solidam et exquisitam doctrinam sibi compararet. Vetustatis rudera perscrutatus est. Scripta quæque optima cum veterum tum recentiorum poetarum legit relegitque. Versus suos, antequam in lucem emiserit, iterum et sæpius incudi reddidit. Antiquiorum monumenta imitando ita expressit, ut meminerit se debere lectoribus, qui sui æquales essent, placere.

Ex iis igitur, quæ a me dicta sunt, satis superque constat, Grayium, Miltonum, et alios, quorum mentionem feci, in seculis, quæ abundarent omnibus elegantiis, esse natos, eaque de causa evasisse poetas longe perfectiores.

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* ——— ὠκέα βέλη
Ἔνδον ἐντι φαρέτρας
Φωνᾶντα συνετοῖσιν. ἐς
Δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἑρμηνέων
Χατίζει. PIND. OLYMP. B'. 150.

No. XI.

A SPEECH

ON THE CHARACTER AND MEMORY OF KING WILLIAM THE THIRD.

THE habits of prejudice are so intimately combined with the motives of human action, so moulded into the manners, and blended with the frame and temper of society, that he who would wish to guard against this infirmity of his nature, must find a singular difficulty in executing a task like the present with that fidelity, which ought ever to be inseparable from historical disquisition. In undertaking to delineate the features of a character, which is undoubtedly one of the first and greatest that have ever appeared on the grand theatre of the world, it generally happens, that our passions refuse to tarry for the decision of the judgment, and so forcibly sway us to a predilection for one or the other party, that, according to the bent which our inclinations take, we know not how to circumscribe either extreme of censure or applause. But, recollecting what we owe to our great and glorious deliverer, William the Third, every Briton will feel this difficulty increase upon him, when he attempts to do justice to that venerable name, lest

in his endeavour to avoid the extravagance of eulogium, he should forget for a moment the most sacred ties of moral obligation, the debt of gratitude for the inestimable benefits we have received from the restorer of the dearest rights and liberties which this nation has now to boast. It would be no easy (as neither before an english audience would it be a necessary) task, to select such actions as shed peculiar lustre upon the character of a prince, whose whole life was one continued scene of glory. On the other hand, it would be invidious, not to say impossible, to enumerate every objection, that the ingenuity of a faction actuated by malice, and inflamed by disappointment, has been able to devise. To avoid each extreme, it may not, perhaps, be amiss to examine the principal objections that the enemies of this prince have endeavoured to bring against him, and to inquire, what weight each of them separately, and all of them collectively, ought to have with us in forming a just estimate of William's real and appropriate merit.

It is not the intent of this inquiry to enter into a circumstantial detail of every occurrence relating to William even in his political career. Disquisition is forbidden to trespass on the limits of biography. It is my province, to comment on the principal events of his history in that stage where it more especially interests us as englishmen; not to describe the milder and more temperate lustre of his dawning glory, but the full and gorgeous splendor of his meridian power; not to take a retrospective view of those measures which eventually invested him with the royal ermines, but rather to consider him as already in his most public station sustaining the weight of that sceptre, which had devolved to him from the feeble and unsteady hands of James.

Yet, before we proceed after this manner to obviate the argu-

ments adduced by his several oppouents, there is one circumstance, the mention of which it were unpardonable in this place to forego. During the whole of those divisions, which ensued on the abdication of James, relative to the mode of succession, amidst all that fluctuation of interests and counsels, and the temporizing politics of contending factions, William never attempted to interpose his authority in parliament, to restrain their deliberations, nor even to gain any one person to his party, refusing to accept of the supreme magistracy of the nation, till the offering should be voluntarily confirmed by an assemblage of the two legislative powers. For a similar instance of public delicacy and moderation, displayed at a season when these principles are too apt to yield to the more prudential suggestions of policy, we shall in vain search in the history of earlier or of later times.

Of the objections urged against William, the first in order of time, as well as, perhaps, in magnitude, is the massacre of Glencoe. Macdonald, the arch-rebel of the North, was represented as breathing an obstinate and inveterate rancour against him, which nothing but death could extinguish, and he was said to have infused the same spirit of hostility into the numerous and hardy clan of his own name, whom this enterprising leader commanded with absolute sway. The necessity of stifling the seeds of this rebellion, by crushing the only surviving hopes of the party, was strongly insisted upon by those who conducted the english affairs in Scotland; and William, whose active spirit busied about the more extensive concerns of Europe, could ill stoop to confine its attention to every minute variation of domestic politics, among other papers hastily signed the mandate which allowed no quarter to the rebels, probably without knowing the exact tendency or contents of the order, but certainly without being previously informed of Macdonald's submission. Hence his adversaries have taken occasion

to accuse him of indulging a vindictive and sanguinary temper, and of exercising a cool deliberate cruelty by no means compatible with that generosity and magnanimity, which have been usually ascribed to him. The measures of the monarch depended, doubtless, on the representations, and even the misrepresentations, of his servants, upon that which they exaggerated from prejudice, and upon that which they concealed from perfidy. What he heard from them must have alarmed his fears; what he did not hear, would have operated on his clemency. In truth, we cannot fairly suspect William to have been capable of an act of such base and unfeeling revenge, unless we suppose, that in a paroxysm of unmanly rage he departed from the regular tenor of his whole life, which, even amidst the horrors of war, was eminently distinguished for the unwearied exercise of humanity and mercy. Such a conclusion would too widely deviate from the established rules of fair and impartial inquiry; and, indeed, the whole transaction, aggravated as it is by the impudence of malice and the petulancy of invective, affords but very slight grounds for a serious charge against him, who is allowed from defect of intelligence to have been but partially concerned in its execution.

A second accusation against William respects his conduct towards the Scots, relative to their settlement on the isthmus of Darien. The Scots, it is true, might have reaped the promised advantage of their scheme; but the Spaniards complained of that scheme, as a direct infringement of the treaty subsisting between them and this country, and it tended, moreover, materially to injure the trade to the West, carried on by the merchants inhabiting the southern part of this island. And as the king had been imposed upon by false representations of the Scots, in order to induce him to countenance the settlement, on discovery of the fraud it became him, as a friend to equity and substantial justice, immediately to

revoke a grant, partial in its operation and ruinous to the general interests of his dominions. This is a rule that prevails even in the strictness of legal proceedings; for in every contract between the king and the subject, where the sovereign has been deceived, the law will intend, that the deed was *ab initio* void.

He is also charged with an excessive partiality for the place of his birth. But this, so far from being imputed to him as a crime, should, surely, be considered as an amiable attachment, unless it can be proved, what his bitterest enemies durst never even remotely insinuate, that in any instance he sacrificed the real interests of Great Britain to a violent predilection for his native country. And why, but from a portion of that captious and pertinacious temper, which was wont to mix with the sublimer habits and more generous sentiments of that illustrious age, was the people such a niggard of the kingly countenance, as not to allow him sometimes to dissipate the rays of royalty within the confines of his original hemisphere? When the beautiful and luminous planet of Liberty had shone so long upon us with such constant and unvaried lustre, should it not seem invidious to restrict its revolutions within the narrow circle of a single nation, and to repine at the little irregularities of its course, and the occasional eccentricities of its motion? This was that quiet retreat, remote from the turbulence of faction and the petty warfare of domestic feuds, where he projected the most efficient means for the attainment of his ends, and planned the several arrangements that tended to secure the general peace and welfare of Europe. It was not the soft and pleasurable asylum of inactive sovereignty, accommodated to the elegance and refinement of a royal voluptuary, but the calm recess, where, free from interruption, he laboured to undermine the insidious purposes of his rival Louis.

And here it may seem most proper to remark, that William is accused of unnecessarily involving this country in a long and bloody continental war, merely to gratify his private spleen and resentment against his declared and inveterate enemy, the king of France. In answer to this it must be observed, that the critical situation of affairs in Europe indispensably demanded an immediate and active opposition to counteract the machinations of that restless and ambitious prince. Charles the Second, indeed, with his usual profligacy and supineness had actually consented to sacrifice to the intrigues of Louis the rights of the Low Countries, and together with these his own interests, and those of all the other powers of Europe, by allowing the United Provinces to be absorbed and ingulphed in that universal monarchy, which it was evidently the design of the french monarch to introduce. But William, who more accurately understood, and more sincerely regarded, the relative interests of the several european powers, heroically stood forward the patriot of the universe, and the guardian and defender of the rights of mankind. He saw, when the despot of the North threatened to overwhelm all Europe, as it were with an irresistible torrent of conquest, that the Low Countries stood, like their own dykes opposed to the ocean, the only firm barriers to resist the encroachments of the tide of tyranny. He, therefore, cheerfully undertook their defence, and his arms were crowned with that success, to which he was amply entitled from the rectitude of his intention, and from the merits of his cause. Nor is it too much to say, that to him must be ascribed that precise and intimate comprehension of the balance of power in Europe, which might even at this day have preserved it in exact and steady equipoise.

It may be thought advisable by some, though it appears almost

needless, to obviate the supposed evil principle, upon which he undertook the deliverance of this country. His adversaries allege, that the Revolution, so far from being the result of patriotic motives, was brought about by William, solely with a view to indulge his private ambition and inordinate lust of power. But those who seek to trace this prince's conduct to such unworthy springs of action, will do well to shew, why he positively rejected the proffered sovereignty of the Low Countries, when Louis undertook to make him absolute master of them, and this at a time when he was but a youth, and when even his legal authority trembled in the balance. If, therefore, at an age when man's pulse beats highest in the cause of ambition, and while the wayward soul is most apt to be allured by the insidious caresses of delusive fortune, he so disinterestedly refused to trample on the rights of others, when perfect security and even reward awaited their violation, can we for a moment suppose, that he was capable of forming and executing a deliberate plan of usurpation upon the basest and most unjustifiable principles, and at the imminent hazard of his own reputation and authority at home?

But I disdain to comment on these and similar artifices employed by the prevaricating tribe of sophistical disputants, who have occasionally distorted even virtues into vices by the overstrained ingenuity of accusation. Such of the faults objected to him as appear to have any foundation in truth, are for the most part too venial to require a refutation: those which are founded in falsehood, contain their own: the former cannot influence the man of candour, nor the latter the man of discernment. The detractors of William, by thus catching at every shadow of accusation, do but prove their inability to produce a solid and substantial charge.

This commemoration, however, is not, I conceive, of such a nature, as to require an indiscriminate encomiast of the character which I have undertaken to delineate. The real faults as well of men in more exalted, as of those who are in humbler stations, ought not to escape remark in a review of their lives and actions. I may go farther, and say, that the conduct of princes and of all public servants ought to be more severely scrutinized, than that of men who have walked in the sober shades of sequestered life. For these are the persons, in whose good or ill actions the public are too deeply interested, not to wish to see the former applauded as an incitement to imitation, the latter censured as an example to deter. And where can freedom of inquiry be more consistently indulged, than in scrutinizing the memory of him, whose whole life tended to establish the liberty of thought and action? Since, therefore, it cannot be supposed, that William had an especial charter of exemption from the ordinary frailties of his nature, we may congratulate ourselves, that such frailties as appeared in his administration, seem to have been rather the result of a defect of judgment and foresight, than the offspring of deliberate design. They were partly owing to his being less conversant in the operations of internal polity, than in the plots and counterplots of jarring powers, but principally to his want of knowledge in the nature of limited monarchy, which was not then understood by any nation but our own.

To these causes alone must be attributed the attachment which he early imbibed, and long retained, to a standing army. Educated in a foreign land, and inured by long experience to the manners and habitudes of military life, he was necessarily rendered much less quick to discern, and, by consequence, more slow to remove, those enormous and countless evils, which flow

from that gigantic system of moral and political turpitude, that sanctified patronage of murder and rapacity, that dissolute institution for the nursery and propagation of all that is glaringly depraved and sordidly abject among men. But in a standing army William solely beheld the advantages which result from security against sudden invasion, without considering the superior and preponderating mischiefs, which accrue from the same source to national liberty and virtue. His ardent desire of repelling with promptitude and vigour those aggressions, which he might reasonably apprehend from the jealous perfidy of the court of Versailles, obscured his perception of the private vices and the public injuries, of the rapine and the profligacy, of the slavish tenets and the pernicious example, of an established and permanent soldiery. The motives, therefore, and the conduct of William, must, on these accounts, be exempted from any share of that general execration which all intelligent and virtuous citizens are warranted to bestow upon all kings and upon all ministers, who have at any time avowedly or insidiously countenanced a plan of such transcendental iniquity, a measure so absolutely repugnant to every feeling of genuine humanity, and to every principle of sound and practical freedom. That he never considered a standing army in the light in which it is now generally understood, as a scheme for the secure interchange of criminality between tyrants and robbers, as a reciprocal guaranty of plunder and oppression between the chief magistrate and a licensed banditti, is clearly evinced by the following fact. When Trenchard, that unwearied champion of public liberty, the scourge and the dread of temporal and spiritual domination, published his celebrated History of Standing Armies, Lord Halifax moved in council, that he should be taken into custody for the opinions contained in it. But William refused to listen to a measure so unjust and so tyrannical, declaring at the same time, that he believed Trenchard to have a clear comprehension of the interests, and a

sincere attachment to the prosperity of his country. The army was disbanded.

William seems to have been defective in his attention to naval affairs, and to have neglected the empire of the ocean, not being sufficiently aware, that the strength of England, like that of Athens, resided in her wooden walls, and that her natural element was th element surrounding her.

This reign is distinguished by the first regular commencement of a national debt, through the advice of that celebrated financier, the Marquis of Halifax; and also by the fuller introduction of the present established system of influence. The latter of these, which he certainly promoted, may appear, perhaps, to have been in some degree excusable from the peculiarity of his situation. Yet would not I willingly dwell on the subject of this fatal measure, lest an honest and irresistible indignation against the deplorable corruptions that have ensued from it, should not allow me sufficiently to discriminate between the origin of the malady and its probable issue. It was planted in impolicy. It has grown, and is growing, under corruption. And what the last baneful fruits of it may be, is a question, upon which reason compels us to fear, and conjecture itself scarce permits us to hope.

With respect, indeed, to the system of funding, which has since been carried to such an enormous extent in the scheme of taxation, though William must ever remain chargeable with the introduction of it, there is, notwithstanding, no very courtly reason to be assigned, why succeeding kings, who were enabled to judge more correctly of the nature of the evil, might not have checked its farther progress, rather than have contributed to its perpetuity, and thus have entailed an inheritance of increasing vexation on their pos-

terity. Between William and his successors this very material distinction is worthy of being observed; that he, in giving birth to this national grievance, acted under the control of an imperious necessity, that they have continued and increased it from deliberate choice. He obtained the immediate good, but foresaw not the distant evil; they have both seen and cherished the evil, without even decently screening themselves behind a counterfeit pretext of the good. He once treating unskilfully a constitution naturally healthful and sound, wounded it for the moment; they have irritated the wound, till it has become a corroding ulcer. He, in the unblemished purity of his intention, vainly hoped, that he should transmit to us a goodly monument of human policy; they with a corrupt and hardy perseverance, fated to possess experience apart from the benefits attending it, though they readily trace out the pregnant danger of the ruinous bequest, yet seem desirous to consign it to their posterity carefully secured from the hazard of diminution. But the accumulated testimony of all times gives us too much reason to apprehend, that the surest result from the experience of evil is, that, in proportion as we become instructed in the practicability of mischief, we are rendered eager to plead the precedent as a ready palliative for subsequent commission, rather than to break the chain of fact, by which that precedent is established.

On the other hand, however, it has been contended, and that by many able politicians, that such a plan is productive of great and solid advantage to this country: that, by allowing foreigners to become purchasers into our funds, we certainly derive to ourselves a considerable influx of wealth, which must otherwise necessarily flow into another channel, at the same time that by such a communication they must naturally imbibe a more amicable disposition towards us in the general course of european policy: that, at any rate, circumstanced as the nation then was, it had no other

ostensible resources to answer the exigencies of war, nor any other means so effectual to attach men to the new order of things, as by tempting them to embark their fortunes on the same bottom: that much credit is, therefore, due to that minister, who, in time of need, could devise so fertile a scheme of supply, and much praise to that prince, who knew how to select talents so eminently qualified to manage the intricate business of the national revenue: that, farthermore, if this plan of finance wanted any additional proof of the wisdom of its invention, the invariable practice of succeeding ages in adopting and extending it, affords an ample testimony of its superior excellence in the estimation of all ranks of men.

It is not for me to reconcile these latter opinions either with reason or with equity. On the contrary, for my own part I must ever unequivocally condemn the first act of a merciless and injurious policy, which can unfeelingly anticipate the revenues of distant ages, and revenge, upon the head of unborn posterity, the follies and extravagancies of a spendthrift ancestry. And hereafter, perhaps, should the evil genius of Britain conspire with the infinitely varying exigencies of time and circumstance, to demolish a constitution, which is holden up to us as the perfection and masterpiece of political organism, the most determined advocate of William the third may then be compelled to admit, that he who had once successfully retrieved the drooping interests of our enfeebled government, may also justly be accused of having given his unwary sanction to two measures, which contained in them the seeds of its future dissolution. Yet, I will not insist upon this as the only subject of apprehension. In one acknowledged error of William, I will not leave a shelter for all the possible faults of William's successors. From the evil, which he began without foresight of consequences, and which after experience of conse-

quences we have continued, it might not be amiss to spare some portion of our attention for other evils, which have been both begun, and also continued by ourselves alone. Is there a government, in which solid improvement is rejected under the specious but hollow plea of precarious innovation, a government, in which principles are most violated at the very moment when they are most extolled, in which evil is retained under the perverted sanction of precedent, and good is abandoned from a pretended change of circumstances? Doubtless, if such a government there be, the many hidden and the many prominent causes which are conspiring for its ruin, make it difficult to single out any one of those causes, which for rapidity and malignity of operation has a right to pre-eminence above its fellows.

But let us return to William; and let us remember, that his few faults when opposed to his many virtues, are "as dust in the balance," and that, like dust, too, they would have been "without weight and without regard," if our crimes had not perpetuated, what his necessities at first introduced. Of those virtues it becomes us now to make some mention; for mentioned they may be more directly and more explicitly, after we have repelled or weakened the accusations, that have been pointed against those faults.

To a philosopher reasoning in the shade, and deducing from abstract speculative principles the possible contingencies of things to come, had it in the reign of the latter Charles been foretold, that, as soon as the fourth prince of the house of Stuart should have been seated four years on the throne of his forefathers, his dominions should be wrested from his grasp, his authority wither away and die, his own family abjure his intercourse, his personal safety be endangered, and himself become an outcast and an

exile dependent for support on the enemy of his country; the most romantic credulity could never have prevailed on him to consider the prediction, but as the chimerical flight of fancy, or the reverie of a distempered brain.

Indeed, when I myself recollect the various and complicated difficulties which preceded the final accomplishment of the Revolution: when I consider the chaotic mixture of divers elements, unexpectedly conspiring by opposite efficacies towards the same end; the jarring interests of civil and religious zeal; the concealed animosities of individuals, and the avowed hostilities of factions, each, as the occasion suited, or as temporary advantage directed, at one time aiding William, at another opposing him with all its vigour: when I reflect on the fluctuating temper of the times, which tended to sever and disunite the bands of public confidence, and to render alliances either suspected in their faith, or precarious in their continuance: when I contemplate our natural aversion to all hazardous enterprises, the influence of established government, and that fatal waywardness so epidemical among the sons of men, by which they are led to defend the very authority which oppresses them, and to become the active instruments of their own servitude: when I revolve in my mind the capricious and arbitrary vicissitudes of popular favour, and that inconstant tide in human affairs, so frequently retreating in a contrary direction: when I present before my eyes the helpless condition of a fallen monarch, and the recurring affection which is wont to be excited by pity for the tears of degraded, though guilty, majesty: when I meditate upon all this, and perceive that the adventurous enterprise was, nevertheless, not only attended by fortune, but even closely followed by a permanent succession, and a peaceable adjustment of the troubles of the state, it should seem to me, that this beautiful arrangement of the order of events, was rather the

transitory illusion of a flattering dream, than the real statement of an historical fact.

From this consideration a most important and valuable lesson might be derived by a wise prince. It would teach him, not to rely too securely on the flattering appearances of things around him, but to look for his ultimate support rather in the well-earned affections of his subjects, than in the hollow and delusive representations of deceitful ministers: it would teach him, also, to abstain from the arrogant exertion of those usurped powers, which the subject has prudently chosen to withhold from him, and, however he may trifle for a while with the generous forbearance of his people, yet carefully to recollect, that their vengeance, like the wrath of heaven, accumulates in proportion to its delay.

It is said, that we are never duly sensible of the full value of our blessings, till after we have lost them. If this be true, as experience evinces, it will, also, by consequence happen, that our joy for the preservation of those blessings will always be proportionate to the once apparent danger of losing them. Our sense of obligation, therefore, for the glorious Revolution must continually increase, as we more closely consider the improbability of its having then been effected. We gazed with apathy upon the menacing meteor which enveloped in a portentous blaze the whole face of our political horizon, waiting till it should suddenly burst upon us, and pour its vengeance on our devoted heads. We surveyed, without attempting to repair, the breach that had long been made, and was increasing daily, in our constitution, like a soldier who sees his parent slaughtered by his side, and from the stagnation of his feelings is unable either to avert the blow, or to revenge it. We continued repeatedly to traverse with a dull monotonous uniformity the same tedious circle of temporary expedient and

timid remonstrance. Our senses were apoplexed; and the only melancholy consolation for our abject estate was, that the acuteness of our injuries seemed to be blunted by the accumulated weight of their pressure, and their number to be lost in their magnitude.

Yet it might be observed, in palliation of that long acquiescence under oppression which our ancestors exhibited, that Charles the Second had the art to clothe his domination in a specious garb, and to give a sort of recommendation to slavery by the trappings and garniture in which he arrayed it. He did not dare to insult the feelings of the nation by requiring their acceptance of an undisguised and unequivocal servitude, presented to their sight in all the nakedness of its genuine deformity. He warily compromised with the understandings of his people, and made a shew and display of conferring with them on their own concerns. And so long, indeed, our ancestors, living under the delusion of freedom, and cajoled by the arts of government into the belief of a rational power over their own actions, were at no pains to investigate the fact, how far they were blessed with the real substance of liberty, and how far they were mocked with the pageant and the name. They still retained the disposition to be free, but they submitted to the continual accumulations of their burdens, as being not fully sensible of their increasing enormity. Their spirit was alive, but their senses were benumbed. They were still in their hearts a liberal and a generous people, and if they had not thought they were freemen, they would not have endured to be slaves. Acting under the influence of prejudice, and the dominion of habit, and naturally reluctant to search into the truth of doctrines which they had long imbibed, they did not care to inquire about their original rights, and the various modes by which the exercise of those rights was incessantly abridged.

But, when James the Second succeeded to the throne, he resolved to advance with rampant and gigantic strides to the utmost verge of arbitrary power, and scorned to use any stage or resting-place in the progress of his accelerated despotism. Then at last, when the side of the nation was openly pierced with the deadliest arrow of destruction, the shriek of agonizing liberty resounded through the plains and the cities of this affrighted isle. It was then that we indignantly refused to "let our beards be shook with danger, and to think it pastime." Then it was, that we began to appear not dead, but sleeping, that we "roused ourselves, like strong men after slumber, and shook our invincible locks."*

To Providence it must be attributed, that the nation at that time cast their eyes on William, as the person most able to refit their crazy constitution, the last remaining hope of civil and religious freedom. Yet, let it not be thought, that I would insult the sense of this or of any other nation so far, as to suppose the possibility of a case, where, but for the existence of some particular man, they may not of themselves be free. This would be to confound the reason of things, to invert the just order of natural authority, and to reduce the energies of the puissant people to an abject reliance upon individual power. No: I am only desirous to shew, that such was the lamentable dearth of public spirit and of public virtue in that critical juncture, such, too, let me add, the gross prejudices and unworthy animosities of contending factions, that England seemed to have no other resource to replace the last miserable object that had defiled her throne, than in raising an alien prince to her abdicated sovereignty. But I must ever contend, that if our forlorn condition appeared to require a foreign

* Milton's Areopagitica.

king, we were fortunate to find that king in William. To him we are, indeed, indebted for the source of our best enjoyments and our dearest privileges. Not that we derived a right to those privileges from the revolution: not that liberty can be the boon of human bounty. Those privileges and that liberty are the proper right of every man—they are the vigorous growth of the better part of our nature—they are inherent and inalienable—and to the exercise of them man is born no less than to the exercise of all his intellectual and his moral powers. A right, I say, to those privileges was always ours: It was our own, had the revolution never taken place. But the revolution both recognized the existence, and established the security of that right.

The advocates for the free exercise of private judgment in questions of religion, will ever recollect, that to William we are indebted for the first act of genuine toleration; that he was the first to liberate the mind from the fear of temporal penalties in the investigation of truths which point to eternity, and to break down those artificial barriers, which a crooked policy would interpose between man and his creator. They who regard the commercial interests and the opulence of Britain, will find abundant cause of praise, when they consider that he erected the Bank of England, and greatly augmented our Indian revenues, by uniting the two companies. Those minds, whose benevolence is too comprehensive to be limited to the promotion of amity among individuals, may reasonably rejoice in his recommendation of cementing into one federal and incorporated mass the seemingly heterogeneous principles of english and scottish government. Lastly, they whom reflection has taught the superiority of moral over political excellence, will not fail to remark that unparalleled effort of magnanimity, which led him to sacrifice his personal resentment to the

public service, when by his last appointment he constituted Marlborough his general and ambassador to conduct the Grand Alliance, disregarding the memory of his former injuries.

At the time of the revolution our constitution derived a considerable energy from the Act, entitled, "The Bill of Rights," which limited by legal coercion that monstrous and inordinate extent to which prerogative had been carried in former reigns, which abolished its dispensing power, and its arbitrary maintenance of standing armies; which asserted the doctrine of resistance to the executive magistrate, whenever he should attempt to subvert the fundamental rights of his people; and which ascertained in clear and emphatical terms a just balance between liberty and licence. About five or six years after this, we obtained the Triennial Act, which, by returning more frequently from the mass of the people a set of delegates breathing in common with them the same desires and the same aversions, and the continuance, also, of whose power should be too short for them to acquire during it that separate interest, which is the bane of general liberty, gave to the constituent body their only security for the virtue and integrity of the representative. Under this reign, in fine, no less than seven Acts were made to prevent undue influence on election; and though from some of them William, partly at the instigation of his queen, withheld his immediate concurrence, yet his final approbation of them, as soon as they appeared to be the decided wishes of the nation, serves to bespeak the genuine disciple of the great De Witt, and to shew, that the nearest object of William's heart was the solid and permanent freedom of his people.

The bounds of time which I must prescribe to myself on this occasion, will not allow me severally to enumerate all the advantages derived from William and the Revolution. This mighty

epoch in the history of nations, deserves to be commemorated on many more accounts than its having freed England from a base and inglorious domination. In a summary mention of events, it would be impossible to explain the various alterations which it made in the politics of Europe, and in the manners and sentiments of our own nation. The revolution would hardly merit the name of glorious, from having raised one family to the throne in exclusion of another, had it not at the same time established on the firm basis of constitutional law a principle, which under similar circumstances might produce similar effects, and had it not given a new tone to popular habits, and a new direction to the current of thought. The mind of man, which had been so long depressed by the subjection in which it was holden, began now to feel its active powers renovated and expanded. Invention and genius, no longer intimidated by the baleful menaces of the Star Chamber, shook off those incumbrances which had retarded their flight, and fixed them to the earth. Courage, too, which had been cramped and crippled at the same time and from the same causes, now vindicated its pretensions to that fame, which had lain dormant since the days of chivalry. Hence notions of liberty having become inseparably interwoven with the opinions of the people, what each individual thought, he considered himself entitled to declare: and hence, by gradual progression, the liberty of the press, the palladium of all our franchises, was brought to that state in which we now find it, and which, though it may still seem to require some additional enlargement, yet this country, till the late glorious emancipations of America and France, enjoyed alone.

Great, however, and conspicuous as is William's glory in having secured to us our mental and actual independence; greater still and still more conspicuous must be our disgrace and profligacy, if we lose it. After the enumeration, therefore, of the blessings

which we derived from the Glorious Revolution, we are naturally led to inquire, what progress they have made amidst the increasing light of succeeding generations, whether they have kept pace with elder experience, or whether they have been found to be so perfect, that more matured reason would seek in vain to improve them. If these be, as they are, the natural objects of inquiry, the inquirer would probably manifest some tokens of surprise, were he told, that those beneficial laws had not only not been progressive, but had been suffered unheeded and neglected to be considerably impaired. This might excite his wonder. But what then will he say, when he learns, that the three wisest and most important provisions in favour of the people at the time of the Revolution, have not only been impaired, but are at this moment as though they had never been, that one of them is absolutely erased from the Constitution, and the others effectively null. What is become of that grand bulwark of our liberties, the Triennial Act? What of the Bill for excluding Placemen and Pensioners from the Commons' House of Parliament? And what of that Bill, which compelled every minister, who advised any measure, to enter an acknowledgement of it on the books of the Privy Council?* What has become of these? It is my unwelcome

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* By the Act of Settlement it was decreed,

"That from and after the time that the farther limitation by this Act shall take effect, all matters and things relating to the well-governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the Privy Council by the laws and customs of this realm, *shall be transacted there*, and all resolutions taken thereupon *shall be signed* by such of the Privy Council as shall advise and consent to the same."

By the same act it was farther decreed,

"That no person who has an office or place of profit under the king, or receives a pension from the crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons."

These

task to reply, that the first was daringly repealed, not by the people themselves, who alone possessed the right of repealing it, but by those Representatives whom they had delegated for three years, but who delegated themselves for four years more, the leave of their constituents being neither given nor solicited. It may possibly be urged in alleviation of this heinous usurpation of the Commons, that they displayed, at least, their moderation, in limiting their own extension of their own power to the period of seven years. The excuse is good, and ought to be admitted. They had, doubtless, an equal right to have made themselves perpetual or even hereditary. But the reason of their *moderation* it might not, perhaps, be difficult to assign. There is an ultimate point of human sufferance, from which the potentates of the earth are known to shrink back with instinctive horror, and beyond which despotism itself dares not to proceed. When this point is once past, the complexion of mankind is observed to undergo a sudden change, and by an instantaneous transformation the extreme of happiness to rise out of the extreme of misery. The Commons were not ignorant of this truth, and they were unwilling to hazard the practical illustration of it. Of the two other Bills, the one is fallen into total disuse, and the other is most shamefully evaded by a stratagem, which is at once an outrage on our feelings, and

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These two provisions of the act of Settlement were unblushingly repealed by a complaisant Parliament of Queen Anne.

In the year 1742, Mr. Cornwall made a motion for the better securing the freedom of Parliaments by excluding Placemen and Pensioners from the House of Commons, according to the principles of the Revolution. The whole speech of Lord Strange upon this most important question is so fraught with wise and just observations, and is, indeed, in many respects so very remarkable, that I shall hope to be excused, if I refer my readers to it in "*The History and Proceedings of the House of Commons.*"

a mockery of our understandings. Yes, true it is, that the three most important of those popular advantages, which alone make the Revolution a just object of reverence to Englishmen, are already departed, though we still allow ourselves to be deluded by names, and are still willing to persuade ourselves, that we are in full possession of those benefits, which we have long ago tamely surrendered, as of light and trivial estimation, though our ancestors were content to purchase them with their blood.

If liberty be indeed that tender and sickly plant, which it is said to be, it must require continual care, and the conspiring aid of a genial climate, to rear it into maturity. It may be nipped by the chilling frost of open violence, but is more liable to be blasted by the 'deadly mildews' of a circuitous and qualifying despotism. But slavery is the produce of every soil. Under every climate it grows without cultivation, and flourishes without danger of decay. Hence it is our duty to watch over the former with a careful and suspicious eye, to foster, and to cherish it, to water it, and to fence it in against the inroads of all who are not concerned in its preservation. Equally, too, it is our duty to prevent the latter from taking root amongst us, or if it has taken root, to eradicate the pestilential weed, and to sweep it from the face of our earth.

Though the merits of William are spread over a very wide and extensive surface, yet the shades of his character succeed each other by such easy gradation, that there is little apparent diversity in its complexion. And why? His motives were generally directed towards the same end, however the means might differ which he emyloyed for the attainment of it. The same principle which incited him to the enfranchisement of Holland, caused him also to restore the liberties of these kingdoms, and to support

the general independency of Europe. In whatever light we distinctly consider him, whether as the more limited patriot of his own country, the auspicious deliverer of England, or the ultimate arbiter of European dissension, we shall find him in each capacity sustaining a part, to the perfection of which the united prowess of Greece and Rome, the collective hardihood of all antiquity, had in vain aspired. Cato supported for a while the tottering cause of his country's liberty, but was unable to preserve it. The attempt of Cicero was the same, and his success equal. Each fell a lamentable instance of political martyrdom, the one by the hand of the assassin, the other by his own. William differed from them both, and preserved his own life, together with the liberty of his country. The Spartan general, who undertook the deliverance of Carthage, rescued it, indeed, from the danger which menaced its immediate destruction, but could not fortify it against the future effects of Roman jealousy. A better fortune attended William in his deliverance of our ancestors; he successfully established their present, and wisely provided for their future security. The monarch of Macedon, whose name stands foremost in the bloody catalogue of warriors, received tribute from almost every people of, what he thought, the universe. But this was not the tribute of gratitude paid by the sons of independence for the maintenance of their rights. No: it was rather the tribute, which slavery was content to pay for the privation of them. William was mightier than he, when, able to ensure victory whichever way he should incline, he required no other return of the enfranchised nations, than that they should themselves maintain the freedom of which he had put them in possession.

The private character of William was marked by simplicity and sincerity, and a warmth of attachment rarely discernible in kings.

Though silent, thoughtful, and reserved, he possessed an active and a piercing genius, and was a proficient in various branches of literature. Firm to his purpose, and sanguine in disposition, no undertaking was too mighty for his ambition—no object too remote for his grasp. The fervid glow of imagination prompted him often to overleap those mounds, which were vainly interposed to his arduous projects by a timorous and frigid prudence. To his appetite, difficulty was the provocative, and peril the food. He was not content with seeking Fame in her accustomed habitations and her ordinary haunts; he would pursue her with ardour wheresoever she might be found, whether through the perplexing labyrinths of negotiation, or the 'secret places' of the cabinet, or the dreary marches of a toilsome and laborious campaign, even to the confines of her inaccessible retreats, to the precincts of her chosen and peculiar temple. View him, then, in his civil and military capacities: in this we shall find him a warrior with humanity, in that a politician without duplicity. In the inferior, but conciliatory, attributes of affability and address, he was somewhat defective, and he appears the more so, in proportion as he is contrasted with his accomplished rival of France. He was generally supposed, and more especially in his latter days, to be of a gloomy, phlegmatic temper; and, indeed, the behaviour of his Commons, after all his splendid and substantial services to the people, may very naturally be conceived to have overcast his enjoyments with some unwelcome reflections. Far be it from me to arraign that jealousy, which it is alike the right and the duty of the Commons to exercise over the worst and even the best, of princes. Yet, perhaps, in their treatment of William, they sometimes suffered this virtue to degenerate into an appearance, at least, of undeserved and provoking rigour.

It has been the lot of some men, singly to gratify their ambition; of others, singly to contribute to the deliverance of their country.

But for William III. was reserved the peculiar felicity of displaying in his own person the union of these merits, of being at once the instrument of deliverance to a great nation, and to himself of his own glory.

In the contemplation of a character like this, enthusiasm is a virtue. When I view a man imperiously disdaining the control of circumstance, and, in despite of every obstacle, summoning into action the whole force of his collected faculties to propagate and to encourage the celestial spirit of liberty, I look with a mixture of pity and contempt upon the giddy applause bestowed on the unworthy projects of ordinary power; and all the airy fantastic visions which the dreams of vulgar ambition have conjured before my eyes, straightway vanish from my sight, and fade into annihilation. How much the rather, then, when I feel myself reaping at the very moment of time the benefit of those actions, which even abstractedly commanded my admiration? This benefit we all reap, even now we reap it, from him, who is the subject of eulogy this day. It belongs to us, to be careful how we lightly squander away that portion of freedom which still continues to be derived from the revolution. We have in theory a constitution, which, though like other human inventions, it be in some respects imperfect, is yet, if faithfully administered, capable in the whole to produce the great end of national happiness. But let us not be content with a constitution in theory. It must not only be a visible, but a tangible constitution. It must be a constitution that is felt, as well as seen. It must be a constitution in practice. Farthermore, we must improve in it that which is defective and remains, we must restore that which was valuable and is lost.

The fabric of our *real* constitution is that of a temple situated on an eminence. The access is gradual, the descent precipitate.

Our fathers built it with their own hands, and cemented it with their own blood. Let not us their descendants, who have but a life-property in the beauteous edifice, injure our posterity by despoiling it of any part of its riches, or by neglecting to repair and to preserve it. Whilst liberty continues to animate our worship, we will defy the malice of the worst tyrant, which the worst ages may produce, to undermine the pillars which support it. But, as soon as our devotion shall begin to slumber, as soon as we shall rob of her accustomed honors the tutelary goddess of the glorious sanctuary, as soon as we shall fall down to the golden image of the Mammon of corruption, and croud around the altars which the priests of despotism shall set up, as places of refuge to a deluded train of fanatic idolaters, then is the fabric of liberty disjointed, and already does it totter to its foundation. The feeblest arm that ever wielded the rod of oppression, may be lifted up to accelerate its destruction. The weakest tyrant may insult its fall. The meanest minion of tyranny may trample in triumph upon its ruins.

We have to thank God and our ancestors (the former having given us our powers, the latter an example in the use of them) that our liberties are not now dependent on the precarious will of any individual, but on our own rights, supported by our own exertions —that, unless ourselves be accessaries, they can neither be wrested from us by the peremptory insolence of a tyrant, nor decoyed away by the meretricious blandishments of aristocratical sorcery, nor yet juggled from us by the insidious and fraudulent manœuvres of ministerial legerdemain. The lure of riches and preferment may be displayed with effect to the base and menial parasites of a court-favorite, the scavengers of corruption, a class of beings patient of domination, solicitous of infamy, and whom nature did not condescend to qualify for the luxury of independence. It may prevail

on such flagitious caitiffs as these to barter their freedom and their suffrages for the pitiful gleanings of dishonor. It may induce such unhallowed miscreants, when they have received the price of their departed integrity, to obliterate the unwelcome memory of its possession, by teaching their posterity, that the wages of venality were ever their exclusive and inalienable birthright. But every true Briton will scorn to 'truck and huckster' for those only commodities of price, his mental and his personal freedom, and will look with abhorrence on the miserable offals of slavery, and the sordid pittance of their prostitute services. Whilst such shall still be the sentiments of the wise and of the good, no zealot in the cause of oriental servitude, no arrogant and contumelious engrosser of delegated power, shall dare to practise the treacherous arts of a general corruption, but shall content himself with the limited prospect of partial depravity. It is our happiness, that such men can now only speculate upon the glorious doctrine of passive obedience, and that they can feast their imaginations alone upon the enrapturing tenets of non-resistance. The only passive obedience now known to us, is that which we pay to our country's laws. Wherefore? "Legum ideirco servi sumus, ut possimus esse liberi."

Let us, then, ever keep alive the sacred spirit of immortal freedom; and, above all, let us preserve a severe and wakeful eye upon the separate functions of our triple estate, and often call back our government (according to a precept of Machiavel) to its first seminal principles, lest, having unlearned the constituent parts of our establishment, we seek in vain to revive them; lest, in some disastrous crisis, we should suddenly be found, as the French lately found themselves, destitute of any constitution at all, and should meet with no clue at hand to guide our bewildered imaginations through the intricate mazes of forlorn inquiry in search of a constitution.

The mention of the French is at this time peculiarly connected with the subject of national revolutions. And who, indeed, that should see a people rearing their trampled heads from under the heel of oppression, and snapping asunder the iron manacles of tyranny and vassallage; who, that should behold them, as it were by some convulsive impulse, suddenly starting into action out of the profoundest lethargy, demolishing the strong holds of despotism, and calling forth from the noxious womb of misery and darkness, the imprisoned relics of humanity; who, I say, that should view this race of recent freemen achieving such deeds of glory, would not even wander, were it necessary, from his immediate way, and stay a while to refresh his spirit with such a banquet, ere he arrived at the conclusion of his journey? Liberty has begun her progress, and hope tells us, that she has only begun. She has already unveiled the charms of her august countenance to the fortunate inhabitants of the western world; she is now combining in glorious concert the Polish king with the Polish people,* and re-kindling in the breasts of modern Gauls an emulation of their free and hardy progenitors. Soon will she deign to

* The effect of this combination has been suddenly and wickedly retarded by causes, which I need not enumerate, and by personages, who in the page of impartial history will, I trust, be consigned to the scorn and execration of the latest ages. But what, alas! is the fickleness of men and of nations, of men who are reputed wise, and of nations which call themselves free? Dumb amidst the groans and sufferings of the Polanders, dumb is that eloquence, which chanted the praises of their rising freedom in a tone of proud and virtuous exultation! Torpid is that philanthropy, which caught, indeed, the alarm at the first approach of danger to this most distressed and most injured people, but is now content to look on with calm indifference, or with transient and inactive sympathy, when tyrants have proceeded to execute what they had purposed, to justify what they have executed, and by this most unexampled act of justification to avow a principle which menaces the independence of every government, and the tranquillity of every people, in the whole civilized world!

visit the Spaniard and the Hollander, the Prussian and the Swede, the German and the Turk, nor shall the sovereign of all the Russias be able to prevail against her. No longer then, as before, shall it be asked by the oppressed vassal of a lawless despot, in what towardly and pregnant soil is liberty to be found, and where has she fixed the seat of her heavenly habitation? Dwells she on the delighted summits of the scythian hills, fencing by the frosty ramparts of her precipices the hardy mountaineer against the encroachments of restless ambition? or, does she love to traverse the sandy plain and unmeasurable desert with the vagrant Arab? No longer shall the slave, who now sickens under the pressure of english barbarity, blasphemously punished for the intemperance of that blackening orb, near to which nature has planted him, forcibly torn by the most outrageous devices of a legalized piracy from the sweets of life, and from those social enjoyments which the God of benevolence has equally indulged to the sage and to the savage,—no longer shall he interrogate his lordly taskmaster, saying, "What is that freedom, of which ye Englishmen boast, and wherein does it consist?" No: The science of nature's laws shall then be universally understood, purged from the unholy mysticisms of inequality, and disentangled from those odious chains, which artificial institution seeks to impose upon natural reason.

Before the revolution, the governors of man had hood-winked man's reason. They had fixed a great gulph between themselves and us, lest our eyes should be impertinently curious, and should pry into the mysteries of cabinets. A plan was concerted between tyranny and ignorance for despoiling the face of nature, and dividing the plunder. It was a wise and a politic union. Information is the bane of despotism.

But, the day of delusion was already far spent. For even then while tyrants were congratulating each other on the debasement of the creation, suddenly arose in the world an immortal race of philosophers, to set the spirit of liberty at work, and to frame and ratify opinions, which it has been beyond the reach of superstition to destroy, or of power to recal. Ye know, that I speak of Harrington, of Sidney, of Milton, and of Locke. These again have summoned into the field of reason a new and hardy band of proselytes, who are warring with time, and gaining the mastery over custom. Even now they are grappling with prejudice, and maintaining a glorious conflict with sentiments which were too long suffered by the contempt of philosophy to make an unmolested progress, and to acquire by the aid of long usage an influence with those minds, who think by tradition, and reason by authority. But, a copious infusion of that mild and temperate light, which at once illuminates and warms, has been poured in at the eye of the coming generation, and through that casement is communicating with practical vigour. It is rarifying and enlightening our intellectual spirits. It is almost inspiring with soul the objects of sense, and giving life and energy to matter. The old world, worn out with age and debility, is sinking fast to its decline, and the luminous orb of a regenerate creation is rising upon the view of the political observer.

My mind exults and glows within me, while I contemplate that auspicious day, when tyranny shall be laid low, and mingle with the dust; when "all nations, and kindreds, and people" shall assemble together under the victorious banner of independence, and when the sun shall not shine upon any region under heaven, where it may not witness a harmony of desire, and a communion of the same generous and exalted spirit. Then, and not till then, may the world be

allowed to forget, what it is to execrate the name of a tyrant, and to languish under the oppression of slavery. Whenever that day arrives, mankind will not fail with one applauding voice to bestow their blessings on the memory of HIM, who laid the foundation of so good a work, by rescuing Holland from her foreign foe, by emancipating England from her domestic enemy, by labouring to preserve and to perpetuate the collective liberties of all Europe.

No. XII.

Quid pure tranquillet?

HOR.

PERSENTIAT in se vir unusquisque necesse est, et ex aliorum tam dictis quam factis animadvertat, humanæ industriæ primum id consilium esse, ut depellat malum, bonum adipiscatur. Hinc artes inventæ, hinc excultæ scientiæ, hinc leges sancitæ, hinc denique ipsa est orta humani generis societas. Ferum illum hominem, qui solitudines transatlanticas pererrat, gravissima cœli intemperie oppressum, et inter bestias periclitantem, suæ tamen felicitatis, non est, ubi immemorem deprehendas. Cum sit artium fere omnium, quæ vitam excultiorem reddunt, rudis et ignarus, illud tamen, quod est iisdem artibus propositum, probe intelligit. Imo ipsis iis bestiis, quibus agendi leges unica imponit, domina improbissima, voluntas, id constanter curæ est, ut quoquo modo degant beate. Unius autem hominis proprium est, uti gubernaculo rationis, cujus ope cursum dirigat, et quem velit portum, consequatur. Gravis itaque et libero viro apprime digna est illa disquisitio, quæ doceat, qua potissimum via e procellis vitæ elapsi in tuto collocemur.

Mirabile quidem primo aspectu videtur, quam diversa a nobis

instrumenta ad felicitatem comparandam admoveri soleant. Est vero illud mirabilius, quod unus atque idem vir non diversis modo instrumentis utitur, verum etiam contrariis, interque se pugnantibus. Quare frequenter cogitavi, beatorum animis, postquam in domum suam jam tandem pervolaverint, nihil eorum quæ in terris fiant, plus vel admirationis vel misericordiæ injicere, quam impotentem eam solicitudinem, qua homines in felicitate captanda dubii et improvidi anguntur. Voluptas, divitiæ, honores, fama suas alternis vicibus habent illecebras, suamque in pectoribus nostris dominationem exercent. Vitæ autem curriculum a natura prius circumscriptum est, quam vel optatam metam assequi possumus, vel, etiamsi eam assecuti simus, pretium ipsius certaminis perquam inane esse tandem intelligamus. Fueritne hoc imbecillitatis nostrorum animorum, an pravitatis; Deusne in causa, an homo; neque hujus loci est quærere, neque exitum forsan habitura esset istiusmodi disputatio. Illud utilius est scire, sit necne aliqua norma vivendi, quæ felicitate, si minus pura illa atque integra, maxima tamen quæ mortalibus contingat, quomodo fruaris, doceat.

Fuit mihi primum in animo, ut de tranquillitate, tanquam de felicitatis specie quadam, agerem. Attentius vero hanc rem inspicienti potior illa videtur ratio, felicitatem inter et tranquillitatem nullum omnino ponere discrimen, siquidem persuasum id habeam, neminem revera felicem esse posse, nisi tranquillum, tranquillum neminem, nisi felicem.

Nec vero opinioni huic meæ jure objici potest, hominem in negotiis versatum, etsi minus sit tranquillus, non raro feliciorem esse, quam sit is, qui in otio versetur. Profecto, tranquillitas non corporis est, sed animi. Animus autem non tunc, ut videtur, tranquillus dici potest, cum inertia torpeat, cum studiis expeditus sit, cum negotiis vacet; sed cum ad eam rem, quam agat, sine solici-

tudine incumbat, suisque sibi viribus sufficiat, et de nihilo, quod sit extrinsecus situm, laboret.

Quoties mecum reputo, qua lege bonum atque malum homines fortiantur, reperio sane nobis datum esse, multis quidem frui, multa autem et pati. Quamvis ab unoquoque orbem hunc mundi incolentium percorteris, quotum quemque inveneris, cui nihil sit, quod ulterius cupiat? Permultos tamen esse quotidie audimus, quibus mors sibi conscita nil relictum fuisse, quod ulterius sperarent, satis declaret. Itaque in hac vita ut ab omni parte beati simus, negatum videtur; ut ab omni parte miseri, id vero propemodum concessum. Cur homo tantum doloris percipiat, cur ex singulorum infelicitate conflctur universa felicitas, cur, cum cætera rerum systemata non nisi ex perfectione infimarum partium perfecta fiant, immensa tamen illa orbis regendi ratio ut fiat perfecta, inferiores sui partes, quæ sint imperfectæ, postulet*—quæstiones hæ, vereor, ut ab ingenio humano solvi possint, neque scio an solutæ magni interessent. Atqui, quantacunque sit hominibus inter vivendum boni ac mali portio, non possum non putare, malum frequentius ab ipsis auctum esse, bonum ab ipsis diminutum. Persuasum mihi insuper est, si homines id perinde agerent, ut felices essent, atque id, ne sint, agunt, longe aliter, quod ad bonum malumque attinet, res humanas sese habituras esse. Enimvero plurimi ita vitam instituunt suam, ut iis nihil aliud dixeris fuisse in deliciis, quam ut, pretio ob stultitiam lato, liceret sibi tandem pœnitere.

Sunt, qui felicitatem ponant in voluptatibus, quæ vulgo sensuum dicuntur: et e contrario sunt, qui in severa gravitate Stoicorum. Harum autem opinionum quin falsa sit altera, nullus dubito; alteram ut credam esse veram, vix adducar.

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* Goldsmith.

Ii, quibus ex corporea voluptate derivatur felicitas, non satis videntur respexisse, quam fluxa sit hæc voluptas et caduca, quam longo tempore quæsita, brevi evanescat, quam multo labore nata, facile intereat. Si eandem voluptatem iterum deque novo resuscitare coneris, ubi tandem est ille sapor exquisitus? Quam ipsa est sui dissimilis! quam insulsa et languida! Vestigia rerum earum, a quibus maximam te voluptatem percepisse putaveris, ea si legere velis, obscura sunt et plane nulla. Nervus, qui primum tactus insolito quodam sensu exultabat, momentum suum paulatim perdidit, sensimque factus remissior grato illo impetu prorsus destituitur.

Adde, quod avida hæc voluptatis consectatio homines magis fortunæ obnoxios reddit, quod, affectionibus animi in res externas infixis, ea, quæ tanto studio sequimur, mille casus continuo rapiunt. Posito autem, conditionibus haud iniquis vitam tibi institutam fuisse, et ex votis tuis fere omnia cessisse, at istiusmodi tamen voluptatibus, præ ipsa etiam intentione sua, oritur aliquid incommodi. Usus enim harum acriorum voluptatum cæteris illis lenioribus, in quibus consectandis vita humana præcipue versatur, impedimento est.

Quin desine, O Voluptatis assecla, ignobile servitium perpeti, et rei, quæ ex manibus tuis jam jam elapsura est, perdite inhiare. Dea, quam colis, hinc, fateor, tibi ostentat amænitatem Veris, illinc uberes maturosque Autumni fructus. At, "si me satis audias," neque vox illius blanda et canora aures tuas unquam deliniet, neque oculos nimium quantum præstringet formæ venustas et pulcritudo. Cave fructum arripias, quem decerpserit Voluptatis manus. Quod ea tibi poculum ad hauriendum ridens propinaverit, illud vel primoribus labris cave attingas. Deerit, mihi crede, rosis, quas carpsisti, brevi deerit suus ille color. Quæ tibi tenuem

rationem saporum exigenti jucunde quondam et suaviter blandita est luxuries, mox delicatum fastidium, deinde cibi satietatem, cui ne varietas quidem occurrere poterit, tumultuanti stomacho injiciet. Carissimi illi, quibus flagrasti, amores aut solicitam mentem tuam et anxiam habebunt, aut languidum te reddent, inertemque, et tibi inimicum. Ad mollitiem denique eam omnem, quam juvenis præsumpsisti, ecquid est, quod accedere possit? Nihil, me quidem judice. Imo expectanda tibi potius est cum ægrotatio in corpore, tum in animo gravissima ægritudo.

Age vero, hominis hujusce, antequam id, quod petat, consecutus fuerit, quæ tandem conditio sit, contemplemur. Profecto, vehementissimum in eo videmus ardorem cupidinis, et laboriosum felicitatis aucupium, et animi miseros quosdam tumultus, qui ne id quidem diu efficere possunt, ut eum ipsi surripiant sibi. At enim voti sui compos est. Annon igitur felix habendus? Nequaquam. Scilicet animum inter et corpus bellum exoritur pertriste et diuturnum. Iisdem ille desideriis flagrat—hoc marcescit tædio et satietate.

Gaudeant, per me licet, voluptarii viri, qui sibi prætendunt Epicuri nomen. Verum enimvero, ne id Epicuro ipsi culpæ detur, quod neque ad laudandum, neque ad imitandum Epicurus unquam ulla in re proposuit.* Huic certe ἀταραξία videbatur

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* Vid. Epistolam Epicuri ad Menoeceum—Lib. 10. Diog. Laert. p. 791. Edit. Casaub.

Huc apprime faciunt, quæ Cicero dicit in Oratione in L. Pisonem.

"Atque hoc quidem etiam isti tui dicunt voluptarii Græci; quos utinam ita audires, ut erant audiendi! nunquam te in tot flagitia ingurgitasses: verum audis in præsepibus, audis in stupris, audis in cibo et vino."

summum bonum. At non falsis boni illecebris delinitus in vino ille et lubidinum voluptatibus tranquillitatem quærebat, sed in sapientia, sed in justitia, sed in virtute. Non suos voluit videri, eos, qui tanquam porci ex hara* prorupissent, sed qui e scholis prodiissent optimis disciplinis informati. Quiescant itaque Manes Epicuri in ea, quam vivus maxime amabat, [illegible]. Desinant autem ii jactitare se ab Epicuro esse, qui neque id, quod scriptis docuisset, probe intellexerint, neque id, quod vita præstitisset, imitando expresserint.

At eccam tibi ex adversa parte severam illam frontem ac tetricam! Hæc enimvero Stoici est; cujus a disciplina horæ cujusque experientia, et ratio, et ipsa natura, plurimum dissident. Effera quædam hujusce et ἐνθουσιαστικὴ virtus immunem se profitetur ab iis sensibus, qui in obcæcatos mortales dominantur, doctrinæque suæ vi satis munitam se prædicat contra miserias, quæ vitam cæteris reddunt ærumnosam et amaram. Aspernatur, mehercule, operosas illas præcipiendi formulas, et tardos demonstrandi circuitus, et subtiles ratiocinandi ambages. Quin præcipiti quodam itinere defertur ad veritatem, et philosophiæ quasi compendio utitur. Quippe dolorem, pauperiem, amicorum jacturam, exilium, violentam necem, tollit e numero malorum novus hic felicitatis artifex. Medorum ac Persarum more, immutabile quoddam decretum promulgat, quo hæc omnia vetat formidini esse, aut procellas aliquas in animo sapientis ciere. Stoicus igitur tranquillitatem in vacatione potius omnium affectuum, quam in affectibus lenibus et temperatis, poni statuit; medicorum sane ritu, qui cum cavere non possunt, sentiens ne doleas, id cavent, ne omnino sentias.

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* Confer nunc, Epicure noster, ex hara producte, non ex schola, confer, si audes, absentiam tuam cum mea. Cic. Orat. in Luc. Pisonem.

Sed ambigi æquissime potest, quam tandem fidem dogmatum suorum Stoici ipsi sibi fecerint. Nam si persuasum habent, dolorem non malum esse, quid, quæso, opus est, ut hoc tam sedulo et tam crebro affirment? An id quoque affirmant, sapientiam, aut integram valetudinem, malum non esse? De his enim, inquiunt, inter homines convenit. Præclare illud quidem, quanquam minus stat a re Stoicorum, responsum est. Nam ex consensu hominum, non ex singulorum sententiis, boni ac mali fines statuendi sunt. Hi autem fines per omne ævum certi manserunt ac fixi. Quippe iisdem nunc sensibus utuntur homines, atque semper usi sunt; iidemque sunt igitur boni ac mali fines, quorum judicium in ipsis sensibus est positum. Quoniam igitur inter homines convenit ex certis sapientiæ atque integræ valetudinis finibus, hæc mala non esse, eaque de causa non sunt mala; pari modo, quum ex certo fine doloris convenit, hoc esse malum, ea de causa malum est. Vereor, ne in hoc laqueo Stoici semet irretierint!

Qui derepente philosophus evadere velit, eum ingredi jubeo in scholam Stoicorum. Nempe illinc facillimum ad sapientiam patet iter, si modo laudet paupertatem dives, dolorem illæsus. Dictitet in molli lecto cubans, et "cute bene curata nitidus," dolori et paupertati facile resistendum esse. Ipse interim "sum paulo infirmior, et unus multorum:" ignoscat igitur. At pauperis est, inquiet, ut sine invidia felix sit, sine custodia incolumis, sanus sine medicina. Mihi vero apparet, eam felicitatem non magnopere invidendam esse, quam nemo invideat; eam incolumitatem vix dignam incolumitatis nomine, quæ non tanti sit, ut custodiam requirat; valetudinem denique eam minime cuivis gratulandam, quæ si maximam partem medicina non indigeat, tamen, cum indiget, non habeat. Pauperem utique crediderim

Præcipue sanum—nisi cum pituita molesta est.

Si quæstionem hancce diligentius investigemus, compertum fortasse habebimus, eos, qui felicitatem cum paupertate arcte conjunctam esse velint, non eandem vitæ conditionem intelligere, atque eos, qui miserias soleant et ærumnas pauperum deflere. Quæ autem ego ea de re dixi, huc spectant: eum, qui unde bene vivat, habeat, non pauperem esse, qui non habeat, eundem esse miserum. Esse contra paupertatem ac dolorem, terribiles licet visu formas, pro virili a nobis nitendum, id vero assentior: atque idem ego confirmo, hoc ipsum niti, summum in se complecti dolorem.

Quod autem prædicant Stoici, unum sapientem beatum esse, non est, ut aliquantulum credam. Sit suus sapientiæ, non alienus honos. Ut id omittam, paucissimos, si res ita esset, fore beatos, (quod contra voluit natura) cum paucissimi sapientes sint—at nonnullos vidi sapientia eximie præditos, quos tamen minime beatos esse penitus perspectum est. Sin dixeris, in hac ipsa re sapientes non fuisse, eo quod dolorem animi perceperint, sublata illico est omnis disceptatio, quoniam eam rem, quæ argumentis stabiliri debet, prius finiisti.

Voluptas etiam, uti his placet, nullius pretii est. Sed quid tandem est voluptas? Nonne id omne, quo gaudemus? Gaudemus autem vita. Contemnenda igitur et abjicienda est. At hæc est Deum increpantis vox importuna et impia. At hanc sententiam temere et arroganter secutus Cato ille Uticensis mortem sibi conscivit.*

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* Non possum a me impetrare, quin lectori meo hæc Polybii verba apponem, cum ad sententiam meam de morte Catonis confirmandam apprime faciant. Οὐ γὰρ ἔλαττόν ἐστιν ἀγεννίας σημεῖον, τὸ μηδὲν αὐτῷ συνειδότα μοχθηρὸν προεξάγειν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν αὐτὸν, ποτὲ μὲν τὰς τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων ἀναστάσεις καταπλαγέντα, ποτὲ δὲ τὴν τῶν κρατούντων ἐξουσίαν, τοῦ παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον φιλοζωεῖν. Polyb. Excerpt. de virtutibus et vitiis—Lib. 28.

Equidem Stoicum istum non possum quin fatear me odisse et abominari: neque enim scio, utrum eum hominem, an belluam, dicam, in quo vix, aut ne vix quidem, ulla humanitatis vestigia deprehenderim. Sunt tamen, qui illum magna in admiratione propterea habeant, quod vitium fugere videatur, et stultitia carere. Sed, quod ad me attinet, minime ego vel sodali vel amico usus eo fuerim, qui amare et dolere nescierit, qui nihil fecerit misericordia adductus, qui nunquam cujusquam delicto ignoverit, qui denique excluserit auribus oculisque omnem suavitatem.

Sed jam satis de Stoico dictum arbitror, et fortasse nimium. Rariores enim sunt discipuli Zenonis, quam qui sese appellant sectatores Epicuri. Verum, necesse habui, ut ostenderem, immanitate illa virtutis obtundi non posse animorum aciem, neque inter insanientis sapientiæ consultos ullum sibi locum felicitatem vindicasse.

Ut virtutes fere omnes in mediocritate quadam positæ videntur, ita in rebus humanis solet esse medium quoddam (ut ita dicam) punctum, ultra quod citraque nequit ea, qua de agitur, consistere felicitas. Quale autem illud punctum sit, in extrema hujus orationis parte, quantum potero, edocebo. Stoici interea, et, qui vocantur, Epicurei, pervelim, meminerint, hos sinistrorsum, illos dextrorsum, ab eo, quod animum pure tranquillet, passibus fere æquis abire.

Ab iis certe non recte statuitur, qui felicitatem ex divitiis quærunt. Si enim in divitiis sita sit felicitas, quo ditior quisque fuerit, necesse est, idem felicior sit. Sed rem aliter evenire abunde notum est. Rationes artificiose nectere supervacaneum reor, cum solido experientiæ testimonio uti possimus.

Quid autem de ambitione dicam, et honoribus, et fama? Hæret profecto animus, et in partes nunc has, nunc illas, distrahitur. Eo tamen proclivior sum, ut credam in hisce rebus plus ærumnæ quam felicitatis inesse. Dulcissima quidem res est bona fortuna! Sed in expectando, et in dubitando, et in fluctuatione spei, qualis et quanta solet esse anxietas! Qualis quantusque (id quod longe pejus est) frustrationis est dolor! Quid autem? Anne honos ipse (pone in manu esse) aut doloris potest hebetare aculeos, aut afferre secum voluptatem sinceram? Anne remedium aliquod tristitiæ, aut morbo admovere medicinam? Anne contra vitæ calamitates, aut terrores mortis, nos munire?

Mihi quidem venit in mentem magni cujusdam viri, ex vicina regione orti, cui jam moribundo honores aliquos contulerat publica patriæ vox. "Eheu!" inquiit, circumstantes amicos alloquens, "hæc omnia magnifica forsan in hoc mundo sonent: Ego autem jam eo in alium, neque mecum hæc auferre possum, nec, si possem, illic in pretio forent."

Quin successus ipsa lætitia brevi evanescit. In eos respicere cito desinimus, qui a nobis pone relicti sunt. Nova ineuntur certamina, cum solicitudinibus illa quidem novis conjuncta. Nam postquam semel nata est ambitio, nullam patitur mortem, nisi una cum illo, quocum habitavit. Cum immortalis anima ex corporis ergastulo liberata exultat, "ridetque sui ludibria trunci," tum demum avolat mortalis ambitio; et memoria ejus in terris illico periret, nisi propter splendida quædam vel stultitiæ vel furoris monumenta, quæ sapientior ætas, uti opinor, mox deleverit.

Quare insomnium quoddam est gloria, vel umbra potius insomnii, quam unaquæque aura popularis ad lubitum dissipat. Mortemne

ipsam posse in eam valere non reformidas? En! dum adhuc vivis, famam tibi tuam hinc calumnia ludificatur, illinc opprimit atque obruit invidia. In ore posterorum versari quid tandem proderit, cum ferrea mortis necessitate nostræ aures obsurduerint? Quid imagines, quas oculi nostri nunquam viderint, per longa atria laureatas conspici? Quid attentissimas nostras cogitationes in eam rem abjicere, quæ omnino non futura est, donec e vita excesserimus? Quorsum igitur posterorum deliciæ vocabimur, cum laus illa ad inferos nequeat pervenire? Equidem Anacreonta magis laudaverim, vina, corollasque, et cætera quæ in mortuorum tumulos parari solebant, sibi jam vivo magnopere flagitantem.*

Quæ a me in hoc loco dicta sunt, si maximam partem hominum spectas, sunt verissima. Vitæ quicquid est eorum, corpore et spiritu continetur; ut, cum naturæ satis vixerint, gloriæ etiam satis vixisse eos existimem. Sed de vita, quæ vigebit memoria seculorum omnium, quam posteritas colet, quam ipsa æternitas semper tuebitur, de hac, inquam, vita, quæ paucis contingere potest, quæstio omnis ad paucos pertinet.

Expetere autem, ut nomen nostrum immortale sit, nec, quapropter id fiat, curare, ea demum summa est dementia, Timocreontis itaque Rhodii† epitaphium non vehementer amo. "Sycophanta, aut scurra, satiricus, aut comissator, secum reputet, cum corpus jam in sepulcro compositum fuerit, anima autem in aliud quidpiam transierit, quanti futurum sit, quod apud posteros dica-

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* Vid. Anacr. δ'.

† *Πολλὰ φαγὼν, καὶ πολλὰ πιὼν, καὶ πολλὰ κάκ' εἰπὼν*
Ἀνθρώπους, κεῖμαι Τιμοκρέων Ῥόδιος.

Epigr. Simonid.

tur, neminem ubivis gentium lautius cænasse, neminem amicos suos defricuisse feliciori procacitate, joco maligno ipsum facile omnes superasse, neque unquam antea dormitum iisse, quam terna jam pocula exhausisset? Hujusmodi tamen sunt mortuorum præconia, quæ plerumque decorant eos, qui inter homines nonnulla fama et honore inclaruerunt."* Me autem judice, verum atque unicum oblectamentum, quod ex posterorum benevolentia duci possit, ab illa spe oriri debet, ut una cum nominibus nostris vivant etiam virtutes, utque eos, quibus vivi prodesse non potuerimus, exemplo nostro doceamus, nostrisque, ut ipsi laudari mereantur, incitemus laudibus.

Quod si ambitionem et famæ cupidinem, nullo habito vel rerum humanarum vel hominum ipsorum discrimine, increpandas esse statuerem, profecto dicerem contra naturam, contra veritatem, contra sensum bonorum omnium, contra illud nescio quid, quod in animo etiam meo jam inde a pueritia latuit. Etenim, si tot in patriam meam et tanta commoda ex honesto famæ amore derivata fluxerint, puri necesse est fontes sint ipsi, e quibus rivuli sæpe puri emanarint.

Pone mihi illum senatorem, qui nihil unquam aut cogitaverit, aut dixerit, aut fecerit, nisi ad salutem patriæ dignitatemque respiciens; quem, mente solida invictaque in proposito permanentem, neque improborum exterruerint minæ, nec veteratorum istorum, qui potentia ad impotentiam utuntur, vis et violentia labefecerit; quem regis favor, levis ille, et inconstans, et populo semper inimicus, nunquam de recto cursu lenociniis allexerit; qui, vel invidis hominibus velificari, vel improbos in summo loco

* V. Spectator, No. 317, sub init.

superbientes et immodice ferocientes placare, turpe quiddam et libero homine indignum judicet; qui servire temporibus dedignetur; qui fortunæ nesciat succumbere; cui dedecus ipsa morte magis extimescendum videatur; qui denique laudem toto pectore arripiens, temerariam tamen istam ac mere popularem valde recusat, eamque solam anquirat, quæ recte actorum se comitem et quasi ministram præbet,—Tali, fateor, senatore nec vidit sol quidquam in terris magis præclarum, neque in posterum videbit. Fecerit is, licebit, omnia quæ laudamus, fecerit, inquam, hortante ambitione. Sed talem ambitionem, ut quæ ingenuæ indolis et perfectioris naturæ sit, a viris bonis minime repudiandam censeo. Flamma profecto est divinitus accensa, et quæ in optimis animis et ingeniis excelsissimis maximo ardore semper flagravit.

Quæ cum ita sint, jure vel optimo nomen beati is occupabit, qui in eo gradu dignitatis est collocatus, eaque indole virtutis præditus, ut quamplurimis prodesse et possit et velit. Quo se cumque is verterit, in civium suorum felicitate, tanquam in speculo, videt suam. Videt famam suam omnem quibusdam constantiæ et benevolentiæ radicibus inniti. Videt, post mortem fore, ut laborum suorum fructus uberes et diuturnos capiat. Potest quidem accidere, (optimos enim in cives ingrata nonnunquam patria est) ut senator ille, de quo dixi, habeat cur ploret cum Romulo et Baccho,

> ——— suis non respondere favorem
> Quæsitum meritis. ———

Habebit tamen, habebit in sanctis animi recessibus, quo se recipiat contumeliis lacessitus et injuriis jactatus, ubi recreet semet ac reficiat, ubi abluat illum externarum sordes, efficiatque, ut vitæ se neque pudeat neque tædeat.

Nunc cum iis loquendum, quibus unice in deliciis est "secre-

tum iter, et fallentis semita vitæ." Eorum quidem hominum, quibus hæc vita cordi est, multa videntur genera. Omnibus autem, prout diversæ eos causæ ad hanc vitam amplectendam adduxerint, diversa erit felicitatis ratio. Non desunt, qui clarissimorum virorum vel præcepta vel exempla consilio huic suo prætendant. Ecquis enim est scriptor, qui non ruris tranquillitatem depinxerit? qui se lectoremque suum non oblectaverit concentu avium, et dulci ventorum strepitu, et rivulorum susurris, et spissa nemorum umbra, et boum in valle pascentium mugitu? Ecquis etiam ingenio, aut rebus gestis inclytus, qui solitariæ sapientiæ ac tranquillæ dignitatis monumenta quædam præclara non reliquerit? Caveant tamen imitatores, ne "medio de fonte leporum amari aliquid" ex improviso surgat. Etenim, si neque inter homines ipsos, nec studiorum, ad quæ incubuerunt, rationem, nec vitæ prioris colorem, ulla similitudo intercedat, fieri nequit, quin otii, ad quod se contulerint, dissimiles sint effectus.

Plerisque eorum, qui inter sylvas se velle reptare jactitant, vitæ suæ cursus neque in corporis labore, neque in animi contentione, versatus est. Enimvero nihil aliud sibi proponunt, quam ut area adhuc latior in desidiam ipsorum pateat, et postquam publice ineptierint, in umbra delitescant. Quid igitur mirum, si ne oscitantem quidem et dormitantem sapientiam secuti, sentiunt se languescere otio plane inutili, et celeriter redeunt ad eas, quas reliquerunt, nugas? Istiusmodi sane ab hominibus non male vivitur, quod nati morientesque fallunt.

Ii vero, qui vitæ molestias ac laborem pertæsi, qui onusti negotiorum mole, qui improborum hominum scelere et fraude lacessiti sunt, merito quidem ac sapienter, quicquid sibi reliquum est temporis, in ruris tranquillitate conterunt. Hæc tamen cum concesserim, aliter puto statuendum esse de illis, quos avaritia, vel ambi-

tione, vel alio quovis mentis morbo laborantes, spei malæ frustratio de vetere illo suo et diuturno cursu depulerit. Alios cum oderint, vix sperandum est, ut ipsi se ament. Dolores eorum solitudinis fomentis mitigari non solent. Ut puer umbram suam effugere nequit, ita homines istiusmodi divitiarum et honorum vanas imagines ne in somniis quidem evitare possunt.

Recursat protinus animo noster ille Cowleius, quem, cum ingenii tam limati tamque elegantis esset, sæpissime dolui scientiæ dedisse, unde sui pœniteret, socordiæ et desidiæ, unde gloriarentur. Ab hujus enim exemplo tandem innotuit, ne studiis quidem doctrinæ et humanitatis ullum contra communes hominum errores præsidium inesse. At quid te, O Cowleii, eo usque dementiæ impulit, ut tantam illam animi vim, tot lepores et facetias, talem denique in labris sessitantem Suadam, in Americanorum angulos abdere et detrudere volueris? Nimirum, spes illæ tuæ quam caducæ essent et fallaces, ipsa experientia etiam domi comprobasti. Quin patria te tua in complexu suo peramanter et percommode detinuit, ne in tenebras tua vel sepulta inertia, vel celata virtus, aliter ac deceret bonum sapientemque, retruderetur.

Detur mihi paulo jam liberius evaganti aliquantulum veniæ, si de mortalium consiliis, tam vagis tamque ineptis, vehementius, quam fieri solet, in hoc ego loco conquestus sum et deploravi. Næ gravissimum in errorem is incidit, qui, mutato cælo, animum quoque cogitat se mutare posse. Quippe nulla loci mutatio, nisi ea, quæ post mortem futura est, nulla, inquam, supercilio demet nubem, neque a corde dolorem eximet, nec lachrymas, quas in nostris acerbitatibus plurimas effundimus, ab oculis penitus abstergebit.

Aliud quoddam genus hominum est, qui rustici vocantur, et suo

quodam jure vulgo putantur vitam agere tranquillam. Profecto, sors illorum, quæcumque demum fuerit, non tam voluntatis esse videtur, quam fortunæ. Sed conditio sua illis utrum placuisse an contigisse dicatur, perinde est, modo sint felices. Hoc autem nomine vel in primis digni sunt, siquidem a paupertate et divitiis æquo intervallo distantes, neque harum solicitudines, neque illius miserias et sordes, experiundo defleverunt.

O fortunatos illos et vere felices! qui fœdissimis urbium vitiis minime imbuti, pristinam illam integritatem conservare norunt: qui delicato fastidio carentes, eo, quod naturæ satis est, cumulatissime fruuntur: qui festis in diebus eo lætius indulgent genio suo, quo in profestis ad sua quisque opera diligentius incubuerint: qui longo usu edocti, intra frugalitatis fines se contineri haud moleste ferunt: qui solem vel orientem vel decedentem magno cum gaudio intuentur, tanquam quendam laborum suorum vel ducem vel finitorem auspicatissimum: qui denique inter lares renidentes, et blanda oscula natorum, et conjugis amantissimæ officia, recte simul et suaviter, quicquid est otii, conterunt.

At neque illud prætermittendum est, quod vita hæcce agrestis multa adjumenta habet ad bonam valetudinem, qua si quis caruerit, diu esse felix non poterit. Cum fastidia labor improbus extuderit, facile in stomacho rusticorum simplex esca sedet, nec relinquit post se nauseam, quæ comissatorum de cæna dubia surgentium et animum et corpus debilitat. Adde quod voluptates agricolarum habent rationem cum terra, "quæ nunquam" (ut cum Cicerone* loquar) "sine usura reddit, quod accepit."

Terræ autem ipsius vis ac natura quem non delectet? Irriga-

* De Senectute.

tionibus porro agrorum, et consitionibus arborum, et florum omnium venustate, quid potest esse vel usu uberius, vel aspectu pulcrius? Hinc desiderium, quod e filio capiebat Laertes, colendis agris leniebat. Hinc purpura et ornatu regio splendescens, Cyrus ille minor, Lysandro Lacedæmonio ostendebat "directos in quincuncem ordines, et humum subactam a se atque puram," et arbores sua ipsius manu vel satas vel excultas. Quæ a me, Cicerone duce, in hoc loco memorata sunt, eo spectant, ut, agrestium vita vix ullam jucundiorem esse aut magis tranquillam, demonstrent.

Quod siqui alii ex fallentis vitæ semita felicitatem haurire velint, næ ii potissimum felicitate digni sunt, qui litteris sese tradiderunt. Eant igitur fausto pede, qua studiis eorum obsecundet bonarum illa artium hortatrix, vita umbratilis—qua nullus civium improborum fremitus, nulla vis tyrannorum, nullæ, quas ambitio et amor nummi secum afferant, curæ, meditantibus iis fuerint impedimento, —qua denique vel ad mores hominum describendos, vel ad contemplandam vim naturæ, liber et sui potens animus accesserit, Hinc

Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus.

Hinc in sinum suum Helveticus ager nuper recepit Gibbonium nostrum, aut philosophiæ vacantem, aut ad historiam, lucem illam veritatis et magistram vitæ, animum suum placide sedateque adjungentem.

Alma quidem illa Maia, et puro sole nitens, et herbescentem eliciens e seminibus viriditatem, et odorum, qui e floribus afflantur, suavitates undequaque spargens, non solum pictori novas rerum imagines suppeditat, sed doctum quemque, et in contemplatione naturæ versatum, mira voluptate perfundit. Qui collegit se, et philosophari incepit, ei profecto nihil jucundius est, quam stella-

rum sive fixarum cursus sempiternos, sive errantium progressiones institionesque notare,—quam, oriente jam sole, lumen ætheris purpureum, et occidente, varios ejusdem colores intueri,—quam Lunam conspicere, nunc per medium cœli iter pleno et radianti orbe leniter incedentem, nunc nebulosa illa indutam majestate, quam tantopere admiratus est Miltonus, tamque ornate splendideque depinxit.*

Philosophis autem rure degentibus dum tranquillitatem suam gratulor, eosne obliviscar, qui in nostris his Athenis, quid verum

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* Mihi semper in hoc genere admodum placuerunt vividæ illæ et venustæ imagines, quibus Lorenzo et suam et Jessicæ suæ mentem convertit ad lenes aurarum susurros, et lunæ in ripa dormientis mite ac placidum jubar, et sphærarum immortale melos, et "solum cæleste" hinc et inde stellis ardentibus, tanquam vermiculata emblemata, aptum et illuminatum.—V. SHAKSP. *Merc. Ven.* Act 5.

The moon shines bright:—In such a night as this,
When the sweet wind did gently kiss the trees,
And they did make no noise; in such a night, &c.

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How sweet the moon-light sleeps upon this bank!
Here will we sit, and let the sounds of music
Creep in our ears; soft stillness, and the night,
Become the touches of sweet harmony.
Sit Jessica: Look, how the floor of heaven
Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold;
There's not the smallest orb, which thou behold'st,
But in his motion like an angel sings,
Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubims;
Such harmony is in immortal souls;
But, whilst this muddy vesture of decay
Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it.——

et decens sit, maxima cogitationum intentione quærunt? Vetat jus fasque, vetat rei hujusce ratio, vetant denique mei ipsius in locum optime de me meritum amor, officium, pietas. Egomet cum fuerim in gremio hujusce Academiæ bonis artibus et disciplinis institutus; cum vox hæc mea, qualiscumque fuerit, Academicorum horum meorum sit hortatu et præceptis conformata; cum magnum inter homines necessitudinis vinculum soleat esse, quod iisdem studiis usi sint; cum in hoc potissimum loco mihi contigerit jucundissimas illas colere amicitias, quæ sermonum et morum suavitate conditæ, et summo concursu voluntatum et consiliorum firmatæ, mentem sæpe meam tranquillarunt;—profecto, nec grati esset animi nec liberalis, si de vita, quæ sit maxime beata, agens, silentio eos præterirem, a quibus id acceperim, quo aliqua ex parte egomet beatus esse possim.

Hæ sunt, hæ, inquam, dulces illæ et amœnæ sedes, ubi aut molestis vitæ operosisque negotiis defessa, aut a libidinum vinculis laxata, aut nugarum satur, mens nostra sese colligit atque recreat. Huc discedentes vel ex forensi strepitu, vel ex turba et colluvione hominum aulicorum, vel ex repentina aliqua vi et tempestate popularis periculi, securitatem illam maxime optatam et expeditam habemus. Hic moris est tempus matutinum ponere in acerrima atque attentissima cogitatione. Hic vim insitam ingenii promovent studia illa omnia, quæ vel reconditis in artibus, vel in hac suavitate politioris humanitatis versantur. Hic est otii verus ille fructus, qui ex remissione animi liberalissime petendus est. Hic ad manum sunt bibliothecæ, quæ cum libris optimis cumulatissime instructæ sunt, tum nescio quomodo vel aspectu suo ad pulcherrimum quidque aggrediendum erigunt nos impelluntque. Hic nostris oculis obversantur virorum et ingenio et doctrina clarissimorum imagines, exquisitissime illæ quidem expressæ, neque solum

ad intuendum, verum etiam ad imitandum, in propatulo nobis propositæ. Hæ sunt nostræ opes—hæc vel industriæ nostræ subsidia, vel incitamenta virtutis—hæc ad beate et tranquille vivendum tam lauta tamque copiosa instrumenta.

Etsi e litteris plurimum vel oblectationis vel solatii provenire fateor, minime tamen contendo hisce angustiis felicitatem humanam contineri. Omnium ea temporum est et omnium locorum, modo animus nos æquus non deficiat, sitque imo in corde defixus virtutis amor. Nam si verum est, quod aiunt, "omne solum forti esse patriam," si "Ithacæ asperrimis in saxulis tanquam niduli positæ conspectum immortalitati anteposuit Ulysses,"* potest illud, quod nos felices reddat, ipsis Ulubris inveniri.

In omni autem hac oratione mea mementote, qui hæc auditis, me, quoties sim de felicitate locutus, non de absoluta aliqua et perfecta felicitate somniasse, sed eam intelligere, quæ homini neque erroribus nec vitiis carenti detur. Habet utique has vices conditio mortalium, ut, in omni ætatis gradu, felicitati eorum semper aliquid desit. Juvenum animos ardentes alit incitatque spes, quæ etsi multa et præclara molitur, magna cum inscitia rerum conjuncta est, et perraro ad exitus secundos pervenit. Suas porro curas secum affert ætas robustior. Senectutem autem pauci agunt tolerabilem, eo quod difficiles nos atque inhumanos reddit, quod corpus facit infirmum, quod omnibus fere voluptatibus privatur, et appropinquatione mortis acerbissime angitur.

Hominem quidem ad felicitatem, quæ ex omni parte absoluta sit, natum non esse, mihi vel exinde constat, quod res ipsa animo-

* Cic. de Oratore, Lib. 1.

rum nostrorum captum superat. Si Tartarus nobis, aut alius quispiam ultimarum pœnarum locus, ad depingendum datur, mentibus statim nostris oboriuntur vividæ, pertristesque, et horrore plenissimæ, imagines malorum. Cœlestium vero beatitudinem quis digne scripserit? An magnificum tibi quiddam splendidumque videtur, Elysii poetici pastoritia tranquillitas? An in Mohamedano Paradiso sensibus mortuorum honestius blandiuntur lasciva et mollia amoris gaudia? Hisce autem rerum ineptiis, et verborum cincinnis ac fucis, Religio Christiana penitus caret. Quam enim rem ne animo quidem complecti possumus, eam oratione consequi Christus haudquaquam conatus est. Hac de causa, præmia piorum non vivis pinguntur coloribus, non disertis verbis proponuntur, sed per quædam integumenta et involucra raptim et turbate a nobis perspecta, præ ipsa illa obscuritate majorem sui admirationem habent.

Quare rem mihi totam perpendenti facile apparet, melius cum hominibus actum fore, si felicitatem, ultra quod satis esset, sperare desinerent, si tranquillis potius ac lenibus, quam vehementioribus ac turbulentis, voluptatibus frui vellent, si, quo plura fierent vitæ commoda, eo non crederent magis solida eadem futura esse et diuturniora.

Postulare jam videtur rei ipsius ratio, ut qualem ipse mihi tranquillitatem potissimum exoptem, unde illa derivetur, et quomodo possit comparari, libere et explicate dicam.

Cum ad familias veterum philosophorum respicio, neminem video, cujus in verba semper juraverim. Nec tamen diffitebor, ab Epicuri vita, qualis a me antea est vel illustrata vel defensa, animum meum non prorsus abhorrere. At vitio mihi ne detur,

si nonnullis in rebus id a me faciendum statuam, quod est ab Attico summa cum laude factitatum, siquidem " non minus ille vir bonus paterfamilias habitus est quam civis."*

Qui veram illam et directam rationem semper superare debere contendunt, prope jam soli in scholis sunt relicti. At voluptates omnes, quibus, salva dignitate, frui possem, eas nullo modo puderet interdum petere, et extremis, quod aiunt, digitis attingere. Neque in solitudine, neque in turba, diu degerem, quanquam aliquando in utraque. Quoties me ad negotium aliquod obeundum accingerem, neutiquam essem immemor aureoli illius præcepti, HOC AGE, quod inter Romanos, ut ferunt, iis qui sacra facerent, solenniter et more majorum dictabatur. Vitæ autem procellis vexatus, confugerem in portum, non desidiæ atque inertiæ, sed otii moderati et honesti.

Quod autem præcipue in votis habeo, illud est, ut quantulum in litteris proficere valuerim, qua caritate patriam meam complexus sim, qualis sit de rebus vel politicis vel ad philosophiam moralem pertinentibus sententia et opinio mea, insigni aliquo testimonio comprobare minime detrectem. Nimirum, suæ sunt cuique occasiones in hoc genere aut scribendi, aut agendi, quas qui arripuerit, illum puto sui judicii esse, et potius, quid se facere oporteat, intueri, quam quid alii sint laudaturi. Nos autem, qui nunc sumus, annon in eam incidimus ætatem, quæ cum multis et magnis eventibus plena extiterit, tum, ut mihi videtur, quodammodo fœta sit pluribus atque etiam majoribus? Hac de causa, materies et sylva suæ vel industriæ vel virtutis nemini

* V. Corn. Nep. in vita Attici.

poterit deesse. Profecto, in tantis opinionum ac rerum conversionibus vires latentis ingenii sese produnt, et ad præclara facinora accedere et aspirare audent. Qui igitur, quicquid in se est aut diligentiæ, aut doctrinæ, aut auctoritatis excellentis, aut gratiæ honestæ, id omne ad salutem innocentium, ad auxilium calamitosorum, ad civium suorum sive libertatem conservandam, sive famam defendendam, contulerit, is, fieri non potest, quin puræ atque integræ mentis conscientia perfruatur.

Ipsa, mehercule, optimarum artium exercitatio ad tranquillandum animum vim habet permagnam. Quid enim dulcius est, aut laudabilius, quam ut, quo tempore industriæ et ingenii fructus in usus tuos percipias, eodem te amicis civibusque tuis prodesse sentias? At vero, si quis liberum se felicemque idcirco judicat, quod nihil unquam agat, vel, ex iis quæ egerit, nihil ad aliorum commodum afferat, næ erroris illum sui et socordiæ cito pœnitebit.

De vita ratione, quæ, cum, neque labore, neque otio careat, mihi videtur maxime optanda, vereor ne jactantius, quam oporteret, aut saltem verbosius dixerim. Ad alia igitur transeo, quæ ut aliqua ex parte sint mea, vehementissime spero. Sapienter nobiscum benevoleque egit natura, quæ, cum homines velle societate inter se conjunctos esse, tales animis nostris affectu inseverit, et voluptatis tot fontes nobis recluserit. Quid enim Annon fœminæ castæ atque formosæ colloquium miras habe veneres, miram suavitatem? Annon aures nostræ aut convicii violatæ, aut strepitu rerum defessæ, habent ubi conquiescant, in voce illius blanda et canora? Annon etiam muta nos morbo languentes perofficiose illa et peramanter reficit? Annon sermone et etiam aspectu suo id efficit, ut deformis ægrimonia sensim minuatur? Ego si talis fœminæ amore me affici negem, quam id recte faciam, viderint sapientiæ isti duri et difficiles magistri—sed certe mentiar.

Quem enim ad recte beateque vivendum vel comitem, vel ducem, potius exoptarem, quam mulierem tali ore et vultu, in quo acquiescere possem, egregie præditam; tanta morum comitate, tanta indole virtutis?

Jam inter subsidia felicitatis, haud scio an locum fere primum sibi vindicet amicitia. Quid enim jucundius aut præstantius est, quam habere tecum, qui ridenti tibi arrideat, qui flenti adfleat, et cujus in sinu gravissima et secretissima tui pectoris consilia tuto deponas? Scilicet et prosperas res lætiores amicus facit, et adversarum impetum consolando atque adjuvando levat.

At, mea quidem sententia, longissime a vita tranquilla is abest, cui neque amoris neque amicitiæ gaudia sors fortunaverit. Tarda ei tempora et ingrata, necesse est, fluant—graviori eum mole opprimant atque obruent curæ—quin brevi et tenui jucunditate ipsa voluptas eum afficiet—usu suo carebit pecunia—suo splendore et amplitudine honores destituentur.

Quicquid autem homini in vita agendum sit, primam rerum omnium is, oportet, virtutem colat, sine qua nulla potest esse diuturna et vera felicitas. Hæc autem virtus ut sopita inersque jaceat, indoles ipsius omnino non patitur. Quid, quod in hac turba sæpe stultitiæ hominum et ineptiæ devorandæ sunt, quod pericula subeunda, quod cum sceleratorum civium importunitate et furore confligendum? Insidet in animis nostris, insidet, inquam, magna quædam et præclara vis, quæ ad omnes labores exantlandos sese erigit, et, quo possit officio suo satisfacere, nervos omnes suos nunquam non intendit. Quin ipso illo in nisu triumphat mens nostra, vehementerque lætatur. Res autem ipsa cum fauste atque auspicato perfecta sit, qua voluptate perfundimur? quibus gaudiis exultamus?

Religio, quæ tanquam delapsa de cælo est ad cognitionem rerum humanarum regula, opinioni huic meæ ne tantillum quidem adversatur; imo, iterum et sæpius docet nos, hanc rationis normam, hanc præscriptionem ipsius naturæ esse, ut, qui bonus esse velit, idem præ cæteris sit felix. Clamitent licet et desæviant monachorum greges pietas nulla gratior est Deo, quam honesta de numine ejus et mente opinio. Nulla unquam re propius accedimus ad Dei perfectionem, quam cum volumus et possumus quamplurimis prodesse. Nihil plus valet vel ad leniendos dolores, vel ad comparandam animi tranquilitatem, quam vitæ bene actæ recordatio, cum spe æternorum præmiorum arctissime conjuncta.

Quocumque in homine pietas sincera cum actuosa illa et indefessa virtute sociata fuerit, omnia is habere debebit vel ad res prosperas subsidia, vel perfugia et solatia in adversis. Illum, mihi crede, nec tædio vita afficiet, nec veniens mors commovebit, aut instans jam præsensque perturbabit. Quid enim? Sui semper potens, et in se ipso totus, cupidinibus suis, qua par est, responsare audet. Animum præ se altum erectumque nunquam non gerens, et in negotiis sine molestia versari novit, et in otio cum dignitate. Videt a se compressam fractamque audaciam sceleratorum, conservata atque amplificata bonorum jura, auctam denique et stabilitam humani generis felicitatem.

No. XIII.

ORATIO PRO ÆQUA LIBERTATE.

Pessime enim vel natura vel legibus comparatum foret, si arguta servitus, libertas muta esset, et haberent tyranni, qui pro se dicerent, non haberent, qui tyrannos debellare possunt. Miserum esset, si hæc ipsa ratio, quo utimur Dei munere, non multo plura ad homines conservandos, liberandos, et, quantum natura fert, inter se æquandos, quam ad opprimendos, et sub unius imperio male perdendos, argumenta suppeditaret.

Milton. Defens. pro Populo Anglicano.

Utrum magnum imperium cum æqua omnium libertate constare possit?

EQUIDEM de re, quæ non nullius ponderis sit, paulo accuratius pauloque liberius cum acturus sim, hoc tantummodo veniæ, Academici, vos posco, ut quicquid sentiam, id sine invidia ulla dicere mihi liceat; ne forte, dum pro libertate contendo aliorum, amisisse videar ipse meam. Aliud cogitare, aliud scribere, sitne ejus, quem *prudentem* vulgo appellant, plane nescio: meum non est. Stare a sententia, quæ mihi rerum omnium momenta perpendenti se probaverit, id profecto ultimum, nec nisi cum anima, relinquam. Sciatis igitur, pervelim, quicquid dixero, neque dicturum me esse, nisi senserim, neque, cum senserim, non dicturum.

Breve illud præfari idcirco volui, ne subito clamoribus obtundar eo rum, quos consuetudinis æstus adeo absorbuerit, ut res quæ nunc sun eo quod nunc sunt, admirentur, oderintque omnes, quibus fœdum, Diis placet, novitatis crimen inesse existiment. Quin his diebus bei novi assidue circa nos volitare malignos quosdam homunciones, q omne quicquid agimus, mendaces in tabulas referant, et vellican et rodendi occasiones sedulo arripiant. Nimirum, si opinionem suam de rebus politicis quispiam professus fuerit, idemque ab iis, quæ et aulici homines et plebecula pro veris habent, tantillum discrepuerit, huic, tanquam infami, et turbulento, et flagitioso civi, qui istorum est pudor ac liberalitas, conviciantur. Sin juvenis idem sit *vitio fortunæ*, juventutem ei vel exprobrant, vel (quod longe intolerabilius est) misericordiam nescio quam arrogantiæ suæ prætendunt, hoc scilicet sive solatii sive contumeliæ secum afferentes, prudentiam una cum annis aliquando affuturam. At quæ tandem est superbia eorum, qui eam cogitandi libertatem aliis invideant, qua ipsi nolint et plane nesciant uti? Nec mirum tamen, si homunculis, qui inter turpis lucelli spes vitam triverint, patriam suam quæstui habentibus, frequens in ore sit *imprudentia;* qua quidem voce tetrica et importuna nihil aliud cordatior quisque intelligit, quam firmam illam solidamque mentem, quæ sit propositi sui tenax, neque ullum vel simulandi vel dissimulandi locum relinquat. Sed apage impotentem istam cum indoctorum hominum tum etiam invidorum garrulitatem! Quicquid mihi in fatis fuerit vel facere vel pati, id saltem de me polliceri ausim, fœdas me istiusmodi et horridulas calumnias nunquam non spreturum. Miserrimum profecto illum existimo, qui dum id, quod sibi honestum videatur, agat, de eo, quod insulsi obtrectatores temere effutierent, nimis angitur. Quod si quis est, qui me de opinione civium meorum parum solicitum esse arbitretur, næ is mentem meam, quæ sit, vel non intelligit, vel, si intelligit, prave interpretatur. Famam enim a bonis reportatam nemo unquam bonus

fastidiverit. Cujus quidem famæ ipse si appetentissimus fuerim, quo ex fonte haurienda sit, probe perspectum et exploratum habeo. Etenim in animum semper induxi, quo virtute et doctrina quisque instructior sit, eo magis eundem de voluntatibus hominum conciliandis, et in usus suos adjungendis, laborare. Hac de causa, nomen ego meum neutiquam soleo in his profiteri, qui occasionibus insidiantur, seque ad tempus flectunt, et potentiori cuique omnia omnino annuunt. Quin illud longe longeque malim, magna quædam et præclara et in animo alte infixa principia complecti, quæ honestum deceant sapientemque, quæ sint omnibus et locis et temporibus accommodata, quæ denique nec flecti opinionum auris, neque impetu ipsius fortunæ debilitari et frangi possint.

Nostra autem ipsa quæstio, de industria illa quidem selecta, et ad explicandum nobis proposita a viris sapientia et gravitate eximiis, annon novitatem quandam sapit? Quoniam est enim nobis jam disquirendum, " utrum magnum imperium cum æqua omnium libertate constare possit," simile vero est, nullum tale imperium cum tali libertate, ne vestra quidem, Academici, sententia, adhuc constitisse. Valeant igitur et quiescant inveteratæ opiniones. Rem aggredimur non majorem, sit licet maxima, quam novam. Novam enim quamlibet politiæ formam judico, quæ nondum, utcunque cognita theoreticis, innotuerit experientiæ. Liber itaque disquirentis animus, libera sit ipsa disquisitio necesse est.

Plurimæ succurrunt causæ, cur a magno imperio hactenus abfuerit juris æquabilitas. Nunquam variæ imperii partes satis arcta compage conjunctæ sunt; non una potius victoria, quam multis prœliis, acquisitæ; non facilis consiliorum communicatio; non commoda mutua. Fuit alius aliis morum habitus; sua unicuique disciplina; vitæ bona inter paucos divisa; nec minimum

accedit, negatum unius linguæ commercium. Quin civitatibus nimis inolevit improba consuetudo, fines suos proferendi potius quam tutandi; unde in privatam dominationem cessit publica utilitas, et contemptui habita sunt æqualia jura civium, ubi nulla commodorum communio inter victores et victos intercessit.

Miror equidem, quod plures eorum, qui hanc rem pro virili tractaverunt, nimis id obliti videantur, quod ego caput et principium hujus quæstionis judico. A *libramento proprietatis** pendet, me judice, omnis omnino imperii natura, et libertatis istius, qualiscunque demum fuerit, modus.

Cogitantibus plerisque, quid sit id, quæ proprietas dicitur, et quo modo primum comparata sit, usitatum est casus et fortunæ quandam, ut ita dicam, solertiam admirari, quæ dividua illa universi laboris munera, sive is corporis fuerit, sive mentis, in arctissimas optimatum angustias soleat congregare. Mihi vero nunquam vehementer placuit, multum de fortuna loqui. Isto enim vocabulo nihil hominibus rerum imperitis convenientius. Tribuimus fortunæ, quicquid, e quo fonte haustum sit, nescimus.

——————————— te
Nos facimus, fortuna, Deam, cœloque locamus.

Rem vero talem tantamque cum ad rationis normam exigamus, absit profecto, ut istiusmodi perfugio utamur. Acervata igitur præter modum proprietas non casu, sed consulto fit; non fortunæ, sed legibus debetur. Terræ perpetua in usum hæredis addictio, et primo cujusque nato partitæ cum minorum injuria opes, diffi-

* Si non proprietatis est quæstio, sed tantum possessionis.——————QUINT.

cultatem hancce facillime et plenissime expediunt. Imperii autem ipsam originem si contemplemur, quibusque artibus eo magnitudinis sensim creverit unius hominis auctoritas, satis apparebit, quantopere regentium interfuerit, has circa proprietatem leges tulisse; quo quidem posito, principium illud luce clarius fit, libramentum scilicet proprietatis imperii naturam sequi,

Principio antistites habiti, prout vel arte quivis vel natura pollebat. Soli vel sapientiæ, vel fortitudini, primæ delatæ sunt. Fore scilicet sperabant, hinc qui bello idonei essent, illinc paci. Utrobique bono publico consultum. Felicia, mehercule, et præclara fuerunt illa tempora, in quibus nulla alia ratione utebantur homines, quam quæ doceret, nihil inter homines interesse præter ingenium ac virtutem. Cum ducis illius consilio et auctoritate amplius non opus esset, imperium deposuit, et quidem lubens. Quid enim? Id non amplius agebat, quod quo ageret, factus est dux. Progressu autem temporis, (siquidem mortalia omnia, quibus non perpetuo cavetur, mutari in deterius solent) contigit, ut consilio ipsi superesset efficiendi consilii modus. Haberi inde cœpit publicum jus privata injuria. Ii enim, quos propter utilitatem ad imperium populus evexerat, cessuros se iterum negabant; sibi jam populi rem curæ esse, non populo. Inde officio ad tempus delegato addita seculi duratio, mox per hæredes perpetuitas.

Visum est autem rerum potientibus, regnum suum nunquam satis firmum fore, donec primores populi vinculo divitiarum sibi devincirent. Nec melius hoc fieri potuit, quam cohibendo possessiones, ne hac illac fluctuarent temere et casu, dominosque suos perpetuo mutarent. Potest quidem proprietas inter homines æqualiter distribui; diu sic manere *non* potest. Ea est enim, cujus adipiscendæ spes ad laborem homines urget; labor autem, si minus ad vivendum, at ad beate quidem vivendum necessarius. Ex hoc

tamen fonte dimanante latius derivatur, quicquid usquam interni mali in civitates fluxerit. Divitiæ enim in paucorum manus redactæ efficiunt, ut aliud plebeio, aliud optimati conveniat. Cum autem illud in civitate in primis optabile videtur, ne cui privatum sit commodum a publico alienum, curæ id esse legum latoribus debuit, ut ruituræ reipublicæ succurrerent, et naturæ morbo laboranti per artem mederentur. E contrario autem, leges inæquabili fortunæ adeo non adversatæ sunt, ut ei semper opem tulerint. Et mirum, uti diximus, ni res ita esset, ea cum sit imperii cum proprietate cognatio, ut vices plane easdem utraque sortiatur. Nam siquis unus vir censum habeat terna plus minus parte majorem, quam cæteri simul omnes gentis suæ, in illo sita est dominatio. Si pauci paulo majori* census ratione cæteris præpollent, optimatum principatus est. Sin neque uni, neque paucis, sed ipsi populo census, qui sit paulo adhuc auctior, contingat, tum demum in ipso populo fons imperii ac sedes est.

Quanquam vereor, ut ei, qui, hæc quam vera sint, non uno intuitu videat, ullo sim argumento præjudicatas opiniones excussurus, operæ tamen pretium fuerit principium illud in hunc modum

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* Necesse est, ut paucorum, quam unius, major sit census, major autem adhuc universorum, quam paucorum, prius quam eandem potestatem æque nanciscantur. Quo enim inter pauciores divisa proprietas est, eo est latior ac potentior proprietatis ejusdem vis. Ubi enim ex voluntate paucorum omnia pendent, longe verisimilior est consensio illa, qua ad expedite prompteque agendum opus est, quam ubi in consilium de rebus publicis adhibentur cives universi. Sequitur autem, eadem celeritate res nunquam expeditas iri, atque cum in unum conflatur penes unum dominum proprietas. Is enim sibi semper constat, idem vult, idem non vult, iisdem commodis, iisdem incommodis utitur; unde adversariorum cunctationes antevertere potest, et discordias lucrari. Vidit hoc septimus Henricus, Anglorum rex, cum optimam abalienationis legem ferret qua nobilium improvidorum potentiam fregit domuitque. *Non* vidit Henricus filius, qui si forte vidisset, cum tyrannus esset profligatissimus, reditus ecclesiasticos vel propria in manu tenuisset, vel brevissima in tempora elocasset. Tunc autem, "Quo res summa loco?"

explicare. Si cuivis, eo quod centum minæ sibi singulis annis redeunt, servum unum alere liceat, ei, si reditus centies foret major, centum alendi servos daretur facultas; centum millia, si centies millies. Quo autem modo is non evadet rex?

A proprietate igitur, tanquam a parente sua, quæque imperii forma vitam haurit, et indolem suam sibi induit. Huic rei ut in primis instarem, necessarium habui, quoniam scriptoribus fere omnibus solenne fuit alias atque, ut opinor, falsas rationes adducere, cur variæ imperii formæ variis populis arriserint. Nec parvi nobis momenti visum est, prius quam de imperiis ipsis loqueremur, fixam ante oculos normam ponere, ad quam exigi possent imperiorum naturæ, et quasi principii cujusdam fundamenta jacere, in quo nostræ orationis cardo sine mora et impedimento verteretur. In optimum autem civem, Harringtonum, cujus animo lux ea primum apparuit, perquam ingratus essem, nisi profiterer me auctorem illum et veluti præceptorem consilii mei lubentissime sequi.

Tandem igitur, mea quidem sententia, *potest* magnum imperium cum æqua libertate constare. Quasdam autem leges assumo, quæ si locum non habent, minime recusandum est, quin de tota hac re aliter statuam. Imperium istud, quo de agitur, per omnes sui partes compactum unice et coagmentatum esse debet. Quicquid in alia parte cives vel agant, vel agere velint, id demum oportet aliis etiam civibus probe cognitum sit et perspectum. Quin illud permagni interest, ut quicquid civium aciem præstringat, quicquid a contemplatione rerum ad nomina mentes abducat, quicquid denique veritati fucum faciat, longe absit. Rituum et consuetudinum, quæ conjunctioni partium antecesserint, nulla uspiam vestigia singulis maneant. Una sit rerum maximarum eademque facies in locis omnibus necesse est. Talis inter vicinas nationes intercedat cognatio, uti per omnes, ut ita dicam, imperii artus com-

munis periculi sensus æquabiliter vibret. Fiat porro civitati de rebus gravissimis commune quoddam concilium. *Si* religio sit aliqua legibus stabilita, simplex sit illa, et constans sibi, cæterasque religiones, quasi socias quasdem et virtutis ministras, æquo animo ferat, et amice foveat. Deleantur autem bella illa "plusquam civilia," quæ vel fraus cum conscientia, vel quæ cum veritate impietas gerit. Late diffundatur per populum pecunia. Non alio discrimine, quam dialectorum, cives loquantur. Iisdem disciplinis ad humanitatem informentur. In defensione finium suorum unice occupati cæteras gentes aggredi nesciant. Sit denique unus princeps, tanquam populi caput et fastigium: publicæ enim res per unum quam per plures celerius ac magis auspicato tractari solent. Princeps tamen iste quomodo constituendus esset, quo nomine uti deberet, quæ ejus futuræ essent et quam diuturnæ potestates, non est nunc disserendi locus. Caveatur illud unice, penes eum ne foret, ut populo aliquantillum noceat. Sic constitutum imperium si fato aliquando gentibus daretur, illico æqua libertas extaret. Dolendum est profecto, ejusmodi libertatem, generis humani præsidium perinde atque ornamentum, terris vixdum illuxisse.

In animo quondam fuisse Caio Cæsari accepimus, legum aliquod corpus in usum Romanorum componere. Suo autem huic voto quo minus satisfaceret, non sine magno posterorum dispendio fatum vetuit. Quamvis enim ab eo, qui tamdiu "assueverat militaribus ingeniis," leges ad vitam civilem liberamque accommodatas vix speraveris, ea tamen Cæsari (quæ an nemini haud scio) rerum fere omnium divina quædam cognitio, ea inerat benevolentia, ut fieri prorsus non potuerit, quin excudisset quasdam libertatis æquæ scintillulas, quæ in sacrum quendam vastumque ignem postea exarsissent.

A Sullio etiam memoratur quartus ille Henricus, Gallorum rex

(quem ego, patriæ patrem suæ, ex animo vereque diligo) grande quoddam consilium iniisse, Europam in quindecim partes dividendi, quarum nulli liceret fines suos ulterius proferre; unum autem in fœdus, pacis et mutuæ libertatis ergo, omnes coirent, eandem religionem colerent, iisdem essent legibus obstricti. Atqui consilium istud splendida inter insomnia censendum reor, quæ vividis imaginibus illudere menti solent, a vero autem et ratione longe plurimum recedunt. Iræ enim ex recentibus victoriis conceptæ non nisi ægerrime deponuntur; et majorem vim, quam quæ diu sustentari posset, res ipsa postulasset, quo ad legum et religionis communionem omnes cogerentur. Rarius etiam per populos sparsa fuit proprietas. Adde, quod nimis μοναρχικῶς, optimus licet vir fuerit, Henricus senserit, quam ut secula totidem futura rationis vi transilire posset, et in æquæ libertatis culturam præcipiti cursu ferretur. Etenim tunc temporis consuetudines eæ, quæ ex militaribus Celtarum et Gothorum gentibus originem traxerunt, et quas *feodales* appellabant, etsi remissius colerentur, nondum tamen in animis hominum obsoleverant.

Agitedum, imperia nonnulla ex iis, quæ hodie extant, cujusmodi sint, paulo attentius inspiciamus. Vereor, ne prisca historia Germaniam degenerem jam et sui plane dissimilem vix, aut ne vix quidem, agnoscat! Civitas inter trecentos principes divisa multiplici tyrannide vexatur. Ibi etiam, quo angustioribus quisque princeps limitibus circumscribatur, eo populus infelicior. Etenim potentioris cujusque amplitudinem splendoremque numero servorum et apparatu domestico æmulans, populi damno et impensis cum privatam luxuriam, tum publicam magnificentiam, princeps sibi comparat. Hinc liquido patet, quam vanum prorsus sit, æquabilitatem juris imperii angustiis metiri. Nihilominus, propria sunt quædam Germaniæ, unde credas, posse eam facilius quam plures tyrannides in æquam libertatem deflecti.

De Russia autem illud confirmo, lati illius imperii vastique multiplices variæque partes ut in unum aliquod corpus, salva pace, coeant, cujus membra inter se apte hæreant, sintque sana et robusta, nullo pacto expectandum esse. Illic enim, ut non alibi magis, spreto proprietatis libramento, pauci divites, multi pauperes. Gens parum ad humanitatem instructa et informata est, ferox recentibus victoriis; cœlo iniquo eadem incertoque utitur.

Britannia quidem et Hibernia in unum arctius coeuntes æquam inter omnes libertatem communicare possent, et communicatam eandem componere et stabilire. Illud autem quo minus fiat, in causa esse videntur permulta. Nimirum, merces suas jam olim invidit Hiberniæ Britannia, parumque abest, quin arma in eam iniqua et funesta intendat. Alia porro ex parte, libertatis non solidam illam et expressam imaginem, sed fucatam quandam speciem, dicitur præ se ferre Hibernia; suo etiam aulico comitatu seorsum gloriatur, suam sibi regiam arrogat, in senatu denique vult eniti proprio ac suo.

De Gallia quomodo nunc loquar, nescio. Nondum enim "placidum caput extulit undis." Veruntamen fateor lubens, in illa tellure oculos meos anxie et solicite defigi, neque posse me aliter sentire, quam cum ejus fortunis populorum fere omnium fortunas esse conjunctas, et ab illo veluti filo generis humani felicitatem omnino omnem pendere. Quibuscunque tandem fatis Galli dimicaverint, qualiscunque fuerit exitus militiæ non satis pro voto meo auspicatæ, illud tamen mordicus teneo, facinus illos fuisse ausos, quod sit maximum et pulcherrimum, carosque semper animæ meæ intimis in præcordiis gestabo, quod æquæ omnium libertati acceptissimum munus consecrarint.

Animus mihi in dies incandescit, quoties plebis in aures insu-

surrari audio falsos nescio quos rumusculos earum rerum, quæ in Gallia geruntur, quo scilicet ab æquæ libertatis patrocinio cæteri homines absterreantur. Cur autem hi latius percrebuerint, præcipua causa stetit magni olim nominis orator, qui, animo ad causam tyrannidis adjecto, mirabiles quasdam excitavit tragœdias, et putidis ampullis somnia mentis suæ decoravit. Grandi pagina turgescens, et læsam antiquitatis majestatem specioso verborum exercitu gestiens ulcisci, quantum erat in ulla unquam lingua intemperiarum et conviciorum, omne virus acerbitatis suæ, in gentem de iis omnibus, quibuscumque cordi est libertas, optime meritam, evomuit ac penitus exantlavit. Quippe spes de se pridem conceptas nihil reveritum, non illum puduit regium tanquam buccinatorem videri, et conscleratæ illi tyrannorum colluvioni, quæ bellum atrocissimum in Gallos jam nunc movet, classicum inhumaniter præcinuisse. Gaudeat sane et gratuletur sibi, si potest, de diris illis et imprecationibus, quibus populum laudatissimum devovit. Gaudeat, si potest, emendicasse luctum illum, quem non commoverit, et tyrannos plus vice simplici vociferationibus suis unos demeruisse. Est interea et nobis, *turba quanquam simus suilla*, unde gaudeamus, siquidem hominibus jam tandem innotuerit, ea quæ scripserit, non integrorum fide testium scripsisse, sed fide exulum, fide perfugarum, fide perditissimi et exoleti peregrinantium monachorum gregis, fide patriæ perduellium suæ. Et nos quoque ei gratulamur, quod furorem ei et insaniam Deus injecisse videatur, hoc utique consilio, ut a partibus suis sanos omnes abigeret, et conculcatæ a se libertati invitus ipse opitularetur. Formidolosissimum enim provocavit in se scriptorum agmen, qui exilia ejus argumenta turpissimam in fugam verterunt, fregerunt, trucidarunt.

Macti igitur estote, cives Gallici, O digni nomine revera civium, macti novis virtutibus, conservatores civitatis vestræ, universæ

libertatis vindices! Si enim fædum illud teterrimumque gemituum et lachrymarum domicilium expugnastis, ac solo æquastis: Si litteras illas exitiabili auctoritate consignatas penitus delevistis: Si æquabilitatem juris propter perdices, leporesque, et id genus omne, periclitari noluistis: Si publicam scribendi quidlibet παῤῥησίαν adhibendo, a veritate et scientia permagnam iniistis gratiam: Si catenis civilibus conscientiam liberastis: Si improbas gentium superstitiones radicitus evulsuri, sprevistis nominum inanitatem, perque industriam et virtutem ad veram nobilitatem unum iter affectari decrevistis: Si, naturalibus hominum juribus egregie quaquaversum prospicientes, judicium parium instituistis, atque adeo vitam, libertatem, et possessiones omnes in tuto collocastis: Si universum amorem in omnes omnium terrarum populos pro humanitate vestra primi mortalium publice declarastis, et desuetæ militiæ, *quantum vos penes esset*, inferias immolastis: Si denique populi voluntatem, et νόμον πάντων βασιλέα, in locum tyrannicæ lubidinis efferentes, triginta millia capitum de mancipiis et mediastinis cives, ex carnificum potestate jurum suorum fecistis: Si sint hæc, uti sunt, peracta a vobis omnia, hominibus ad servitutem paratissimis tuto licebit concedatis, desipere et ringi. Pusilli isti obtrectatores gloriæ vestræ strepitu magis numeroque sunt, quam dignitate et eloquentia reformidandi. Acciderunt tamen, sat scio, (neque enim tam bene cum rebus humanis geritur, ut bonum aliquod sincerum atque integrum unquam speremus) acciderunt inter tot tamque egregia beneficia casus ii, quos et probus quisque defleat necesse est, et quorum vosmetipsos in primis pudet pigetque. Æquus autem harum rerum æstimator quicumque est, statim videt, privata paucorum infortunia cum publicis universorum commodis nec posse conferri, nec debere;* plaudetque vobis, quoties

* Ne constare quidem posset, nisi cum gravi quorundam malo, humana societas. Res quidem in se maxime optanda est, tributorum omnium et vectigalium immunitas. Sed

philosophari voluerit animus, tantum ex virtute vestra universæ felicitati cumulum accessisse.

Sedet quodammodo in mente mea eadem sententia, quæ olim in mente Rumbaldi istius, qui Caroli secundi, regis Anglorum, temporibus vixit. Quænam sit illa, rogitas? At " magna forsan hodie responsi invidia subeunda est." Igitur Ψεύσομαι, ἢ ἐτύμως ἐρέω; Κέλεται δέ με Θύμος. Hæ scilicet erant, quæ paulo *audacius* ab eo voces edebantur. " Se nunquam crediturum, Deo id placere, plurimam partem humani generis ephippia in dorsis, et fræna in oribus gerentem nasci, paucos autem ocreis calcaribusque instructos, qui cæteros usque ad interitum agerent et stimularent." Hujusmodi tamen vereor ne sint istorum sententiæ, qui cum in æquam libertatem, tum in æquæ libertatis cultores, acerrime invehuntur. Quorundam ex his mos est, cum ratio et argumenta parce, uti solet, suppetant, insulse identidem clamitare, eos, qui juris æquabilitati patrocinentur, insidias locupletibus meditari. Hunc autem clamorem, cum ipse secum egregie dissideat, mallem fatuitati potius eorum quam malitiæ tribuere. Quomodo enim jus id æquabile esset, quod aliquem jure suo spoliaret, equidem oculos habeo minus lynceos, quam ut omnino videam. Sed res dissociatas miscent, siquidem æquabile jus cum æquali proprietate confundunt. Optandum profecto est, legem aliquam ferri, quæ proprietatis incrementis modum aliquam affigat, ita tamen, ut nimis arcta

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sine his actum esset de quavis republica. Quocirca, cum bello Peloponnesiaco lassi vexatique Athenienses Periclı obmurmurabant, his verbis adducti mulcebantur:

Ἐγὼ μὲν ἡγοῦμαι, πόλιν πλέω ξύμπασαν ὀρθουμένην ὠφελεῖν τούς ἰδιώτας, ἢ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν εὐπραγοῦσαν, ἀθρόαν δὲ σφαλλομένην. καλῶς μὲν γὰρ φερόμενος ἀνὴρ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν, διαφθειρομένης τῆς πατρίδος, οὐδὲν ἧσσον ξυναπόλλυται· κακοῦχῶν δ' ἐν εὐτυχούσῃ, πολλῷ μᾶλλον διασώζεται.

Thucyd. B'.

non sit, neque industriæ acumen hebetet atque obtundat eæ possessiones, quæ sint unius cujusque jam nunc propriæ, sacrilegis manibus violandæ permittantur, id profecto neque immutabiles justitiæ leges patiuntur, nec sapiens unquam nec probus somniavit.

Cum persuasissimum mihi sit, non posse homines commode vivere, nisi imperio inter se consocientur, neque "imperium ullum esse tutum, nisi munitum benevolentia," quærendum apprime videtur, cujusmodi sint illæ artes, quæ imperium populo reddant amabile.

Fieri id vero tum demum poterit, cum leges, non homines, dominabuntur, cum jura populi firmissimis præsidiis tegentur, ita ut publicam illam utilitatem, ex qua quicquid est imperii ortum duxit, ambitio singulorum invadere neutiquam possit. Illa quidem jura partim naturæ, partim societati, accepta solent referri. Malim tamen ipse ea omnia naturæ jura appellare; jus enim nullum a societate datum existimo. Neque hac distinctione omnino opus foret, si eadem semper esset potestatis, eadem juris, ratio. Quoniam autem persæpe accidit, ut perfecto hominis jure, imperfecta sit juris tuendi potestas, necesse est ut subsidium societatis petat. Partem igitur aliquam jurum suorum societati in fidem permittit, non quo decurtata et mutila, sed quo pleniora et ampliora fiant. Jura sunt hominum tria: securitas, proprietas, libertas: neque aliud quidpiam spectare debet sociale fœdus, seu imperium, quam ut his hominum juribus vim et diuturnitatem addat.

Formam illam regiminis perfectissimam dixeris, cujus partes ita commode inter se librantur, ut civium nemo seditiones in eo concitare possit, nec quidem, si possit, velit. Ut autem nemo possit,

firmum necesse est imperium sit, ut non velit, bonum. Imperium itaque, quod simul et firmum et bonum est, id, quod desideret, nihil omnino habet. Si enim firmum est, ut sit bonum quoque, cum tamdiu duraturum sit, expediet; si bonum, tunc, cum tantum ad felicitatem hominum faciat, ut sit etiam firmum, optandum erit. Cum vero bina sint regendi principia, quorum internum hoc, illud externum est, hoc quam illo uti malim. Hoc enim in bonis animi situm est, illud in bonis fortunæ. Bona autem animi, virtus, ratio, sapientia; bona fortunæ, opes sunt. Ex opibus, ut initio ostendimus, potestas oritur; ex virtute, et ratione, et sapientia, oritur auctoritas. Suadet auctoritas, potestas cogit; hæc vi, amore illa ministro utitur. In quemcunque autem exercetur vis, is ea quæ facit, præ metu plerumque facit; dum contra, qui amore trahitur, lubens omnia lætusque peragit. Et quidem plures sunt ii, qui amore afficiuntur, quam qui timore, neque in plures tantummodo hoc cadit, verum etiam in meliores. Exinde liquet, constantissimum omnium illud imperium fore, quod hominum juribus ac publicæ libertati benevole prospiciat, atque adeo principum ac populi commodis, arctissime inter se conjunctis et consociatis, pariter inserviat.

Ipsa porro decantata illa libertas, quid potissimum velit, paucis exponam. Numnam potestas sit agendi quid velis? Minime gentium. Nomen enim libertatis non paucos amplecti debet, sed universos, non homines, sed humanum genus. Quod si, quicquid velles, id ageres, aut tumultuarentur societatis principia, nihil ut posses agere, quod velles; aut potestas ita agendi intra paucos contineretur. Non alia est igitur libertas, quam potestas agendi, quicquid cuique placuerit—modo alteri non noceat. Jus igitur hominis non aliis videtur finiri terminis, quam qui necessarii sint, ut quod huic liceat, idem et illi æquo jure liceat. Hi termini penes legem sunt; neque a lege quisquam, sed per legem, liber. Hos

intra fines unicuique pariter spatiari dedit natura. Illa enim, quam opifex egregie versatilis, non unam omnibus membrorum compositionem, non unam lineamentorum conformationem impertivit, omnes tamen iisdem cupidinibus, eadem libertate, donavit.

Senili autem voce clamitat lymphatus iste, de quo ante memini, orator, eos, qui æquabilitatem juris omnibus permittant, vitæ ornamenta et, ut ita dicam, *decentias* manu rudi et inurbana protinus divulsuros. Quæ quidem res omnino gravis est. Nam si constaret, eam esse sæculi humanitatem, ut veram et absolutam libertatem morum politulorum lenociniis compenset, me quidem, quod ad me attinet, in sylvas proinde relegatum velim, fera fruiturum solitudine, et natura integra et illibata. Quid enim, Deos immortales! vel sceleratius vel fædius excogitari possit, quam ut donum istud, quod a vobis pretiosissimum datum sit, adulterinis hominum artificiis permutemus? Sed melius cum de humanitate, tum etiam de sensu communi homi[illegible] ego temporum sentio, quam ut " tali auxilio vel defensoribus [illegible] egeant. Sani quicquid est in cujuscunque civitatis corpore, i[illegible] omne relinquet æqua libertas: cum morbis tantum et pestibus bellum gerit. Sin idem iste ea pro *vitæ decentiis* intelligit, quas ego vel nequitias, et luxus, vel captiones, et machinas, et fallacias meras voco, recte se habent hominis istius suspiciones: Ea certe omnia, tanquam societatis purgamenta et quisquilias, æqua libertas abstergebit. Totum hoc crimen, quantumcunque sit, lubenter in se recipit.

Nec sane æquam omnibus libertatem honestus quivis invideat, si modo, quanta virtutem inter et libertatem intercedat societas, secum reputet. Quin Assyrios, pervelim, cæterosque Orientis populos, cum Græcis et Romanis, liberis quidem illis, conferat. Illinc stare videbit fraudem, superbiam, ferocitatem, omnia om-

nino vitia; hinc sapientiam, fortitudinem, et quicquid usquam vel litterarum bonarum floruit, vel virtutis. Atqui Romanos illos ipsos respiciat, quales fuerint, postquam libertatem amisissent, Cappadocumque similes ipsam servitutem fædissime essent amplexi. Ut ipsi sibi dissimillimi! Ut torpentes spectaculis! Ut inter balnea et porticus, inter pectinem speculumque, marcentes! Profecto, populi Rom. ulla uspiam vestigia vix agnoveris. Quam non cædes Gracchana, non Sullanæ Marianæque tempestates, quam non Catilina, et Cethegus, et Lentulus, potuerant, donec vigebat libertas, domare, illa ipsa civium vitio, mortua jam libertate, Roma extincta est. Neque liberæ quidem ullius gentis in mentem venit, quæ a tyranno debellata sit, nisi quos acie ille vicerit, eosdem facultatibus et numero militum immane quantum superaverit: multos autem reges memini a civitatibus, quæ simul parvæ essent liberæque, fusos et devictos. Quæ res cum Machiavelium non fugeret, affirmare non dubitavit, virtutem cum libertate ita arcte copulatam esse, ut homines neque liberi esse possent, nisi boni, neque boni, nisi iidem essent liberi. Huc profecto argumenta illius deveniunt: In civitate, quæ probe sit morata et libera, fore, ut seditiones et tumultus populo parum obsint; ubi autem improbi sint cives, et servorum mores induerint, ibi ne optimas quidem leges diu vel plurimum prodesse. Egregium vero illud libertati inest, quod, quo amet eam quisque vir, satis sit, ut cognoscat; quo habeat quisque populus, satis, ut velit. Talis cum sit libertatis indoles, cum virtus una cum libertate habitet, felicitas cum virtute, e re erit humani generis, ut libertas æque per omnes sparsa ac disseminata sit.

Cum autem in omni oratione duæ potissimum res cavendæ sunt, primum, ut quicquid commendaverit orator, prodesse videatur, deinde, cum prosit, fieri etiam posse, nobis dimidia illa officii nostri parte, quod spero, functis superest, ut, æqua libertate quomodo

omnes frui possint, doceamus. Inquirenda est igitur quæ ista politia, cujus sub auspiciis cum magna tum parva i æquo jure uti pariter possint.

Omnis civitas vel paucorum multis, vel multorum sibi imperitantium est. Quicumque autem imperant, ea est natura hominum, ut iidem in primis commodo prospiciant suo. Itaque boni imperii mysterium, ut ita dicam, hinc omne pendet, ut imperent ii, quorum ad salutem ipsum imperium debeat accommodari. Si igitur populi commoda imperii finis ac propositum sit, necessario sequitur, eos sibi ipsis, sive per suos sive per se, imperare oportere.

Olim hominibus ad leges ferendas, vel ad consulendum de publico quovis negotio, universis simul concursum est. Usitatum illud fuisse Gallis Germanisque, Cæsar et Tacitus testantur. Ferunt etiam apud barbaras Americæ tribus idem hodie moris esse. Ex multitudine vero concurrentium cum tumultuari omnia et confundi cernerentur, idem agendi aliter felicissima certe via reperta est. Hujus autem viæ inscitia cum miseræ Romæ perluctuosa contigerit, fieri plane non potuit, ut verbo rem describerent, quam ne cogitatione quidem consecuti essent. Dabitur idcirco venia, si secundum hanc notionem inusitata Latio voce utar, præsertim cum in mentionem frequenter veniat, sique egregium illud in rebus politicis inventum hodierno nomine *repræsentationem* appellem. Est autem legitima repræsentatio, vox totius populi paucorum oribus facilique compendio loquens: Est universa voluntas pressior paulo et adductior, et paucorum fidei delegata.

Non tamen ad evitandos tumultus solum accommodata videtur repræsentatio; verum si non majora, at alia saltem commoda jactat. Duplex enim est ratio; (si verbis utar Harringtoni) partim ex inventione, partim ex judicio constat. Quod ad judicium attinet,

uti et Solomoni et Machiavelio visum est, multorum consulentium magna auctoritas. Nec vero populari comitio privatus quispiam, oportet, se conferat facultate judicandi. VOX POPULI VOX EST DEI. Inde fit, ut in omni politia, quæ bene ordinata fuerit, decreti cujusque summa penes populum sit. Inventio autem solitaria res est. Sicut enim *circulationem*, quod aiunt, sanguinis non omnes medici, sed unus invenit, inventam vero omnes amplectuntur; ita in omni, inquam, republica pauci consulant, decernant universi.

Quoties de humana quavis institutione ratiocinemur, perfectissima ejus forma debet intelligi. Si enim a proposito discesserit suo, minime istiusmodi sive error, sive scelus, ac quæstionem nostram attinet; siquidem de integritate consilii, non depravatione, de usu, non abusu, loquimur. Quare, cum de repræsentatione agam, eam volo, quæ detractis vitiis vera et absoluta sit. Quid, quod rivuli ejus impurissimi nunc temporis per nostram ipsorum civitatem fluant? An mihi propterea id obstat, quo minus ad ipsos fontes puros atque integros accedam? Nobis autem ea sincera et perfecta videtur repræsentatio, quæ unicuique civi, qualicunque tandem fruatur dignitate aut fortuna, libertatem concedit alium quempiam in senatum legandi, quasi opinionum ipsius nuncium, et quem rei qua publicæ, qua suæ, maxime prospecturum judicet; ita ut senatus consultum non aliud sit ac consensus populi. Solos secerno illos, qui vel insani sint, ideoque rerum omnium, quæ ratione modoque tractantur, penitus ignari; vel qui natu minores, ideoque ad judicandum minus idonei; vel sontes, ideoque propter perditos mores prorsus inhabiles ad honesta consilia; vel pauperes,* ideoque non ab aliena auctoritate liberi, et præterea, cum

* Me jam diu ancipitem habuit hæc quæstio, utrum suffragia ferre liceret pauperibus. *Pauperes autem eos* NON *voco, "queis rerum suppetit usus,"* sed qui necessaria ad vivendum

nihil habeant, nihil ipsi perdituri; vel denique n
dixerim ejus omnis, quicquid in deliciis habeo), eo quod, ..
politicis semel immiscerentur, curæ iis non amplius essent comes illæ venustates, et innocentes blanditiæ, et exquisita nescio quæ concinnitas, et tenerior lepos, quæ quidem omnia sexus mollitiem decent, quæ vitam humanam hilariorem et quodammodo amœniorem reddunt, faciuntque, ut ipsarum etiam saluti per salutem virorum abunde consulatur.*

Ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σαυτῆς ἔργα κομίζε,
Ἰστόν τ', ἠλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κελεῦε
Ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι· πόλεμος δ' ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει——

Exceptis illis, quos dixi, cæteri, velim, omnes suffragia ferant, ut qui omnes æquum jus, commune commodum, habeant.

Principatus omnis, qui stabile quiddam et permansurum in se jactat, fundamenta in veritate, in justitia, in rerum natura, et in

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ex aliorum potius abundantia, quam ex opera comparant sua. Habent, fateor, quæ defendantur, et vitam et libertatem; et istam igitur suffragandi cuilibet licentiam iis tandem non denego, nisi dolens, invitus, coactus. Sed malis adeo avibus nati sunt, ut, in præsenti rerum humanarum statu, liberas eorum sententias minime expectes; et ita divitum potestati iniquum additamentum fieret, cum penes illos esset, pauperum suffragia cibi frustulis emere. Quocirca, non hoc hominibus, sed rerum naturæ, vitio vertendum est. Quod si sinceram ullam repræsentationem unquam experiemur, non difficile fuerit ostendere, quomodo eodem tempore et pauperum numerus, et inevitabilis simul illa in pauperes injuria, necessario evadet minor ac prope evanescet.

* Πάντων μὲν μετέχει γυνὴ ἐπιτηδευμάτων κατὰ φύσιν, πάντων δὲ ἀνήρ. ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ἀσθενέστερον γυνὴ ἀνδρός. Plat. p. 455, tom. 2. Edit. Ser.

Arrisit tamen hæc nostra ætas, confiteor lubens, exculti adeo ingenii nonnullis fœminis, ut eas vel ipsi Aspaciæ tantum non palmam præripuisse Socrates ipse judicaret.

ratione locari debent. Hoc quomodo fit, ubi pars a parte populi, nedum a majore minor, jus suum et libertatem abripit? Manifestum autem illud, quod, si non æqua sit repræsentatio, non æqua possit esse libertas. Hominem enim, cui, qua non velit, imperatur, vel qui aliis utcunque imperantibus, omnino ut imperent, non suffragatus est, eum ego liberum minime voco.

Scio equidem permultos esse, qui illud omne, quicquid de æqua repræsentatione diximus, lubenter concedentes, hoc tantum pernegent, magno in imperio posse eam obtinere. Nescire se confitentur, si interdicenda aliquibus sit libertas, quinam præcipue sint ii, qui nullo admisso crimine, jure illo orbari mereantur. Æquæ autem libertati idcirco videntur refragari, non quia tam in magno quam in parvo imperio esse non debet, sed quia non potest. Mihi vero de hac re sæpenumero et impensius cogitanti nullus unquam scrupulus injectus est, quin eandem et magnæ crederem et parvæ civitati patere libertatem, eas modo leges semper intelligas, quas olim posui. Nec sane rationi valde consentaneum duco, ut quo plures sint ipsi cives, eo jura esse debeant pauciora, ut multitudo libertatem sibi vindicantium ex libertatis ipsa inopia æstimanda sit.

In tumultus omnes, qui ex senatoriis delectibus magno in imperio possent oriri, Gallis nuper paratum egregie præsidium est. Quoniam enim præ numero eligentium tanta in civitate, si omnes simul congregarentur, perturbatum omne fieret negotium, nec satis plene perfecteque collecta populi voluntas, comitia comitiis subjiciunt, et ordinem quendam et quasi præstantiam delectuum agnoscunt. Prima comitia legatos suos in secunda mittunt; hi autem alios eligunt, qui supremum concilium arcessuntur. Efficitur hinc, nequa sit regio major, quin pariter atque ea quæ minima sit, repræsentationi, hoc est, libertati faveat. Prima autem illa co-

mitia in quot velis partes minutatim diviseris, politicis cur quam latissime diffusis quies et tranquillitas amicissime conjurabunt.

Sed æquabilitati juris nondum satis cautum est. Restat etiamnum aliquid, quod donec stabilitum fuerit, neque locum habituram esse æquam libertatem, nec, si haberet, duraturam unquam sperabo. Deest quippe gentibus publicæ educationis aliqua ratio, qua ad rerum civilium scientiam cives informentur. Num leges prudenter latæ sunt? Bene est. Gratiæ ferentibus habeantur. Sed legumlatorum officio dimidia tantum ex parte adhuc satisfactum est. Curandum est enim, uti leges, quæ latæ fuerint, populus intelligat. Dogma illud plusquam barbarum, *ignorantiam* scilicet *legis neminem excusare*, si triginta Atheniensium tyrannis, si Phalaridi, si Domitiano placuisset, parum mirabile esset. Sed quod in civitate aliqua, quæ se vel liberam vel liberalem profitetur, tam odiosam iniquitatem inveterascere cives patiantur, equidem stupeo, doleo, perhorresco. Obedientiæ fundamentum est scientia. Quo igitur modo aliquis legibus obedire potest, prius quam noverit, quid ipsæ illæ leges velint? In hac autem præsertim civitate ita perdifficilis est legum cognitio, leges partim incuria, partim ex industria, tam nodorum et ænigmatum plenæ, tam multiplices, tam sibi ipsis dissidentes, ut inter ipsos juris consultos, imo vel inter judices, frequentissime ambigatur, quid de re aliqua præscribant. Et studia quidem legum eo spectant, non quo intelligantur, sed quo de iis disputetur; non quo plura sciant homines, sed quo plus noceant. Proinde pauperibus est vix ullus in foro locus: forique discrimen perraro prudentior quisque adibit. Quippe illic victorem inter et victum id unum interest, ut hic cuncta perdiderit, ille nihil abstulerit. Adeo devorant omnia et ingurgitant prædones illi forenses, qui (εἰρωνικῶς, puto), patroni dicuntur. Adeo etiam verum est Taciti illud, "Plurimæ leges, corruptissima respublica."

Videtis igitur, quam in pauperes juste benevoleque nos geramus! O cælestem misericordiam! O philosophiam liberalem et eruditam! Officia sua cum ignorent necesse sit, in ignorantes animadvertimus: primo legem obscuramus, deinde in legem peccantes pro mansuetudine nostra punimus. Enimvero per totam (non est enim amplius dissimulandum) per totam, inquam, Europam caligine pauperum animos insidiose et inhumaniter obcæcamus.*

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* Inter Peruvianos sub ditione eorum, qui Yncæ dicuntur, uti Garcilasso de la Vega auctor est, non nisi nobilibus licebat litteris operam dare. Ii vero, qui scientiam omnem interdicere quærunt pauperibus, in mentem mihi revocant congressum Joännis Cadi, qualis a Shakspearo describitur, cum scriba Chatamiensi. En tibi ipsissima Shakspeari verba!

Cade. Who's there?

Smith. The clerk of Chatham: he can write, and read, and cast accompt.

Cade. O monstrous!

Smith. We took him setting of boys' copies.

Cade. Here's a villain!

Smith. H'as a book in his pocket, with red letters in't.

Cade. Nay, then he's a conjurer.

Dick. Nay, he can make obligations, and write court-hand.

Cade. I am sorry for't: the man is a proper man, on mine honour; unless I find him guilty, he shall not die.—Come hither, Sirrah, I must examine thee: What is thy name?

Clerk. Emmanuel.

Dick. They use to write it on the top of letters;—'Twill go hard with you.

Cade. Let me alone:—Dost thou use to write thy name? or hast thou a mark to thyself, like an honest plain-dealing man?

Clerk. Sir, I thank God, I have been so well brought up, that I can write my name.

All. He hath confessed: away with him; he's a villain and a traitor.

Cade. Away with him, I say; hang him with his pen and inkhorn about his neck.

Henr. VI. Part 2d. Act 4. Sc. 2.

Quin eundem iterum audi, quam Dominum Say de odiosa ista pauperum institutione apte et apposite objurgat!

"Thou hast most traiterously corrupted the youth of the realm, in erecting a grammar-school: and whereas, before, our forefathers had no other books but the score and the tally, thou hast caused printing to be used: and, *contrary to the king, his crown, and dignity,* thou hast built a paper-mill!"

Prodest scilicet tyrannis, prodest arrogantibus optimatibus et fraudulentis, ut subditi sint rerum omnium honestarum et utilium penitus ignari. Nam neque, si sapuisset Romana plebs, Numæ cum Egeria colloquiis credidisset; nec, nisi stolidissimi mortalium fuissent Turci, Mahumedæ in Elborachia illa sua per novas regiones equitantis expeditio obtinuisset fidem. Hunc in modum pauci veteratores* ad effrænatam tyrannidem sibi viam semper aperuerunt: neque malorum erit horum ullum remedium, quamdiu homines cogitandi libertatem, quam ipsi sibi vindicare debent, ad alios transferri patientur, quamdiu, ut cum Tacito loquar, "non erit judicium, non odium, nisi indita et jussa." Sed piget contemplari illa mentis humanæ velut rudimenta ac primordia, et scientiam adhuc in cunis vagientem, et societatis maculam. Castigandæ sunt igitur leges purgandæque, et ad justitiæ normam fidelius exigendæ. Civilis etiam institutionis exquirendum quoddam schema

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* Quales, maximam partem, fuerint ii, qui in subjectos suos miseros inopesque desævierint, Maximilianum auctorem habemus, cujus in ore sæpe fuerunt hæc verba:

"O Deus æterne, nisi tu vigilares, quam male esset mundo, quem regimus nos, ego miser venator, & sceleratus ille Julius!" (viz. Julius Secundus, Ecclesiæ Romanæ Papa teterrimus.) Vid. Holbergi introductionem ad universalem historiam, pag. 185.

Quæ autem de profundis politicæ scientiæ arcanis, deque mirifica eorum, qui "rem populi tractant," solertia et sagacitate vulgo garriunt, mihi semper vel bilem vel risus moverunt. Sententiæ autem meæ auctorem habeo, fortem in primis sapientemque hominem, Oxenstiernium, qui, cum filius ejus ad legationem quandam jam iturus, et consilia cum politicis viris magni nominis collaturus, tanto negotio sese imparem fateretur, in hunc modum respondit. "Quin ea ipsa de causa, pervelim, istam, quam tantopere metuis, legationem obeas. *Nescis, mi fili, quam parva sapientia mundus regatur!*"

Profecto, quæ de occultis carminibus jurisconsultorum lepide et festive dixit M. Cicero, eadem ipse dixerim de istis politicis mysteriis. "Pervulgata, atque in manibus jactata et excussa, inanissima prudentiæ reperta sunt, fraudis autem et stultitiæ plenissima."

V. Orat. pro L. Murena.

est, quod de republica cives erudiat, quod novorum officiorum ad jura, quæ recuperaverint, accommodatorum eos commonefaciat, quod denique ingenii florem extrudat explicetque, et vim illam etiam in pauperum animis inclusam eliciat. Hoc ut fiat, sanctæ illæ et primariæ leges, quibus homines inter se ineunt societatem, postulant atque efflagitant, idque potissimum in gratiam tenuium et impotentium, quibus mancum ac debile jus acquirendi proprietatem ipsa natura concessit. Hinc pacis artes edoctis pauperibus natalium suorum iniquitas aliquatenus pensaretur: hinc laboribus in dies confectis, non amplius in ebriositate solamen malorum quærerent: sed glisceret illico industriæ vigor, sed juvaretur probitas, firmaretur libertas, et eo rariora crimina fierent, quo latius boni ac mali fines intelligerentur.

Proprium hoc videtur esse Galliæ, ut erudiat homines cunctis artibus, quæ ad universam felicitatem spectant. Igitur onerosam istam antiqui juris molem dejecit, et leges substituit paucas, easque simplices, et omnibus æque patentes; scientiam porro earundem singulis civibus communicandi modum quendam excogitavit. Ista in regione (si utilissimo scriptori, Barlovio, fides) leges sunt in tabulas exscriptæ, et ædificiorum parietibus magno quovis in oppido affixæ: quin simul ac latæ sunt, legit eas et ex pulpito explicat sacerdos. Mos etiam consimilis, eodem teste, invaluit inter Americanos, apud quos reperitur vix aliquis sex annos natus, qui non et scripta legere, et ipse etiam scribere possit. Exinde factum est, ut in regione quadam Americana per centum et triginta annos post conditam civitatem nemo vel morte multatus esset, vel dignus apparuisset, qui morte multaretur. Præterea, non illic summa paupertas, non summæ divitiæ, sed æquiori reddita per universorum industriam proprietate, omnia omnibus abundant.

Quinetiam ad exæquandam libertatem plurimum vi rationis exercitatio; adeo ut cum præclaro quodam viro, olim Geneva, consentiamus, qui affirmare non dubitaverit, ubicunque floreret quæ preli dicitur licentia, ibidem fore, ut libertas vigeret. Hinc sempiternæ cum illa licentia tyrannorum inimicitiæ. Hinc quotquot servitutem servire amant, in seditiones, in pericula publica, in famosos, quod aiunt, libellos, declamitandi occasionem arripiunt. Hisce autem contentionibus insunt facetiæ suæ. Nam libertatis oppugnatores ratione contra rationem uti conantur, et ostendere vi rationis, quam inutilis ipsa sit ratio. O capitula lepidissima! O homines cerebri felices! quos quidem, quo vincant, vinci necesse est!* Ipse autem, cum ingenii paulo tardioris sim, neque in argutiis istiusmodi versatus, quid mali ex absoluta ratione, liberaque veri inquisitione profluxurum sit, equidem non video; quid boni, video. Prave utaris: Quid tum? An extinguenda propterea est ratio, quod abuti ea quis possit? Extinguas igitur religionem: religio enim ipsa plurimum damni depravata hominibus intulit. Vellem utique ex illa parte stantem liberam rationem, ex hac superstitionem contueri, quo, utra plus profuerit, plus læserit, serio perpenderetur. Hinc natio in nationem armis instructa est; hinc corruptæ civitates, et in servitutem redactæ; hinc violata et trucidata pietas; hinc actæ in exilium litteræ, leges, libertas. Illinc quam diversa rerum facies sese aperit! Amplificatam cernimus libertatis dignitatem; confirmatam veritatis vim; fraudem, et fallaciam, et præstigias publicas, ubique in fugam versas; diligentius excultam et animosius benevolentiam; dilatatos Christianæ caritatis fines; vindicatam denique et omni ex parte munitam humani generis felicitatem.

At libera disquisitio favet iis, qui quieta movere volunt, et rebus novis student. Esto. Unde, obsecro, clamor iste res novas depre-

cantium? Excitari nempe solet et disseminari ab iis, qui id vel in primis metuunt, ne in potestatem suam iniquam, et opes male partas, calamitas aliqua ex improviso ingruat, ne in curriculo illo deliciarum diutius spatiari sibi non liceat, ne, quæ fraudulente, quæ arroganter, quæ immaniter ipsi fecerint, eorum debitas ad pœnas tandem aliquando reposcantur. Sunt tamen, neque inficias iverim, probi aliqui cives, quibus plurimum timoris ipsum illud novitatis nomen incutit, quique igitur ex æqua libertate malorum Ἰλιάδα vaticinantur. Horum ego errores, cum a superbia et scelere longe absint, fidemque novitati difficulter habitam, haud temere improbaverim. Nam difficilior fides malum levius: credulitatis nimiæ sæpius pœnas damus. Sed placet utique iis, omnem semper mutationem plenam periculi esse. Quid? An servitii in libertatem, miseriarum in felicitatem, periculosa immutatio? An putredine et morbo vitam et valetudinem permutare periculosum est? Quicquid apud homines excultius aut perfectius est, id omne, ni vehementissime fallor, a multis multarum rerum immutationibus suum vel ortum duxit, vel incrementum. Ipsa illa experientia quid tandem est, nisi multæ multos per annos sensim et gradatim factæ mutationes? Sapientia porro, annon in eo maxime versatur, ut variæ rerum humanarum formæ variæque conditiones unde profluxerint, quid efficiant, quo sint modo aut connexæ inter se, aut a se divisæ divulsæque, exquirat atque exponat? Ad ipsam postremo naturam convertas te oro, et paulo diligentius perscruteris, " rerum illa concordia discors" unde oriatur, et quid velit? Nempe, salubribus illis immutationibus natura gaudet, quæ fatiscentem se reficiant, languidulam foveant. Quid igitur, quid, inquam, illud est, quod probos hosce homines, sed cæcos et meticulosos, tot tantisque terriculis commovet? Huc profecto redit; ne in rebus, quæ ad felicitatem suam apprime conducant, multum homines proficiant, ne ad illud, quod in suo genere optimum sit, amplec-

tendum sui sint potentes, ne in melioribus sequendis perinde ac probandis constantes sibi.

Patriam quidem meam etsi non alius quivis amore et pietate fidelius, quam ipse soleo, tueri potest, ea tamen cæcitate non sum, ut omnes eam prudentiæ civilis flores decerpsisse, omnia omnium civitatum commoda unam in se continere, autumem. Mihi certe nunquam non laudanda est, eo quod aliqua ex parte potentiam et libertatem, res olim dissociabiles, leni quodam consortio inter se vinxerit, cæterisque nationibus ad beate libereque vivendum quodammodo facem præluxerit. Quod si ulteriora ei virtutis incrementa, ut magna pars solet, ego inviderem, laus ista mea in suspicionem merito incideret. Ita quippe, ut esset vitalis, metuendum foret. Has enim vices habet rerum mortalium conditio, ut nihil in eo, quo statu nunc est, diu maneat. Quod autem progredi non potest, retro id necesse est feratur. Me igitur nec pravus unquam pudor, neque improba civium meorum reverentia, vetat, quo minus recens aliud Gallorum institutum plena manu collaudem, deinde ad nævos quosdam, qui rempublicam hancce jam diu deformant, digitos meos intendam.

Ad *Senatum Revisionis*, verbo absit invidia, me primum converto. Inventum sane illud repræsentationem tanto in melius provexit, quanto simplicem δημοκρατίαν ipsa repræsentatio. Ex philosophorum enim officinis haustum illud principium ad rerum rationem se accommodat, et naturæ moribusque hominum eximie convenit. Siquidem tempus omnia vastat, et pulcherrima artis monumenta, nisi identidem instaurentur, dejicit; siquidem, quod huic seculo maxime conveniat, in posterum sæpe fit pessimum, prout civium virtutes atque opes nunc augescant, nunc minuantur; Galliæ est illud sapientissime provisum, ut, si integris duobus

senatibus aliquid in imperio videretur immutandum, tunc proximo senatui sexto quoque anno paucis quibusdam præter solitum ascriptis immutatio ista mandaretur. Hoc modo inter principia, uti aiunt, politica et errores factum discrimen est, nullaque vi, nullo strepitu, nullo ipsius reipublicæ detrimento, devia politia in rectum tramitem denuo revocatur. Quanto est hoc sapientius a Gallis institutum, quam statui solet ab iis, qui, omnigenæ antiquitatis amore perdite accensi, majores nostros non modo nobis ipsis prudentiores prædicant; id enim ferendum esset; sed eosdem, quid e re sit nostra, rectius ab augurio didicisse, quam nosmet ab experientia, contendunt. Profecto, non satis demirari possum hanc vel superbiam veteratoris cujusdam, vel vesaniam, quæ vetustati tale pretium indixit.

Omnia fere imperia e casu potius quam sapientia sunt exorta. Gentes, quæ politiam sibi perfectam præstituto quodam tempore efformarint, perraras accepimus. "Periculosæ igitur plenum opus aleæ is tractat," qui, cujusmodi sit, et quosnam habitura fructus, reipublicæ forma absoluta, dicere ausit. Etenim, aut populus aliquis priscis e sedibus migraverit, inque novam civitatem antiqui sui imperii vitia mendasque trajecerit; aut pauci sapientes ausi fuerint pannosæ cujusdam reipublicæ fatiscentes rimas resarcire. Hi autem, uti Solon, leges tulerunt, non quæ præstantissimæ essent, sed quas populus corruptelis jam olim assuefactus ferre posset, non quæ bonis civibus optandæ essent, sed quales improborum vitia paterentur. Nunc partium furori, nunc præjudicatis suorum opinionibus, aliquid concessere; quæ cum ita essent, navis reipublicæ contrariis fluctibus agitata, fieri non potuit, quin luctuoso naufragio tandem periret. Ubicumque enim laxabuntur compages, "accipiet inimicum imbrem."

Me quidem profecto patriæ meæ idcirco miserescit, quod una

præsertim in parte diu sit ægra, et prope deposita. Nec jure mihi quivis succenseat, si medicas ei manus admoveri velim, priusquam morbo in dies ingravescenti succubuerit, sitque posita extra spem omnem instaurandæ valetudinis. Precipue autem ea labascit vitio mendosæ repræsentationis: quod sane vitium triplici modo fit, atque ad tres potissimum causas referri debet; partim ad ipsam publicarum rerum constitutionem; partim ad eorum, quæ constituta sunt, abusum, partim ad gravissimum illud vulnus, quod est senatui haud ita pridem ab ipsis senatoribus illatum. Per ipsam publicarum rerum constitutionem in eo peccatum est, quod pars longe longeque maxima populi ipsius a legatis in senatum mittendis jure prohibetur. Quod attinet ad abusum eorum, quæ constituta sunt, notissimum est illud, cum plebem in senatoribus eligendis, tum senatores in ferendis suffragiis, pretio fidem addictam habere, atque adeo pedibus ire in sententiam quamque vel fœdissimam potentiorum. Vulnus autem illud, de quo dixi, in ipsis visceribus libertatis altissime insedit, ex quo ii, qui ad populum regendum suffragiis popularibus legati sunt, potestatem sibi diuturniorem, neque jubente populo, neque probante, sibi ipsi suo, si Diis placet, jure, suos in usus, suam, pene dixerim, infensam in tyrannidem, vindicare non erubuerunt.

Ex repræsentatione minus æqua hoc mali in primis sequitur, sententias totius populi perperam intelligi; ut ne illud quidem prosit, velle legatos pro officio suo legantibus commodas aures præbere, cum nequeant ex paucis discere, quid intersit universorum. Aliud enim populus est, aliud suffragantes. Quis, rogo, risum teneat, nisi res eadem et fletu digna sit, cum, qua in urbe ne ruinas quidem veterum ædium, neque incolas, nisi pastorem unum vel alterum, videres, urbis illius pene umbra et nomen in supremum concilium tot legatos mittit, quot magna quævis regio et populo et opibus abundans? E cæteris, quæ posui, repræsentationis vitiis,

quæ et quanta in civitatem mala redundarint, nec satis dicere possum, nec conqueri. Nam, ut omittam, quibus artibus, qua vi, potestas legatorum, quæ in tres annos permissa esset, per septem retenta sit, efficit ipsum tempus, per quod senatores iidem eandem dignitatem tenent, ut sensim obruatur populi libertas. Etenim senatores septennem jam nacti dominatum, et opinionem popularium propterea securi, augustiores quodammodo jam incedunt, neque dicto legantium ulterius audientes, de eo, quod sit e re sua, potius quam quid populo sit profuturum, soliciti sunt. Summum rerum judicium simul atque consecuti sunt, "Vobis," inquiunt, "obsequii gloria relicta est." Sub exitum autem septimi cujusque anni, quicquid est arrogantiæ, vel spei vel timori dat locum. En senatores eosdem illos derepente factos demissos, moderatos, et plebeculæ vel infimæ perstudiosos!* Quæ cum ita sint, quantum ex annuis, ceu olim inter Saxonas, vel ex biennibus senatibus lucrari possimus, liquido patet.

Ex diuturnitate senatoriæ potentiæ facillimus in corruptelam aperitur aditus, qui quidem, si eadem potentia circumscriberetur spatiis angustioribus, penitus intercluderetur. In diuturnis vero illis senatibus discitur, quid sit, ducere et duci, corrumpere et corrumpi. Pervertuntur in illis juveniles animi, seniles obdurescunt. In illis, qui se plebicolam acrem et animosum nudiustertius jactavit, libertatem subito aut metuit, aut odit, et "cum timenda voce complevit nemus, Projectum odoratur cibum." Perstrepit in illis sceleratorum audacia, tacent boni dolentque. In illis senatores fædifragi plebis injuriam lucrifaciunt. In illis fœdissima adulatio impune gliscit. In illis, si qui proceris alicujus gratiam assentatiunculis plausuque aucupari velint, iter suum ad opes et honores instituunt.

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* Cf. Eurip. Iph. in Aul. 337.

In illis nascuntur clientelæ, quæ egenti cuique et factioso tantum auctoritatis addunt, et quarum ope veteratoria ista facundia præmiis audet amplissimis inhiare. Spatium vero illud senatoriæ dignitatis si minuas, fiet alia derepente rerum facies. Non amplius dolo, non factione, non subitis et inverecundis sententiarum conversionibus, sed virtute, sed ingenio, sed consilio, ad honores munietur via. Si iis, qui rerum politicarum iter quotidie suscipiunt, hoc manifestum pateret, honestis illico se artibus traderent, et sua sponte probi tum demum fierent, cum improbitas lucro esse non posset. Tali in senatu minime necessarium foret, corruptam illam et funestam eloquentiam vel ad agendum vel ad resistendum muneribus oppugnare; sed longe minoris populo constaret imperium, ubi homines potius, qui implerent officia, quam officia, quæ homines ornarent, quærerentur.

Hæc sunt, quæ me studium meum et voluntas in cives meos meminisse coegerunt. Is enim ego non sum, qui verum patriæ amorem inani vel subdola laude metiar. Sed quicumque id, quod honeste factum fuerit, libere laudat, quod vero minus honeste, libere improbat, næ is boni viri bonique civis officio fungitur. Alia profecto sunt vitia in imperio nostro, quæ, cum occasio hæcce, ut ea singulatim recenseam, minus postulet, aliis pertractanda relinquo. Illud tamen in transcursu notandum est, nullum posse tot tantorumque malorum expectari remedium, quamdiu perditissima ista mercenariorum senatorum caterva senatum Anglicanum inquinabit.

Jam vero, si a re theoretica ad practicam tandem eos provocemus, qui æquam libertatem infamatum eunt, vereor ne scrupulum iis Americani injiciant, "apud quos tam paucis legibus tam commode res administrantur." Ibi in conjunctis, ut vocantur, rebuspublicis æquæ libertatis scientia ab unoquoque non tantum

mente intellecta, verum et re percepta, esse videtur. In animis eorum inveteravit hæc opinio, omnes juribus æquales esse, neque inæquales fieri posse. Imo incredibile, uti accepimus, iis est, posse aliquem, qui sanæ sit mentis, de hac re aliter sentire. Inde fit, ut res multæ, quæ gentibus Europæis fabulosæ et portentorum instar visæ sint, ex honesta illa, quæ in animis Americanorum insederit, sententia perfacile et expedite profluant. In primis quidem eadem fere constantia est eademque tranquillitas in eligendis magistratibus, atque in domesticis institutis conservandis. Pauci jam anni præterierunt, ex quo tredecim hæ respublicæ non solum suum sibi quæque imperium, duasque porro, quas vocant, fœderatas constitutiones, effinxerunt; verum etiam tres earundem, Pennsylvania, Carolina Australis, et Georgia, suam sese regendi rationem de integro instituerunt. Hæc autem sine vi, sine dolis, sine ulla rerum perturbatione et inchoata et perfecta sunt. Plebeculæ enim ab oculis cum amoveantur præstigiatorum istorum publicorum acetabula calculique, nullus fit suspicioni locus, tumultus nullus est, nullæ sunt insidiæ. Cum nimius magisteriis quæstus non addatur, abest illa omnis invidia, quæ splendidissimos honores cum lucro conjunctos sequi solet. Eadem omnibus officiorum gerendorum potestas in medio posita est, rerum modo prudentes sint, probosque ob mores bene audiant. O præclara civitas! O bonis omnibus nunquam non laudanda! tui cum sis omni ex parte tam consimilis, et cæteris tanto præstantior! Tecum profecto optime est actum, siquidem non vides operosos illos corruptelarum apparatus, non funestas nequitiæ ambages, non proditam auro salutem patriæ, non denique flagitiosissimas et execrandas suffragiorum nundinas.

Restat jam, ut ea, de quibus fusius et magis distincte loquti sumus, summatim breviterque repetamus. Illud cum esset manifestum, magnum hactenus imperium, si quidem unum America-

num exceperis, cum æqua libertate hactenus non constitisse, causas, cur non constiterit, in medium protulimus. Principium, a quo imperii natura et libertatis modus pendere videantur, diligenter et pro ingenii nostri modulo exposuimus. Imperii porro omnis, cum illius, quod sit justum et legitimum, originem, tum illius, quod ad tyrannidem sit inclinatum, perfugia et præsidia explicavimus. Leges quasdam assumpsimus, quibus sane concessis, æquam fieri posse libertatem statuimus, quæ tamen si non concessæ sint mancam fore eam et imperfectam, contendimus. Imperiorum, quæ oculis nostris hodie obversantur, nonnullorum vitia attigimus, et causas, quæ in singulis eorum æquæ libertati officiunt, ad examen paulo liberius revocavimus. Galliam autem, unam, mehercule, inter Europæas gentes unicamque libertatis æquæ fautricem, non recusandum erat, quin plausu exciperemus, ejusque studiosos a maledicis mendacibusque convitiatoribus pro virili vindicaremus. Artes, quæ imperium amabile reddant; jura hominum quæ sint, et unde orta; principum populique commoda, si modo sapiant principes, quomodo consentiant; quid ipsa libertas velit, firmamque ejusdem cum virtute societatem; repræsentationis, qua sola tegi et servari libertas possit, solidam et expressam effigiem; quare in vicina quadam regione repræsentatio illa aliquanto auctior et provectior nobis visa sit; educationis publicæ, liberæque rationis, varias utilitates; quin et vitia nonnulla, quæ in corpore civitatis hujusce nostræ in dies ingravescant; hæc, inquam, omnia, quantum pro temporis et loci hujus ratione licuit, strictim tractavimus. Denique, disquisitione omni relicta, ad Americanos provocavimus, qui primi hominum obscuram antea incertamque de æqua libertate theoriam solida experientia comprobarunt.

In hanc igitur cum mihi ipsi, tum etiam, uti spero, vobis, Academici, gratissimam conclusionem tandem aliquando devenio, non

solum posse magnum imperium cum æqua libertate constare, verum etiam æquæ libertati adeo non moram adferre imperii magnitudinem, ut quo majus fuerit imperium, eo sit ista firmior et diuturnior futura libertas. Etenim, quamvis in parva civitate minus difficile est, quam in magno imperio, libertatem stabilire, semel tamen eam stabilitam longe facilius est magno in imperio, quam in parva civitate, retinere. Hoc cur fiat, in promptu est causa. Parva civitas libertati æquior fit, eo quod justioribus lancibus libretur in ea proprietas, quod plenior civibus inter se sermonum communicandorum, plenior injuriarum, quas passi fuerint, deplorandarum, plenior salutis quærendæ locus patere soleat. In rerum autem natura poni videtur, ut quod factu facile sit, id perraro sit diuturnum. Quæ enim res parva in civitate libertati viam aperiunt, eædem fragilem et incertam reddunt. Contra ea, variæ magni imperii partes ut in fœdus aliquod libertatis coëant, vetat sæpenumero cum difficilior consiliorum communicatio, tum nimia inter se locorum longinquitas. Atqui hinc etiam vires ducit suas. Hinc adversum seditiones et clandestinam vim firmissime munitum. Adde, quod magno imperio id insitum est robur, ut ægrius opprimatur ab hoste extero, minusque igitur libertati illius sit periculum ex iis calamitatibus, quæ te, miseranda Polonia, tuaque jura omnino omnia, vereor ne brevi infringant, penitusque gravissimo interitu subvertant.

Enimvero, a teterrimis istis Russiæ et Borussiæ tyrannis, istis versutis veteratoribus, istis, pene dixerim, efferis carnificibus, in æquam libertatem, in omne quicquid est jus gentium, in ipsum denique humanum genus, incredibili atque immani more et modo sævitum est. Pavet interea, totaque mente ac totis artibus contremiscit ipsa Polonia. Obstupescunt, mista cum dolore et metu indignatione, gentes vicinæ. Quin Britannia, libertatis illa quondam

violatæ et quidem periclitantis ultrix et acerrima vindex, tyrannorum inter minas et strepitum horrendorum armorum sileat torpetque.—

Uno ab homine, præsertim ab eo, qui juvenis sit, vix, ac ne vix quidem, sperandum foret, ut omnia, quæ de re nobis proposita dici possint, copiose et enucleate dicantur. Digna tamen est ipsa, si per se spectatur, quæstio, in qua vires suas quisque intendat, qui sit vel ad excogitandum acutus, vel ad explicandum ornandumque uberrimus. Habet quippe hanc suam sibi materiem, felicitatem hominum, quæ industriam nostram, quæ ingenium, quæ vitæ ipsius quantum sit cunque spatium, nescio annon sibi soli vindicet. Quoniam tamen non desunt, qui dictitent, nihil cum rebus politicis privato cuipiam negotii, esse, ostendant mihi, quæso, isti blaterones, quinam de istiusmodi rebus digne, id est, libere, abundanter, et subtiliter, conscripserint? Annon privati erant et Plato, et Aristoteles, et Livius, et Machiavelius? Inter nostrates, Harringtonus, Miltonus, Lockius, annon hi etiam privati? Privati sane omnes. Vita autem inter fluctus rerum politicarum et tempestates semper acta, rarissime est vel ingenio vel virtutibus fœcunda. Inter studia cupiditatesque honorum atque ambitiones tempus suum omne conterunt principum satellites et administri. Quod more fit majorum, quod legibus etiam iniquis institutum est, quod principibus arridere solet, in eo vel tuendo, vel contegendo, vel subdole et versute collaudando, maxime versantur. Quo autem vel meliores fiant cives sui, vel feliciores, vel libertatis magis scientes atque appetentes, id omne viris aulicis aut nihili esse solet, aut etiam odio et formidini.

Quod si huic quæstioni satisfacere quivis velit, omnes eum omnium imperiorum formas perscrutari oportet, quo unum sub aspec-

tum cadere faciat earundem et errores, et virtutes, et varietates; quo de legibus, quæ variis locis conveniant, variisque populis arrideant, ipse certior fiat; quo denique his omnibus iterum iterumque per omnes partes et numeros perspectis, modum sciat ejus libertatis, quæ in singulis imperiis non tantum extiterit, verum etiam exstare possit. Libertas enim, uti monet Aristoteles, vix magis cum hominibus quam cum locis consortium habet; hinc scilicet propter cœli solique dissimilitudines, unde variæ proficiscuntur victus opportunitates; illinc propter diversitates ingeniorum et institutorum, propter varios morum habitus, atque varios rerum usus. Idem ille centum et octo respublicas recenset, quarum naturas cum accuratissime perpendisset, quot populos, tot populorum regendorum formas agnoscit. In singulis igitur hisce civitatibus, si tres* exceperis, cum tanta inesset juris quasi innata dissimilitudo, multiplex et pene infinitus foret illius labor, qui thesauros in hoc argumento alte repostos promere et explicare in se susciperet. Quisquis etiam se huic operi accinxerit, omnibus eum naturæ doctrinæque præsidiis instructum et ornatum esse oportet. Verum nos, tanto ut ut impares negotio, piget tamen necessitatis illius, quæ coegerit orationem hancce tantis angustiis coarctare, et quæstionis tam splendidæ tamque eximiæ, velut immensi cujusdam maris, extremam tantummodo oram legere. Pauca de Hispanis volui, deque Sinensibus, plura de Turcis dicere; nonnulla etiam de Venetorum, de Asiaticorum, de Ægyptiorum, imperiis. Tacendum porro esse de Italiæ colonis, de Amphictyonum concilio, deque Heptarchia illa nostra, permoleste fero. Equidem aliter factum vellem, mei si forte humeri tantum oneris sustinere non recusassent. Neque tamen negaverim, in hac saltem parte vobiscum, Academici, esse melius actum, siquidem vobis audientibus citius patientia,

* Cretensem, Laconicam, Carthaginiensem.

quam mihi de tot tantisque rebus disputanti vox et oratio esset defutura. Quod autem aures mihi attentas tamdiu non gravati estis præbere, de eo, est, cur serio triumphem, quoniam solitos, ut ita dicam, cancellos oratio est nostra longe prætervecta, et me clepsydræ aqua dicentem jam olim defecit.

Orationi autem huic, qualiscunque sit, priusquam coronidem imponam, in re, quam antea leviter perstrinxi, paulo diutius mihi nunc demum liceat immorari. Vanum et plane inutilem esse fateor de rebus politicis sermonem, qui fundamenta sua jecerit in subita et inaudita quadam humanarum et consuetudinum et opinionum conversione: atque idem ego confirmo, a ratione non alienum esse, eam politicæ rei cum re morali conjunctionem expectare, ut politiam, prout omnibus suis numeris magis absoluta sit, virtus æquis passibus comitari videatur. Si imperium uspiam terrarum instituatur, in quo æqua libertas floreat, pacem id, necesse est, in delicits sit habiturum. "Pax" enim "est tranquilla libertas." Illud autem æquæ libertati maxime in laudem cesserit, quod sine pace non modo non vigere, sed ne esse quidem diu, possit.

Ardet mihi exultatque animus prospectanti diem, in quo redibunt felicia illa secula vereque aurea, cum fœdum et exitiosum bellum ex foris penitus exulabit, Janique fores in omne ævum immotis objicibus occludentur; cum sentient tandem homines, quam caduca et prorsus fœda res sit ex internecione civium petita gloria, quam calamitosa et plane nefaria ars sit ista, qua mors quæritur, quam inhumanum et plusquam belluinum videatur, ab homine id fieri, quod facere solent ne belluæ quidem, "nunquam, nisi in dispar, feræ."

Tunc genus humanum positis sibi consulat armis,
Inque vicem gens omnis amet——

Adsit profecto, et hoc vivo, adsit tempus, cum obsoleset "gratia regum *sanguineis* tentata modis," et alter nos alteri obviam ibimus, non hosti hostis, non servo dominus, sed civi civis, sed homini homo. Pax, immortalis et universa pax, per urbes regnabit. Hoc in republica sua constituenda velle se profitetur Gallia. Hoc, quæ rationem et virtutis amorem homini dedit, ratum voluit Natura. Manibus tum demum, non modo tot exercituum, verum etiam populorum universorum bello interfectorum, sera posterorum amicitia gratissime litabitur.

Videre equidem videor, pacatis ubique rebus, concordiam et vitæ prosperitatem arctissimo inter se vinculo conjunctas; amotum, in quantum a mortalibus amoveri queat, quicquid est egestatis, et de victu ac lare familiari solicitudinis; agros bene cultos, et ubertate frugum hetissimos; munditiis suis nitentes etiam rusticorum villulas; civium denique omnium vultus erectos, et animi sensus jucundiores præ hilaritate sua et suavitate indicantes. Videre videor, pravo omni affectu deturbato, rationem in res humanas dominari. —— Erit aliquando, ni vanus auguror, erit ille dies, in quo veritas, in tenebras jamdiu retrusa atque abdita, se in conspectu hominum collocabit, vitæ magistram et ducem pulcherrimam. Quæ, ut alios sui meliores facerent, sapientes viri et ingeniosi meditando extuderunt, non amplius recludentur in scholarum cantilenis, non in hac domestica academicorum et umbratili exercitatione, non in spinosis et exilibus philosophorum orationibus. Quicquid ad politicæ artis scientiam, adque adeo ad communem hominum felicitatem, apprime pertinet, id omne in adspectum et lucem proferetur. Quæ in fæce Romuli fiunt, et facta nescio quomodo collandantur, in desuetudinem abibunt, neque ulla priscæ fraudis vestigia post se relinquent. In oculis erunt posita, et quasi manibus nostris jactata, quæ contemplari jam solent homines et

admirari non nisi in ficta et commentitia Platonis republica; regnabunt utique philosophi, vel philosophabuntur reges.*

Talia secla, suis dixerunt, currite, fusis
Concordes stabili fatorum numine Parcæ.

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Adspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum,
Terrasque, tractusque maris, cælumque profundum,
Adspice, venturo lætentur ut omnia seclo!

At vero hæc non nisi a Deo probe scio posse proficisci, et mortalia omnia, cum illa, quibus revera fruimur, tum quæ procul et quasi per transennam cernimus, tenui a filo pendere. Insomniorum instar, evanescere solent pulcherrimæ spes; nec opinata in dies contingunt: et homini neque in secundis rebus, neque in adversis, datur providere, quid sit ultimum. Fieri idcirco potest, ut frustra sint preces illæ meæ, quas pro æqua gentium omnium libertate et nunc et alias sincero ac pio animo effudi. Fieri, inquam, potest: neque enim me præterit, quot cum vitiis, quam importuna et robusta cum improbitate, prius confligendum sit.

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* Ὁ μὲν οὖν Πλάτων φησὶ, τότε τἀνθρώπεια καλῶς ἕξειν, ὅταν ἢ οἱ φιλόσοφοι βασιλεύσωσιν, ἢ οἱ βασιλεῖς φιλοσοφήσωσι.—Polyb. Megal. Hist. Lib. 12.

Καὶ ταῦτα προσδόμενοι ἡμεῖς τότε καὶ διδύντες, ἅμως ἐλέγομεν ὑπὸ τἀληθοῦς ἠναγκασμένοι, ὅτ' οὔτε πόλις, οὔτε πολιτεία, οὔδὲ γ' ἀνὴρ ἀμέμπτως μήποτε γένηται τέλεος, πρὶν ἂν τοῖς φιλοσόφοις τούτοις τοῖς ὀλίγοις καὶ οὐ πονηροῖς, ἀλλ' ἀχρήστοις δὲ νῦν κεκλημένοις, ἀνάγκη τις ἐκ τύχης παραβάλῃ, εἴτε βούλονται, εἴτε μή, πόλεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι, καὶ τῇ πόλει κατήκοοι γενέσθαι· ἢ τῶν νῦν ἐν δυναστείαις ἢ βασιλείαις ὄντων ὕεσιν, ἢ αὐτοῖς, ἐκ τινος θείας ἐπιπνοίας, ἀληθινῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀληθινὸς ἔρως ἐμπέσῃ. Plat. Epist. 5'.

Quod si ita res tandem evenerit, non tamen benevolentiæ suæ eos pœnitebit, quos de generis humani felicitate solicitos divinatio sua et ardor nimius fefellerint. Erit nimirum iis solatio, ad eam (qua par est) æqualitatem in terris promovendam incubuisse, quam pauperes inter divitesque, nullus dubito, in cœlesti illa animarum sede* esse aliquando intercessuram.

* Hinc post emeritam mortalia secula vitam
Deveniunt, ubi nulla manent discrimina fati,
Nullus honos, vanoque exutum nomine regem
Proturbat plebeius egens.

CLAUD. in Rufin. 2. 437.

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PLIN. *Nat. Hist.* iii. 20.

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